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ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA.

"Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat."

RUTIL. *De Red.* 66.

ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA

AN HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

SITE, BUILDINGS, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

OF

ANCIENT ROME.

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ac.

WITH 85 *ILLUSTRATIONS BY* JEWITT, *AND* 25 *MAPS AND PLANS.*

BY

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TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

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PREFACE.

My purpose in compiling this book has been to present to the student of ancient Roman history and literature a complete analysis of the latest results of archæological and topographical investigations in Rome and its neighbourhood. The idea of such a work first occurred to me some years ago during a winter vacation visit to Rome, and I have since made several journeys to Italy with the express object of correcting and enlarging the information acquired by study. Unfortunately for such researches, travelling in the less frequented parts of the neighbourhood of Rome has been attended with some difficulties of late years. Partly for this reason, and partly from the delayed publication of Cavaliere Rosa's long-looked-for map of the Campagna, I have been compelled to limit that section of my work which relates to the Campagna, and to follow a much less extensive plan in it than I had originally intended.

The importance of archæological and topographical research, especially in the investigation of the early history of Rome, continually increases with the progress of criticism, and, the more mistrustful modern science renders us with regard to the primitive traditions recited by Roman historians, the more indispensable becomes the appeal to actually existing monuments and sites. How plentiful a harvest remains to be gathered in this field has been sufficiently proved by the new excavations on the Palatine Hill, and by the discoveries at the Marmorata, at Ostia, and at the Grove of the Dea Dia. If it should ever become possible to disinter the ruins of the north-east side of the Forum Romanum, or to carry out further explorations on the Capitoline Hill, or on the sites of the ancient Servian walls and gates, the gain to Roman history and antiquarian knowledge will be great in many ways, and many most interesting questions will obtain a solution.

I have endeavoured, by means of an index of passages quoted from classical writers, to make this volume useful to the student of classical literature.

For the construction of this index and of the general index I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. J. Edlin, of Trinity College, without whose assistance that portion of the work could not have been completed. I must also express my obligations to Cavaliere Rosa, director of the French excavations at Rome, who with the greatest kindness explained his views to me on several occasions; to Mr. Lucas Ewbank, Fellow of Clare College, for revising the chapter on the geology of Rome; to Mr. J. H. Parker, and to other friends both at Cambridge and at Rome, for valuable assistance and information.

I have endeavoured to acknowledge my obligations to former writers fully in the notes, and I have in all cases cited the ancient authorities quoted in the text. A list of the most prominent of the modern books used will be found below.

In treating of the topography of Rome I have been largely indebted to Becker's admirable work in the first volume of his "Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer;" to Nibby's "Roma nell' Anno 1838;" to Professor Reber's "Ruinen Roms;" and to Dr. Dyer's work on the "History of the City of Rome."

In the description of the Campagna I have generally followed Nibby's "Analisi Storico-Topografico-Antiquaria della Carta de' Dintorni di Roma;" Bormann's "Altlatinische Chorographie und Stadtegeschichte;" and the articles in the *Annali* and *Bullettini dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archæologica* by Canina, Henzen, and others.

The general map of Rome is framed upon the model of Becker's and Du Rieu's maps, giving the position of the modern as well as the ancient city. In the construction of the smaller maps and plans I have consulted Canina's and Nolli's maps; and have also derived much help from the plans in Hirt, Bunsen, and Reber.

The woodcuts are taken from photographs by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Macpherson, of Rome, and have been admirably executed by the late Orlando Jewitt (who died before the completion of the work), and his successors, Messrs. Jewitt and Co.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
7th September, 1870.

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INTRODUCTION.

ON ROMANO-GREEK ARCHITECTURE.

HORIZONTAL OR RECTANGULAR MASONRY—POLYGONAL MASONRY—ANCIENT GATEWAYS—APPEARANCE OF THE ROMULEAN CITY—INTRODUCTION OF THE ARCH—CLOACÆ—CANAL AT THE MOUTH OF THE MARTA—TUSCAN TEMPLES—DIRECT INFLUENCE OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE: (1) MODIFICATIONS TRACEABLE TO ANCIENT ITALIAN CUSTOM AND TRADITION; TUSCO-DORIC; (2) MODIFICATIONS TRACEABLE TO THE WANT OF ÆSTHETIC CULTURE AMONG THE ROMANS; ROMANO-IONIC ORDER; ROMANO-CORINTHIAN ORDER; (3) MODIFICATIONS TRACEABLE TO THE VULGAR LOVE OF OVERLADEN ORNAMENTATION; THE COMPOSITE CAPITAL; UNMEANING JUXTAPOSITION OF DETAILS; COSTLY STONEWORK; PORTICOES, PALACES, AND HOUSE DECORATIONS; TRIUMPHAL ARCHES AND GATEWAYS; COLUMNS; TOMBS; ROCK TOMBS; COLONNADES; OBELISKS; (4) MODIFICATIONS TRACEABLE TO THE WANT OF SPACE AT ROME; THE ARCH; BRICKS; ROMAN BRICK WALLS; VAULTED ARCHES OF BRICK; BASILICÆ; LIBRARIES; ROADS; CAUSEWAYS AND TUNNELS; BRIDGES; CLOACÆ; HARBOURS; AQUEDUCTS; ORNAMENTAL FOUNTAINS; CASTRA; HORREA; PISTRINA; THERMÆ; BALNEA; AMPHITHEATRES; NAUMACHIÆ; CIRCI; THEATRES; DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE; INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE; EXTERIOR OF THE HOUSE; MATERIALS; VESTIBULE; WINDOWS; ROOFS—GENERAL APPEARANCE OF ROMAN STREETS; ROMAN ARCHITECTS—VITRUVIUS—THE ROMANS ENGINEERS RATHER THAN ARCHITECTS—THEIR BUILDINGS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THEIR CHARACTER.

"Magnificas ædes operosaque visere templa
Divitiis hominum aut sacris memoranda vetustis
Traducti maria et terras per proxima fatis
Currimus, atque avidi veteris mendacia famæ
Eruimus, cunctasque libet percurrere gentes."

Ætna, 568–572.

IN the Aventine hill, under the Monastery of S. Saba, there is a vast subterranean quarry, from which carts may often be seen at the present day carrying blocks of a reddish-brown stone to the various quarters of Rome, wherever new buildings happen to be in the course of erection. The stone obtained from this quarry is the harder kind of tufa, of which a great part of the hills of Rome consist.[1] It naturally became the building stone used by the first founders of Rome, and is found in all the most ancient fragments of masonry which still remain. In many places, as on the cliffs of the Alban lake, and the sides of many of the hillocks in the Campagna, this stone may be seen presenting, when partially decayed, a very considerable likeness to a wall of horizontal layers

Horizontal or rectangular masonry.

[1] See chap. ii. p. 15.

of stone. When quarried, it naturally breaks into rectangular blocks, and suggests of itself that mode of building which we find actually to exist in the earliest efforts of Roman builders.

The most interesting of such primæval relics is a fragment of wall which skirts the west end of the Palatine hill, and is assigned by M. Braun to the earliest enclosure of that hill, the so-called Roma Quadrata of Dionysius.[1] The blocks in this wall are arranged in layers placed alternately parallel to and across the line of the wall (headers and stretchers), so as to bind the mass together firmly. No mortar is used, and the joints are fitted so accurately as to show a more considerable knowledge of the art of masonry than we should expect at so early a period. It seems on this account questionable whether the usually received opinion as to the antiquity of this wall can be correct, and the fragments of the wall of Servius Tullius (B.C. 578—535) found on the sides of the Aventine and the Quirinal hills are perhaps more deserving of attention as undoubtedly ancient works.[2] In these fragments of the Servian wall the art of building appears in a more imperfect state than in that on the Palatine. The vertical joints are not so carefully arranged, and are often allowed to stand immediately one over the other, so as to impair the solidity of the masonry. The stones are placed close against the side of the hill, and in some places the lowest layers of them are imbedded in the natural rock.

The hills of Rome and of the Campagna being mostly low, and not offering in their natural state a sufficient defence, were frequently cased in this way with walls, which either abutted immediately upon the natural rock, as on the Quirinal, or were placed at a slight interval, which was filled up with rubble, as at Algidum near Præneste.[3] Other specimens of these rectangular horizontal tufa walls which belonged to cities destroyed during the Regal period, and therefore of indubitable antiquity, are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Rome. Such are the walls of Apiolæ, destroyed by Tarquinius Priscus, situated on the right hand of the Via Appia at the tenth milestone from Rome, and of Politorium, now La Giostra, near Castel di Leva on the Via Ardeatina.[4] In the walls of Tusculum and of Ardea, and many other places in the Campagna, the same mode of construction may be seen.[5]

As has been already mentioned, this style of building is the natural product of the peculiar parallel cleavage of the tufaceous rocks. Accordingly,

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 324; Mon. vol. v. tav. 39; chap. iii. pp. 34, 41; Dionys. ii. 65.

[2] Chap. iv. pp. 44, 47; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1855, plates xxi.—xxv.

[3] Gell, Top. Rom. p. 42.

[4] Livy, i. 35; Gell, Top. Rom. pp. 87, 281; see chap. xiv.

[5] Gell, Top. Rom. pp. 432, 98.

wherever the prevailing stone of the district is other than tufa, this horizontal work is not found, and we see instead of it in the more ancient walls the polygonal, or, as it was called in Greece, the Cyclopean or Pelasgic style. It has sometimes been assumed that polygonal structure indicates a higher degree of antiquity than horizontal. This, however, is not the case; for the style of building depends principally upon the nature of the material, and some of the polygonal walls in Latium, as those of the Temple of Fortune, built by Sulla at Prænestę, belong to the time of the later Republic.[1] These later polygonal walls are easily distinguishable from the earlier by the greater accuracy of the joints, and the workmanlike style of the masonry. In the most ancient walls, as in some parts of those of Medullia, Alatrium, Artena Volscorum, and Signia, the joints are filled up with small stones, while in the later polygonal masonry the stones are closely fitted and selected with great care so as to present a flat surface.[2]

Polygonal masonry.

Of the most ancient kinds of gates, anterior to the discovery of the arch, no remains have been found at Rome; but in the Campagna there are several curious and interesting varieties of ante-historic gateways. Sometimes, as at Olevano and Alatri, they are composed of a large horizontal slab placed upon two vertical side posts; sometimes these side supports are slanted inwards, as in the gateway now to be seen at Signia;[3] and sometimes a kind of pointed arch is formed by making each block of stone project a little beyond the one upon which it rests, till the uppermost stones meet. The most perfect specimen of this third kind of gate is found at Arpino, and closely resembles the well-known gate of Mycenæ. A single instance of such a mode of construction is found at Rome in the vault of the old well-house of the Capitol called the Tullianum, the lower part consisting of overlapping horizontal blocks which formerly met in a conical roof, but are now truncated and capped with a mass of stones cramped together with iron.[4] The Tullianum must therefore be considered to be the earliest specimen of building, other than simple wall constructions, now extant in Rome, and probably anterior to the Cloaca Maxima, in which we find the principle of the arch already fully developed. If we may draw an

Ancient gateways.

[1] See note in Dennis, Etruria, vol. ii. p. 29. Dennis acknowledges the influence of local materials on the style of masonry, but does not think that it amounts to a constructive necessity. See a paper by Mr. Bunbury in the Classical Museum, vol. ii. p. 145.

[2] Gell, pp. 314, 111; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* 1829, Plates i. ii. iii.; Dodwell, Pelasgic Remains, p. 92. The walls of Tiryns are of this loose polygonal masonry. See Schliemann's Ithaka und Troja, p. 108; (Leipsic, 1869). Dodwell, Pelasgic Remains, p. 124; Dionigi, Viaggio in Lazio. Fragments of this kind of work are to be seen in the Via di Casciano, and at the so-called villa of Cassius near Tivoli, and also at Arpino and Ferentino. See Nibby, Analisi, tom. i. 397, iii. 226.

[3] See *Annali dell' Inst.* 1829, p. 78; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* tav. i. ii. iii.

[4] See chap. vi. p. 81. There is a precisely similar well-house at Burinna in Cos. See Reber, Gesch. der Baukunst, S. 222.

inference from the most ancient gateways of Etruria and the rest of Latium,[1] the gates of Roma Quadrata on the Palatine were not bare openings in the line of wall, but consisted of a square chamber with two doors, the one opening inwards and the other outwards. It seems probable that the Temple of Janus was a modification of such a gateway chamber; for as a part of the pomœrium these gateways would naturally be held sacred, and as the starting-point of all expeditions beyond the city walls would be placed under the protection of Janus, the god who presided over the beginning of undertakings.[2] The inner door had the advantage of offering a second point of resistance to any besieging force which might have stormed the outer; and a further means of defence was usually provided for the gate by the construction of a projecting bastion on the right hand side, from which the unshielded side of the attacking troops might be assailed with missiles. The gates of Norba and of Alba Fucensis show defences of this nature.[3]

Appearance of the Romulean city.

Of the general aspect of the city of Rome during the first years of its existence we can, of course, form only a conjectural notion. It probably consisted of an irregular collection of thatched cottages, similar to that shown in later times as the Casa Romuli on the Palatine, among which were interspersed a few diminutive chapels, such as that of Jupiter Feretrius, which, even after its enlargement by Ancus, was not more than fifteen feet in length,[4] the modest house of Numa, the curia of Hostilius, the auguraculum, and the Temple of Jupiter Stator.[5] Tufa walls with wooden supports were employed even in the more important buildings.

Introduction of the arch.

We are assured, by the almost unanimous testimony of Roman historians, that the Tarquinii first introduced that great invention in building which the Roman engineers and architects carried, in later times, to the highest possible perfection, and which became the great glory of Roman masonry, the round arch.[6] In Assyria and in Egypt the arch had long been used in subterranean buildings. The palaces at Nimrud contain several instances of arched structures, and round arches are used in the older Egyptian tombs.[7] But it is a strange fact in the history of architecture, that while we find the western branches of the great Pelasgian family settled in Central Italy possessed of a full knowledge of the principle of the arch, the eastern or Hellenic branch

[1] As at Volaterræ, Fæsulæ, and Cora: Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 159. [2] See chap. vi. p. 87.

[3] Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 160; Vitruv. i. 5, 2.

[4] Dionys. ii. 34; Livy, i. 10, 33, iv. 20; chap. viii. p. 192.

[5] Ov. Fast. vi. 263; Livy, i. 30; chap. viii. pp. 83, 103, 195.

[6] Livy, i. 38, 56; Dionys. iii. 67, iv. 44; Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 15, 24.

[7] Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. chap. 10, places the invention of the arch in Egypt 2020 B.C., and gives numerous instances of its very early use. See also Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, 1853, vol. i. p. 163; Nineveh and its Remains, vol. ii. p. 260.

appear to have been still ignorant of it, or unwilling to employ it, during the period when their architecture was carried to the highest pitch of perfection in other respects.

Whether the early inhabitants of Central Italy obtained their knowledge of this most important principle in building by tradition from Eastern ancestors, or whether they discovered it independently for themselves, cannot be determined. Greece, at all events, cannot claim the credit of having led the way to the frequent employment of the arch in building. In whatever way the principle was introduced into Italian architecture, it must have made great progress in early times; and the fact that the tufa stone, commonly used for buildings not exposed to the outer air, could be so easily split or cut into suitable wedge-shaped masses, contributed not a little to the rapid development of this architectural contrivance. Another cause which has also been justly assigned for the great perfection to which the art of subterranean tunnelling and vaulting arrived in Etruria and at Rome in very early times, was the necessity for regulating the floods to which the valleys of the Arno and Tiber are peculiarly subject, and of draining the pestilential swamps or maremmas of the coasts of Latium and Tuscany. Works like the Cloaca Maxima and the great canal on the bank of the Marta, first described by Dennis, were indispensable as soon as it became desirable to occupy the lower grounds of these districts. Such considerations may partly excuse our surprise at finding so gigantic a work as the Cloaca undertaken at so early a period of the history of Rome;[1] and we cannot but observe that the description given by Dennis of the canal at the mouth of the Marta seems to be a strong confirmation of the much-disputed authority of Livy and Dionysius, when they ascribe the construction of the Cloaca to the Etruscan Tarquinii. The very name Tarquinii belongs to the town at the mouth of the river Marta; and not only is the canal arched over in the same style with enormous red tufa blocks, but the side of the river at its mouth is protected by an embankment, which seems the very counterpart of the "pulchrum litus" at the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima. The width of the Marta canal is not inferior to that of the Cloaca, the span of its arch being fourteen feet, while the stones employed are far larger.[2] But though in the time of the Tarquins the principle of the arch was so thoroughly understood, yet it was not very widely used at Rome till a much later time. The specus of the Aqua Appia (B.C. 312), lately discovered near the Porta Maggiore, is not arched over, but has a gable-shaped covering, formed by two flat stones inclined at an acute angle to each other. Nor is the mouth of the

Cloacæ.

Canal at the mouth of the Marta.

[1] See further in chap. xii. p. 283.

[2] Dennis, Etruria, vol. i. p. 393.

emissary at the Alban lake, which was built at the end of the Veientine War (B.C. 396), formed by an arch, but by a large horizontal block, which shows, by the slanting manner in which the ends are cut, a rude application of the principle of the arch.[1] These two instances prove clearly that even in subterranean works, where the arch was most useful and most easily constructed, it was not always employed in the period of the early Republic. Still less was the invention of the arch applied at this time to the construction of public buildings. The great public building of the later Regal period, the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, was built on the normal plan of Tuscan temples, with columns and horizontal architraves. Its appearance was flat and low,[2] the breadth being nearly equal to the length, the intervals between the columns very wide, the architrave of wooden beams, and the wooden gable-ends built with a low pitch.[3]

Tuscan temples.

Of the so-called Tuscan style, as described by Vitruvius, we have no ancient specimens left.[4] It was, in fact, the Italian contemporary of the Greek Doric, and its peculiarities consisted rather in the proportion which the several parts of the building bore to each other, than in any constructive difference. The columns were nearly of the same height in both the orders, but in the Tuscan they rested upon a base which was generally omitted in Doric architecture. The shafts were coarsely and superficially fluted, and the capital rather less ornamental in the Tuscan than in the Doric order,

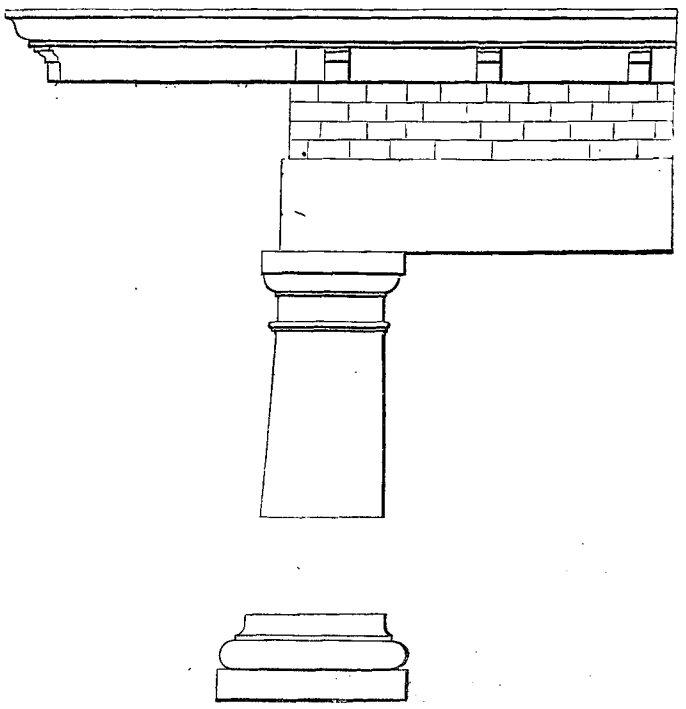


FIG. 1.

1 Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, ii. S. 108.
2 Vitruv. iii. 2.
3 See chap. viii. p. 189.
4 Winckelmann, however (Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 575), mentions a Tuscan column as existing at the emissary of the Fucine lake. He also cites an Etruscan vase figured in Dempst. Etrur. tom. i. tab. 7, which represents Tuscan columns.

having one annulet only instead of three under the capital (see Fig. 1). One principal characteristic of the Tuscan style was the position of the columns at wide intervals from each other (aræostyle), an arrangement which was hardly possible, unless wooden beams were employed for the architrave, the difficulty of obtaining stones of the requisite length being insurmountable. We know from Vitruvius that the Temple of Ceres, near the Circus, first built seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, was a Tuscan temple, with wide intervals between the columns, and three cellæ similar to the Capitoline Temple;[1] and it is just possible that the columns in the walls of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which are placed at unusual distances from each other, may have belonged to the Imperial restoration of this temple in the old fashion. Other characteristics of the Tuscan style were the wooden architraves, and the rough projecting ends of the cross beams, which corresponded to the Doric triglyphs. The ornaments of the pediment and gable were adapted to this rude structure. They usually consisted of pottery roughly gilt or painted.[2]

Direct influence of Greek architecture.

Modifications traceable—

The old Tuscan style must not be considered as the peculiar production of the district between the Tiber and the Arno. It was in reality descended from the same root as the Greek Doric, and stood in the same relation to that style as the Italian section of the Pelasgic stock to the Hellenic section. But after the year B.C. 496, fourteen years after the expulsion of the kings, a more direct influence began to be exerted on Roman art by the Greeks of Lower Italy and Sicily.[3] Pliny, speaking of the decorations of the Temple of Ceres above mentioned, quotes Varro as his authority for stating that "before the time when that temple was built all the temples in Rome were wholly Tuscan."[4] The older Doric architecture, so characteristic of the Greek temples of Lower Italy and Sicily, as at Pæstum, Syracuse, Agri-

[1] Vitruv. iii. 3, 5; chap. xii. p. 292. The Temple of Juno at Elis had originally wooden columns and architrave, and resembled the Tuscan temples. Pausan. v. 16; Hirt, Gesch. vol. iii. S. 5.

[2] Plin. xxxv. 46; Vitruv. iii. 2.

[3] "Il y a un style romain, mais on ne peut pas dire qu'il a existé un art romain. Quand ils ont eu une architecture à eux, les Romains n'en ont point créé les éléments qu'ils empruntaient à l'architecture grecque, ils les ont seulement modifiés, altérés trop souvent, combinés quelques fois d'une manière nouvelle pour satisfaire des besoins qui leur étaient propres. Ils n'ont créé que deux genres d'architecture: l'amphithéâtre, qui suppose les gladiateurs, et l'arc de triomphe, qui suppose le triomphe. Or, le triomphe, comme le gladiateur, est exclusivement romain. Mais ils ont imprimé aux divers genres de monuments adoptées par eux le caractère de leur génie et le sceau de leur grandeur."—Ampère, Histoire romaine à Rome, vol. iv. p. 9.

The above passage fairly expresses the amount of merit due to the Romans as architects. It should not, however, be forgotten that they were the first nation who employed the arch, both simple and vaulted, extensively in building, and thereby opened an entirely new field of architecture. Their mistake was that they clung so long to the Greek style of decoration, which after the development of the arch had lost its original constructive meaning.

[4] "Ante hanc ædem Tuscanica omnia in ædibus fuisse auctor est Varro."—Plin. xxxv. 12, 45. For the date of the temple, see Tac. Ann. ii. 49; Dionys. vi. 19.

gentum, and Selinus,[1] was not, however, introduced in a pure form into Rome, but modified by an admixture of the already prevalent Tuscan. The so-called Temple of Hercules at Cora, which, though built in later times, was probably a restoration of a very early temple, is a good specimen of the mixed style which thus arose. It has the Tuscan wide intervals between its columns, and the simple Tuscan capitals and bases, combined with the Doric triglyphs and mutules. The metopes are left plain, and the cornice has lost its characteristic eavelike slope.[2]

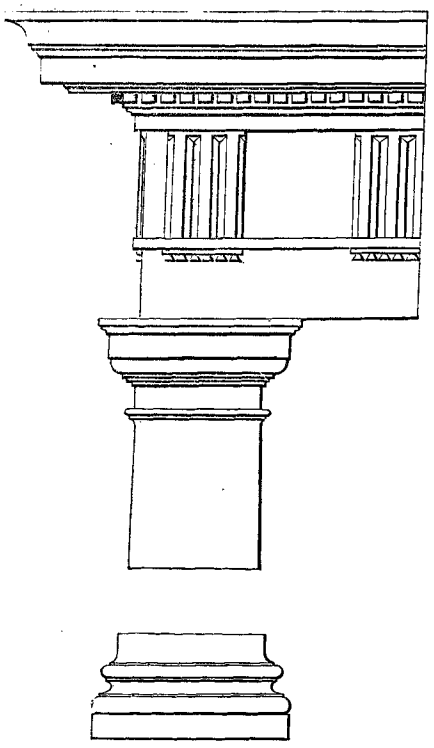


FIG. 2.

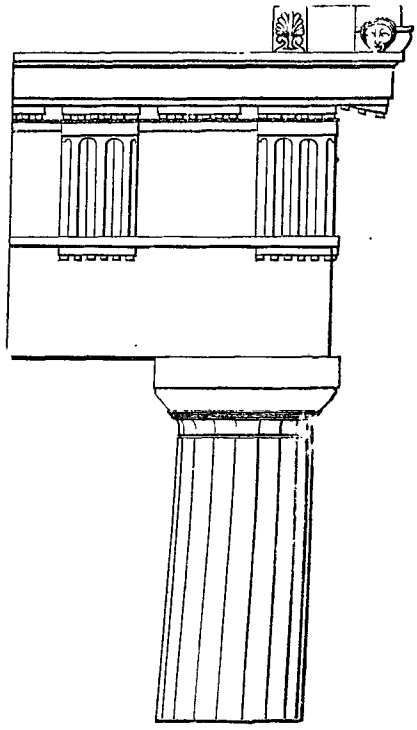


FIG. 3.

(1) *To ancient Italian custom and tradition; Tusco-Doric.*

In the columns of this Tusco-Doric style, as may be seen in the Doric columns and capitals of the Theatre of Marcellus and of the Coliseum, the Attic base, consisting of a plinth, lower torus, scotia, and upper torus, was usually employed; the shaft was much more slender than in the Grecian Doric, and was only partially fluted, if at all, and a cima recta was substituted for the echinus of the

[1] See Wilkins' Syracuse, Girgenti, and Pæstum.

[2] Nibby, Viaggio, vol. ii. p. 208. This temple was carefully copied by Raphael when he was entrusted by Leo the Tenth with the strange design of the entire restoration of Rome on the ancient plan. See Fea on Winckelmann, tom. ii. p. 582, note, and ii. part 2, p. 238. Winckelmann assigns the present temple at Cora to the time of Tiberius.

capital. The position of the triglyphs and the proportions of the cornice were also considerably changed (see Figs. 2 and 3), and the whole effect is less massive and bold than that of the Tuscan temples.[1]

The increasing influence of Doric forms of architecture also altered the ground-plan of the Roman temples considerably. The old square Etruscan temple, in which the width was nearly as great as the length, gave way to the more oblong form of the Greek temple, in which the length was nearly double of the breadth. It was necessary, if the wooden architraves were to be replaced by stone, that the intervals between the columns of the front should be diminished. But though the proportion of the sides was thus changed, the ancient Tuscan arrangement of the interior remained as before. Even down to the time of the Empire many of the Roman temples were still divided in the Tuscan fashion into two principal parts; the open portico in front, with the single, or double, or triple cella behind it. In the Roman Forum there were several temples exhibiting this arrangement, to which the name of prostylos was given by Vitruvius. The three ruins which now occupy so prominent a position at the northern end of the Forum, the Temples of Saturn, of Concord, and of Vespasian, were all of this kind. The Temple of Concord is especially remarkable for the union of a broad Tuscan cella with a narrow Greek portico;[2] and the Tuscan double-chambered plan may be also observed in the Temples of Jupiter and Juno, in the Porticus Octaviæ, as given in the Capitoline plan of Rome.[3] The Roman prostylos is in fact, as Professor Reber well remarks, nothing else than a compromise between the old Tuscan temple and the newer Greek models.[4]

In the restorations of older temples by Augustus, the old square shape of the ground-plan was frequently retained on account of the difficulty of removing surrounding buildings; and even where, as in the Temple of Venus and Rome, designed by Hadrian, the Greek peripteral temple was reproduced, the influence of old traditional forms may be traced in the breadth of the cella in proportion to its length, and in its conventional division into two instead of three compartments.[5]

An alteration peculiarly Roman was also made in the cella of the Greek temple. The Roman eye was offended by the naked walls of the Greek cella, and, with that want of perception of the true principles of art which

[1] Of the three Doric temples at Pæstum the large hypæthral temple is the oldest. "It has low columns with a great diminution of the shaft, bold projecting capitals, a massive entablature, and triglyphs placed in the angles of the zophorus."—Wilkins' Pæstum, p. 59.

[2] See chap. vi. p. 91.

[3] See chap. xiii. p. 308.

[4] Reber, Gesch. der Baukunst, p. 400.

[5] See chap. viii. p. 169.

marked the Roman architects, they proceeded to clothe them with pilasters and other decorations, which were totally without meaning in relation to the structure. Thus was formed the pseudo-peripteral temple, a weak imitation of the Greek peripteral (see Fig. 4).

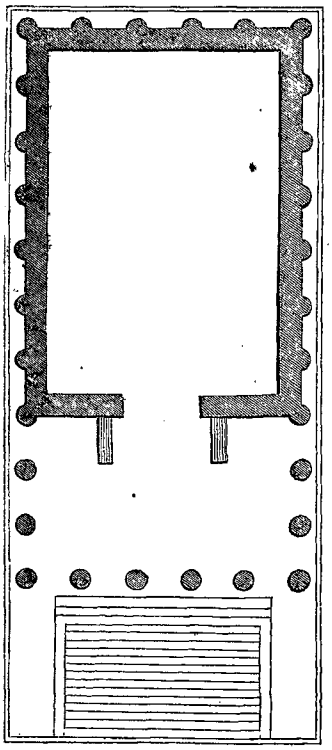


FIG. 4.

The round form of temple was more affected by the Romans than by the Greeks, who used a circular shape only in their smaller monumental works, as in the choragic monument of Lysicrates and the Temple of the Winds at Athens. The difficulty of finding a suitable roof, the necessarily contracted space of the cella, and the inartistic curve of the architrave, probably deterred the Greek architects from employing this form of building. The well-known round temple in the Forum Boarium at Rome, usually called the Temple of Vesta, and the somewhat similar temple at Tivoli, are the most familiar specimens. It has not been ascertained in what manner the roof of these temples was constructed; whether, as in the monument of Lysicrates, it was a tentlike conical roof, or a dome, and whether it rested on the cella walls or on the architrave of the circular colonnade. The domed roof of the Pantheon cannot be admitted as decisive of this question, because it is nearly certain that the Pantheon was originally intended to be a part of Agrippa's baths, and was only by an afterthought converted into a temple, and provided with the incongruous Corinthian portico which forms its entrance.[1] The difficulty of the roof was avoided in cases where, as in the octagonal portico of the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano, formerly the Temple of the Penates, a colonnade was dispensed with.[2]

(2) *To the want of æsthetic culture among the Romans.*

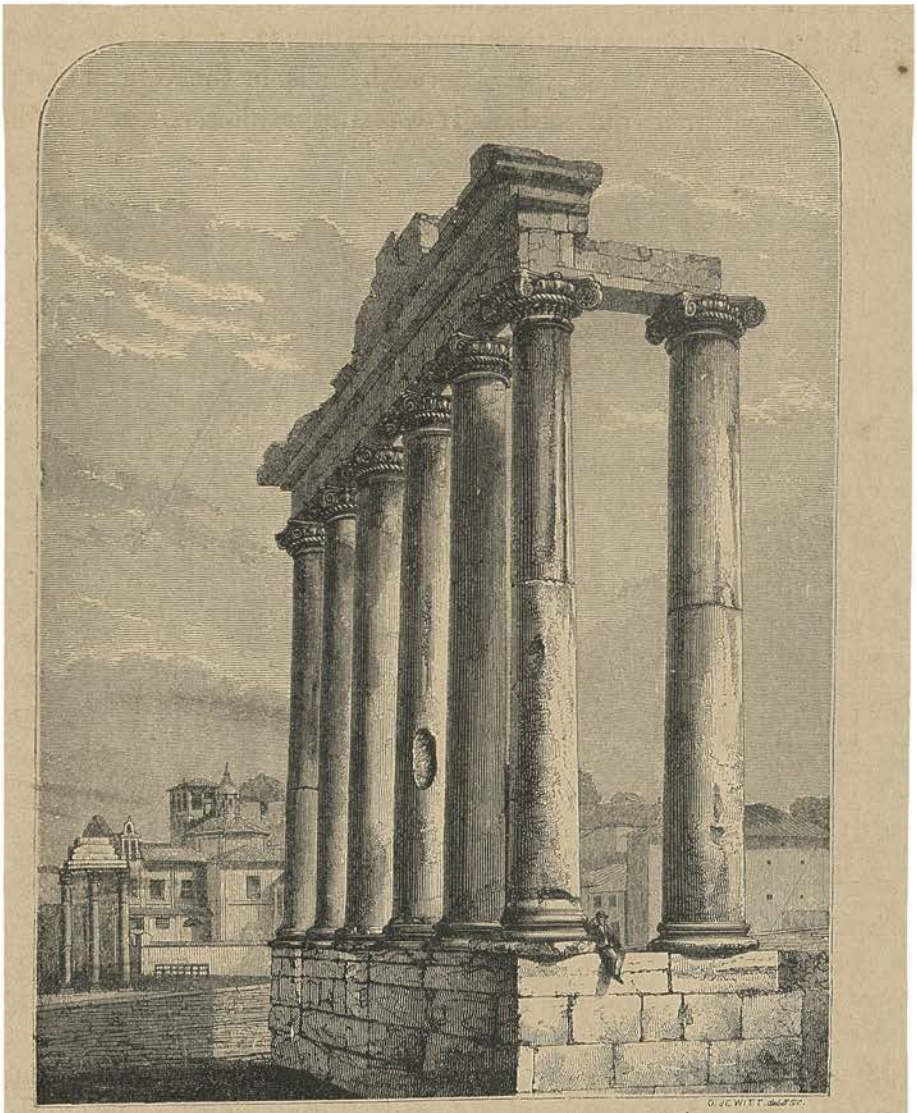
Roman modifications of the Ionic order.

The Ionic order became known and employed by the Romans early in the third century B.C. We find a strange mixture of the Ionic volute and dentil with the Doric triglyph and gutta in the tomb of Scipio Barbatus, now preserved in the Vatican Museum. This is the first monument upon which the Ionic volute appears at Rome, and it shows at how early a period the Romans had begun a practice, which was afterwards carried by them to such excess—the use of Greek architectural forms merely for decorative purposes,

[1] See chap. xiii. p. 330.

[2] See chap. viii. p. 163.

without structural meaning. A hundred years after the death of Scipio Barbatus, when the Macedonian wars of the second century B.C. had familiarized the Romans with Greek art, the Ionic order became well known in Rome, and the Ionic capital and column were used in many temples where the



TEMPLE OF SATURN.

old Tuscan ground-plan was still retained. The Temples of Fortuna Virilis[1] and of Saturn,[2] and the exterior decorations of the Coliseum,[3] illustrate the Roman treatment of the Ionic capital. In the first of these buildings we

[1] See chap. xii. p. 289. [2] See chap. vi. p. 92. [3] See chap. ix. p. 237.

have a small pseudo-peripteral temple with Ionic half-columns, the shafts of which are cut in tufa and the capitals in travertine. As, however, travertine is too rough a material for the finer mouldings of the Ionic capital, recourse has been had to stucco to complete the decorative work. Marble was probably still a rare luxury when this temple was built, and therefore the architect had some excuse for this inartistic device.

The other peculiarity which we observe here is in the volutes of the corner capitals, which are turned outwards. It was the weak point of the Ionic order

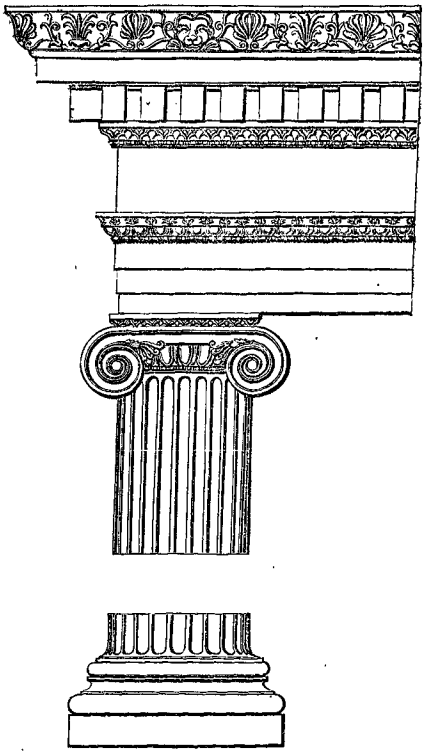


FIG. 5.

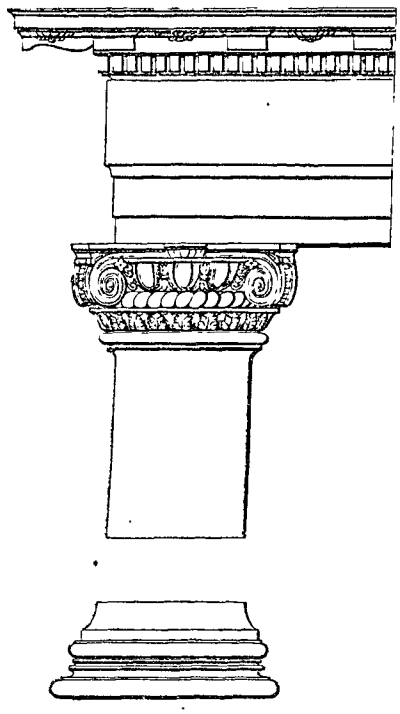


FIG. 6.

that the corner capitals could not be made to correspond with both the front and side capitals without this change.[1] The Greeks had already in most of their Ionic peripteral temples endeavoured to remedy this defect by making the corner volute project in the line of the diagonal instead of the line of the side of the building. This device is imitated in the Temple of Fortuna

[1] Interesting specimens of the capitals and columns of Roman temples are now to be seen in some of the older churches and basilicas of Rome. The basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura is full of Ionic capitals of great variety and beauty. There are seven Ionic capitals and four Corinthian in the Church of S. Maria in Trastevere. Others may be seen in the churches of S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Maria in Ara Cæli.

Virilis, and carried still further in the Temple of Saturn, where the volutes of all the capitals are placed diagonally instead of laterally (see Figs. 5 and 6). The Ionic capital was deprived by this modification of its beautiful simplicity, and the peculiarity of its volutes was destroyed; but on the other hand—what was of great use where poverty to imagine and incapacity to adapt prevailed among architects, as at Rome—a model form was gained applicable to any situation, and presenting the same appearance on all sides. To the practical and utilitarian Roman such considerations seem to have outweighed any regard for the principle, to which the Greeks always adhered, of preserving in all cases the structural meaning of their forms. In the work of Vitruvius, the court architect of Augustus, this desire to reduce every detail of architecture to fixed rules, in order to supply the want of originality in design and taste in proportion, appears on every page. But even Vitruvius protests against the unmeaning employment of the Greek decorative forms.[1]

The Romans, however, not only thus disfigured the Ionic capital of the Greeks, but failed in another point essential to architectural excellence, in the conscientious execution of details. The second range of capitals in the Coliseum exemplifies this neglect very clearly. The spirals of the volutes are there extremely shallow, the curls are not completed, and the enrichment of the ovolo is omitted.[2] In the Theatre of Marcellus this deterioration of artistic feeling is not yet exhibited, and the Ionic order there appears in its original Greek simplicity and beauty.

With the introduction of marble as a building material[3] came the general use of the Corinthian order in most Roman temples of considerable size. In Greece the Corinthian capital was treated with great freedom and variety, and its details not very strictly defined, nor was it attempted on a large scale except under Roman influences.[4] In Rome itself the typical Corinthian form became more fixed, in consequence of the above-mentioned anxiety of the Roman artists to work by pattern and rule in everything; and it soon outstripped the Doric and Ionic on account of its more general applicability and its alluring richness of ornamental detail. It is supposed that the first introduction of this order into

Romano-Corinthian order.

[1] "In Græcis operibus, nemo sub mutulo denticulos constituit, non enim possunt subtus cantherios asseres esse . . . ea probaverunt antiqui quorum explicationes in disputationibus rationem possunt habere veritatis."—Vitruv. iv. 2.

[2] "Il faut savoir que les parties de cet édifice [the Coliseum] ne sont pas trop exactement exécutées et que les moulures changent de hauteur d'une place à l'autre."—Desgodetz, p. 110. A similar neglect of the details of the capitals may be seen in the Corinthian and composite orders of the grand Amphitheatre of El-Djemm (Thysdrus) in Tunis. See *Ann. e Monum. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 246.

[3] Probably about the time of Metellus Macedonicus, B.C. 143. Vell. Paterc. i. 11, 5.

[4] The only extant Greek Corinthian building is the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens. The most ancient Corinthian capital was found at Eleusis. Hirt, ii. p. 116.

Rome was brought about by the barbarian act of Sulla, in transporting the columns of the Temple of Zeus at Athens to adorn his restoration of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter.[1] Of the remaining specimens of this order in Rome the portico of the Pantheon is probably the oldest. In that building the capitals appear somewhat shorter and broader than in the later examples in the porticoes of the temples of Castor (see Fig. 7) and Vespasian in the Forum, and in the peristyle of Nerva's Forum.[2] Like the Ionic order, the Corinthian also suffered miserably at Rome, in some cases from the want of conscientious execution of its details. This is particularly remarkable in the foliations of the capitals of the Coliseum, in which the edges of the leaves are left smooth and plain, and the grooves and curves are made blunt and shallow.

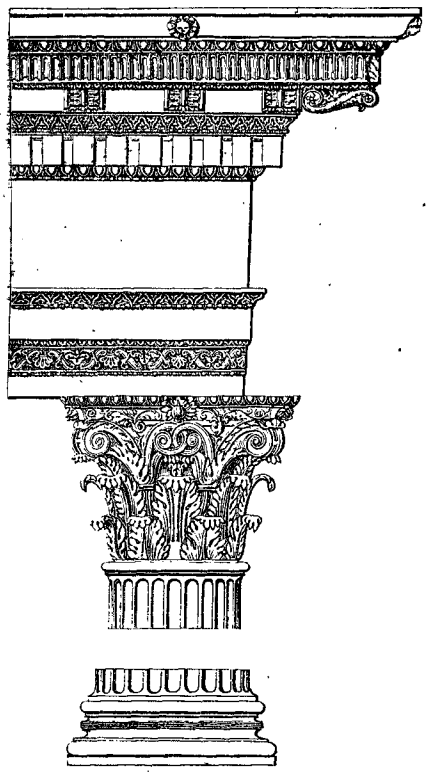


FIG. 7.

The above-mentioned buildings contain the best-proportioned specimens of the Corinthian order. While the capital remains nearly the same in all the Roman examples, with the exception of a few trifling differences in the indentation of the leaves and the small central volutes, the base and cornice are varied in several instances; the Attic base being introduced in the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and in the Thermæ of Diocletian, and the cornice being without dentils in the former building, and in the Portico of Octavia.[3] Another remarkable modification of this order at Rome is to be seen in the ruins of the Forum of Nerva and in the Arch of Constantine. The columns are there placed in front instead of under the entablature, and connected with it by projections of ornamental work similar to the entablature.[4] More important variations from the normal structure are to be seen in the little temple at Tivoli, called the Temple of the Sibyl, marking a transit from the pure Corinthian to the composite order. The capitals in this building have

[1] Chap. viii. p. 75; Tac. Hist. iii. 72.

[2] See pp. 101, 132, 136.

[3] See pp. 113, 309.

[4] The temples of Baalbec, probably built by Hadrian, and those of Palmyra by Aurelian, are the most colossal ruins of the Roman Corinthian order. See Wood's Baalbec and Palmyra: London, 1753. The Church of S. Paolo at Naples, formerly the Temple of Castor, shows the projections in the entablature which we have remarked in the Forum of Nerva.

their angular volutes so much enlarged that they might be easily mistaken for those of the composite order, and the second ring of acanthus leaves is diminished and almost hidden beneath the first; but the Corinthian character is preserved by the presence of the smaller central volutes. The leaves are remarkable for the very peculiar thistle-like mode in which their curves and indentations are cut, and the lotus flower over the centre is of a much larger size than in the ordinary Corinthian capital. The date of this temple is uncertain. Nibby refers it to the period of Roman architecture between Sulla and Augustus, before the Greek rules of proportion were so completely recognized as at a later time.[1]

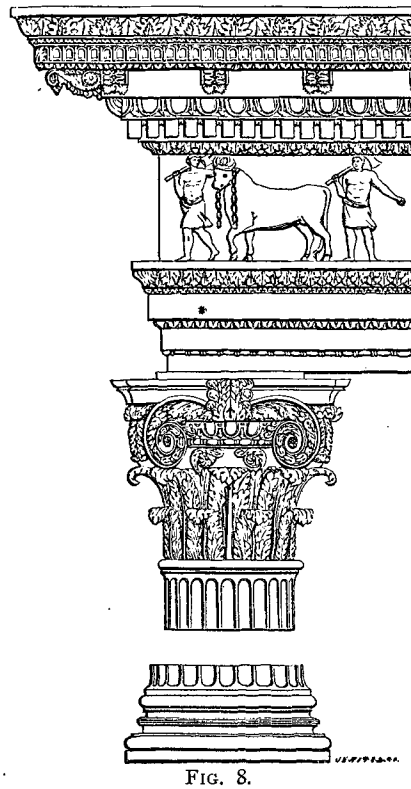


FIG. 8.

The composite capital, for it can hardly be called an order, as there is nothing in the entablature or the base to distinguish it from the Corinthian, was formed probably under the patronage of the first Emperors. The earliest instance we have of it now extant in Rome is in the Arch of Titus (see Fig. 8); and there are only three other ruins where it is found. These are the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Arch of the Goldsmiths, and the Baths of Diocletian, where it is mixed up with Corinthian capitals. The peculiar combination of which it consists, the superposition of the Ionic volutes upon two rings of Corinthian acanthus leaves, is not generally considered a very happy artistic design. Hope says of it that "instead of being a new creation of genius it gave evidence of poverty to invent and ignorance to combine;" and Fergusson is hardly less complimentary to the Roman architects.[2]

(3) *To the vulgar love of overladen ornamentation.*

The composite capital.

But though we must deny to this Roman adaptation of Greek forms the credit of originality, or even of symmetry of design, yet its rich appearance was peculiarly suited to the lavish ornamentation with which the Roman emperors delighted to trick out their palaces and halls, and it well represents

[1] Nibby, Viaggio, vol. i. p. 159. See below, chap. xiv.

[2] Hope, Essays on Architecture, vol. i. p. 68; Fergusson, Principles of Art, p. 482.

to us the character of the Roman Imperial architecture, with its indiscriminate combination of mouldings and profusion of gaudy detail.

We can trace the beginning of this faulty juxtaposition of incompatible forms even in the age of the revival of Greek architecture under Augustus and the earlier emperors, when, as we learn from Vitruvius, the strictest regard was in general paid to the Greek rules of proportion. Vitruvius himself complains of the Romans for not observing the golden principle of Greek architecture, that each exterior ornament must express some real part of the building;[1] and we find his strictures exemplified in several of the remaining temples in the Roman Forum. In the entablature of the temples of Castor, of Concord (a fragment of which may be seen in the corridor of the tabularium), and of Vespasian, belonging respectively to the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Titus, and in the Thermæ of Diocletian (S. Maria degli Angeli), the mistake is committed of introducing into the cornice various ornaments which originally represented the same part of the wooden roof, and ought not therefore to be combined in the same building. It will be observed also that in the cornices of the temples of Vespasian and of Castor some of the ornamental work loses its significance by the incongruous mixture of designs.[2] Between the leaves of the so-called Ionic egg-moulding we have the original sprays or stalks of the leaves changed into meaningless arrow-heads. The curve of the cymatium, and other parts of the upper cornice, are overladen with rich foliated work, which, however elegant in itself, is quite misplaced in such a position.

Unmeaning juxtaposition of details.

This tendency to incongruous ornamentation shows itself also in the variety displayed in the fluted shafts of the Imperial times. Some of these have a beading inserted between the flutings, while others have half their length only fluted, or the upper half fluted in a different style from the lower. Spiral and even horizontal fluting was sometimes introduced, and occasionally a combination of the two.

Costly stonework.

Connected with these strange displays of the Roman want of æsthetic perception of the beautiful in art was the effect necessarily produced by the use of foreign stone brought from all parts of the world. Huge granite columns from Egypt and ponderous blocks of African marble were constantly on their way up the Tiber to the Roman quays, where we still find them lying in profusion, as if too common to be worth removal into

[1] Vitruv. iv. 2. Cicero, De Oratore, iii. 46, states the true principle which his countrymen afterwards lost sight of: "Capitolii fastigium illud et ceterarum ædium non venustas sed necessitas ipsa fabricata est."

[2] See chap. vi. p. 101.

the great city, glutted as she then was with the spoils of half the world.[1] These stones were often too hard to be cut into the requisite shapes, as in the case of granite or porphyry, or too richly veined and tinted to need other embellishment than their own bright hues and lovely shades of colour. They were therefore cut in any way which was calculated to show off their gorgeous brilliancy, without regard to the rules of symmetry of proportion or beauty of form. Pliny records a remark of Cicero when his attention was drawn to a wall built of exquisitely variegated Chian marble as a great work of art: "I should have thought much more of it in that respect," said he, "if you had made stone from Tibur (travertine) look as well as this does."[2] Not only innumerable marbles, but a great variety of other stones enumerated by Pliny were used in the decoration of the Roman Imperial buildings. The French excavations on the Palatine hill have lately discovered to us the richness of design displayed in ornamenting the palace of the Flavian emperors. At least a hundred specimens of polished marble may be seen in the museum there, of the most varied and beautiful colours, all of which were collected in the ruins.[3]

Thus, from the lack of purity of taste and a want of adherence to the natural and simple rules of art, the Roman buildings, clothed in their Greek dresses, too often showed like the jackdaw in the fable tricked out with the peacock's feathers. The sneers of the great architect Apollodorus at the incongruity of the internal arrangement of Hadrian's masterpiece, the Temple of Venus and Rome, with its exterior pretensions, cost him his life; but they were doubtless well deserved.[4] The core of that temple was essentially Roman, consisting of huge vaulted roofs and hemispherical apses of brick, around which the Greek columnar structure was wrapped, as if to cover its nakedness. The Greek clothing of the interior of the Pantheon is another notable instance of such a hybrid composition. In all this the great deficiency of the Roman architects was, that they seemed blind to the majestic capacity for beauty of that great invention, the arch, which they themselves, from their peculiar circumstances, carried to such perfection, and applied to such a variety of practical objects. Their greatest buildings, such as the Coliseum, would have been much more dignified and noble

[1] On the different shapes—good, bad, and indifferent—introduced by way of variety into Roman architecture in Imperial times, see Winckelmann, Essai sur l'Arch., Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 630. Statius, Silv. iv. 2: "Æmulus illic Mons Libys Iliacusque nitent, et multa Syene, et Chios, et glauca certantia Doride saxa, Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis."

[2] Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 6, 5, ed. Sillig.

[3] See *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, vol. ii. p. 88: Sen. Ep. lxxxvi. 7: "Eo deliciarum venimus ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus." Apul. Met. lib. v. init.: "Pavimenta ipsa lapide pretioso cæsim diminuto in varia picturæ genera discriminantur."

[4] Dion Cassius, lxix. 4. See chap. viii. p. 170.

had their designers omitted the unmeaning half-columns and capitals which are stuck on their sides, and left the noble rows of arches in their unadorned grandeur to tell their own tale.[1] No small part of the majesty of the Coliseum, as a ruin, is due to the fact that the bare arches of the interior are now, by the destruction of so large a portion of the exterior shell, exposed in their natural strength and simplicity. The Romans never seem to have taken that step in advance, afterwards made by the inventors of Gothic architecture, the development of the *decorative* capabilities of the arch.

Porticoes, palaces, and house decorations.

Accordingly, in the decorative parts of their porticoes, palaces, and patrician residences, the Greek colonnade and horizontal entablature were chiefly used, and no skilful union of the useful with the ornamental was found. The great porticoes of the Campus Martius probably had flat entablatures and roofs, and were entirely Hellenic; so also were the exteriors of the palaces and houses on the Palatine and Esquiline.[2] That the Golden House of Nero was chiefly in the Greek style may be inferred from the enormous space it occupied. Hellenic architecture had no upper floors or stories, and therefore necessarily occupied a large area. This was natural in the Greek cities, where the population was not crowded, and space was easily obtained for extensions on the ground-floor. But if the requirements of an extravagant despot like Nero were to be satisfied after Greek models, and he was, according to his own fancy, to "be lodged as a man should be,"[3] an enormous area was necessary to provide for him. The descriptions we have of the Golden House show how this was carried out. Three colonnades of a mile in length[4] formed the limits of the great Imperial folly; and it covered a great part of the Esquiline, the northern slope of the Cælian, the whole of the Coliseum valley, and the Velia as far as the Arch of Titus. Many parts of Hadrian's great villa near Tibur were not only built, but named after specific Greek buildings. He had a Pœcile there, a Palæstra, a Lyceum, and a Prytaneum.[5]

At a much later date the vast palace of Diocletian at Spalatro exhibits still the same reluctance to resign the Greek decorative features, although their structural meaning is lost. The same ornamental network of columns and half-columns and pilasters is spread over the walls here, as in the older

[1] The Septizonium was perhaps the worst instance of this kind of meaningless decoration. The Amphitheatre of Verona, on the contrary, has no columns, and shows a more simple taste.

[2] See chaps. viii. and xiii. for illustrations. On the Campus were the Porticus Polæ, Porticus Europæ, Porticus Vipsania, Porticus Neptuni, Porticus Meleagri, Porticus Flaminia, &c. &c. Arches supported on columns were not commonly used.

[3] Mart. De Spect. 2; Suet. Ner. 31, "quasi hominem tandem habitare cœpisse."

[4] Suet. loc. cit.

[5] See Ligorio's description, Rome, 1751; and Hist. Aug. Hadr. 26.

palaces of Rome.[1] Rows of triangular pediments, sometimes truncated, sometimes rounded, with other scattered and mangled limbs of the Greek facade, are here to be seen planted without meaning against the interior walls to break their extended flat surfaces. One great step, however, towards the artistic union of the column and arch, which the want of genius for combination long prevented the Romans from making, is found in the palace of Diocletian. The spaces between the columns are bridged over by means of arches instead of flat entablatures; and thus colonnades are changed into arcades, and a union effected afterwards prolific of beautiful forms in modern architecture.

A step towards this had already been taken in the triumphal arches of the Romans; and yet their servile adherence to Greek forms of decoration, and the poverty of their invention, were not less glaringly displayed in that class of buildings. The triumphal arch could be claimed as a creation of the national warlike character;[2] it was intended primarily to perpetuate the fame of a victorious general, to picture his exploits, and to raise his effigy above the rest of mankind. But though these arches are upon the whole some of the most successful efforts of purely Roman architecture, because the real and solid constructive parts occupy the most prominent place, yet Greek decorations are dragged in even here. The Romans placed an unmeaning front of pedestal, column, and capital, with abacus, frieze, and entablature, upon the surface of their massive piers of masonry, "thus tying, as the tyrant Mezentius did, the dead to the living."[3] The three great triumphal archways of Titus, Septimius Severus, and Constantine at Rome, and also the Arch of Drusus, are decorated with this foreign dress. In the Arch of Constantine alone the columns which stand in front are, in some measure, justified by the statues they support. Of the minor archways at Rome, that of Gallienus has Corinthian pilasters in the roughest style of art; the Janus Quadrifrons, in the Forum Boarium, probably once had rows of Corinthian columns between its niches,[4] and the small gateway near it has decorative pilasters with composite capitals. On the other hand, the Arch of

Triumphal arches, gateways, columns, and tombs.

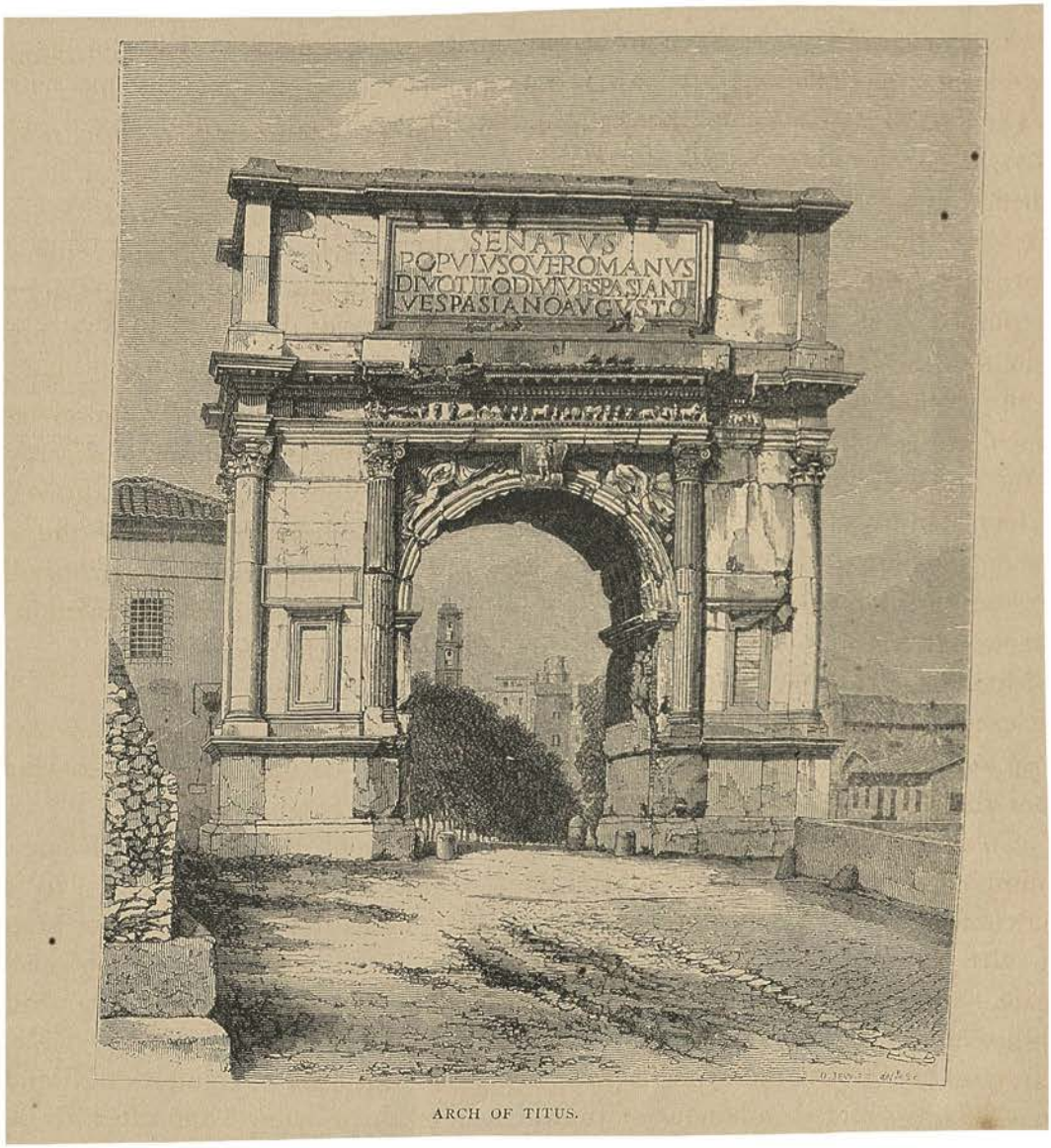
[1] The Thermæ of Diocletian at Rome (S. Maria degli Angeli) were the great repertorium whence the architects of the Renaissance borrowed the patterns for their niches with columns on each side, their broken cornices and pediments, and their rows of columns without entablatures. Winckelmann, Essai sur l'Arch. tom. ii. p. 633.

[2] Plin. xxxiv. 12, § 27.

[3] Virg. Æn. viii. 485: "Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis, componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora." Hope, Essays on Architecture, vol. i. p. 67. The first triumphal arch recorded is that of Stertinius, B.C. 196: Livy, xxxiii. 27. Scipio Africanus and Fabius Maximus afterwards erected arches: Livy, xxxvii. 3; see chap. vi. p. 104. The whole number of ornamental arches at Rome was thirty-six: Preller, Reg. p. 234. Reber, Gesch. der Bauk. S. 424, gives a list of seventeen extant arches in Italy, France, Spain, and Africa.

[4] See chap. xii. p. 287.

Dolabella, on the Cælian, which has a single line as cornice, and the Porta S. Lorenzo are examples of the impressive effect of a plain arch without Greek ornament. The Porta Maggiore may, perhaps, be classed with these; but though it exhibits the sterling merits of Roman architecture in its massive



ARCH OF TITUS.

rustic arches of travertine, it also shows the defects not less plainly.[1] The unmeaning pediments and tasteless columns, with which the exterior is adorned, remind us of Pope's receipt for the front of a villa: "Clap four slices of pilaster on't; that laid with bits of rustic makes a front."

[1] See woodcut on page 65.

The high stylobate or pedestal, placed under a column, first makes its appearance in the gateways and triumphal arches of the Imperial age. The Porta Maggiore and the Arch of Constantine afford specimens of columns so mounted, as it were, on stilts. The Temple at Assisi, and two Roman buildings at Palmyra, are cited by Winckelmann as the only cases in which separate stylobates are found in larger edifices.[1] These columns on pedestals were frequently imitated in the Renaissance period.

The idea of placing a statue upon the top of a column was, apparently, unknown to the Greeks; or, at least, was never carried out by them on the immense scale of the two great Roman columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.[2] Such a mode of employing the column would have seemed strange to Greek architectural ideas, in which a column was always used for the purpose of supporting a flat entablature. The column thus employed is, in fact, nothing more than a huge pedestal, which must necessarily be out of all proportion to the statue it carries on its summit, and the spiral band of sculptures with which the shaft is ornamented have their effect destroyed by the impossibility of seeing them in a horizontal line. It must not, however, be forgotten that the column of Trajan was erected partly to show the vast labour expended in levelling the sides of the Quirinal and Capitoline for the construction of his Forum, and that it was enclosed within a narrow court, and did not rise much above the buildings which immediately surrounded it.[3] It is not known whether in the case of the column of Marcus Aurelius any buildings were thus placed close round it. The adjoining colonnades seem, as far as can be concluded from their remains, to have stood at some little distance.

Columns.

Colossal columns were as genuine a creation of Imperial Rome as triumphal arches. In both, the sculpture has become subordinate to the pedestal on which it is supported. In the Republican era some of the statues in the Comitium stood upon columns; but these were on a much smaller scale, and proportioned to the height of the statues themselves.[4] Some columnar monuments, as the columna rostrata of Duilius, were made to carry symbolic ornaments or trophies instead of statues. A column of Numidian marble was erected in honour of Julius Cæsar in the Forum;[5] and after his death honorary columns became very frequent in the Imperial age, not only at Rome, but in the provinces, as at Alexandria, Constantinople, Ancyra, and Cussy

[1] See Piranesi, Magn. de Rom. tab. 38, fig. 1.

[2] Plin. xxxiv. 6, 12: "Columnarum ratio erat attolli super ceteros mortales; quod et arcus significant novicio invento."

[3] See the remarks in chap. vii. p. 146. The pillar of Antoninus Pius was a monolith of red syenite. See chap. xiii. p. 333.

[4] Plin. loc. cit.

[5] See chap. vi. p. 112.

la Colonne, twelve miles from Beaune in Burgundy. They had the advantage, in an age of declining art, of concealing the defects of the statues erected at such a height above the eye; and when the Roman world afterwards became full of empty adulation, it was a cheap method of flattery to a patron to steal stones for a pedestal and a handsome column from the ruined temples, and erect them, with a fulsome inscription in his honour. Such is the column of Phocas in the Forum Romanum, a cento of fragments filched from some older buildings.[1]

Tombs.

Not more originality of design or elegance of taste is displayed in the decorations of the Roman tombs than in those of the triumphal arches and columns. The sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus has been already noticed as an incongruous adaptation of Greek forms of ornamental work. Innumerable varieties of such adaptations might doubtless have been seen on all the principal roads leading out of Rome; but all these have now been stripped of their Hellenic marble facings and reduced to mere cores of brickwork. We may form some idea of the forms they generally assumed from the tombs at the Gate of Pompeii, which are mostly built in square or cubical stages, and present pediments, pilasters, and columns in different combinations. The tomb of Mamia at Pompeii, as restored by Mazois, is the miniature frontispiece of a Greek temple, with columns, entablature, and pediment complete.[2] Of this kind is also the tomb of Bibulus in the Via di Marforio at Rome, which has Doric pilasters and an Ionic entablature. Many tombs had a small peripteral or pseudo-peripteral cella mounted upon a cubical block. Such is the monument at S. Remy near Tarascon in France, which has a square base ornamented with bas-reliefs, and bearing a circular monopteral temple.

Egyptian forms were however sometimes employed, as in the pyramidal tomb of Cestius at the Porta S. Paolo, or Etruscan, as in the conical structure, commonly called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii near Albano. The bread-contractor's tomb, representing a pile of bread-baskets, which still stands at the outside of the Porta Maggiore, is an original but not a very pleasing design.[3]

Rock tombs.

Foreign architectural forms, especially those of the Greek temple, were also reproduced in the rock-hewn tombs of the Romans. Few of these are to be found in the neighbourhood of Rome, as might be anticipated from the nature of the rocks. There are, however, some on the Flaminian road, and one very remarkable instance is to be seen in the garden of the monastery of Palazzola, on the edge of the Alban lake.[4] The rock-hewn tombs of Petra, once a much-frequented Roman station, present

[1] Chap. vi. p. 117. [2] See Dyer's Pompeii, p. 530. [3] See chap. viii. 197; Nibby, Viaggio, tom. ii. p. 143; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* 1837, Plate xxxix. Compare with this strange device the tomb of Porsena figured in *Monumenti dell'. Inst.* 1830, Plate xiii. The cones probably represent the metæ of the circus. Hence the popular name of the Meta Sudans.

[4] Nibby, Viaggio, tom. ii. p. 125.

most extravagant instances of the Roman misapplication of columnar architecture. The facades of these tombs, exquisitely cut in rose-coloured sandstone, consist of a crowded medley of meaningless columns, half-columns, pilasters with curved or truncated entablatures, and pediments similar to those found in the Pantheon and in the still existing ruins of the eastern hemicycle of Trajan's Forum.[1]

Cylindrical tombs.

Far more characteristic of the Roman national taste in architecture are the huge cylindrical masses of stonework based upon square platforms, of which the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian in Rome, and the tombs of Cæcilia Metella on the Appian way and of Plautius on the bridge over the Anio at Tibur, are the most conspicuous examples. The ponderous walls of these massive and indestructible marvels of masonry were essentially Roman; but there the originality of their construction ends. We find, again, a strange combination of Orientalism with Hellenism in their outer decorative dress. The Mausoleum of Augustus was covered with terraces and trees in imitation of the Temple of Belus at Babylon, and the Mausoleum of Hadrian was dressed up with the usual show array of pilasters, columns, and statues.[2]

Colonnades. Arcades.

Among the architectural decorations of Rome must also be reckoned the great colonnades of the Campus Martius[3] and the arcades of the fora and streets. The colonnades were built in the Greek fashion, with horizontal architraves of marble, and in some of them great magnificence was doubtless displayed. The arcades which were built by Nero along the principal streets were, on the contrary, constructed on piers, supporting arches and vaults of brickwork or concrete. They were specimens of the genuine Roman architecture in its unadorned simplicity and practical utility, for they served the double purpose of shelter from the sun and rain, and also of giving assistance in case of fire to the upper stories of the houses.

Not only imitation, but actual appropriation of the decorative works of Greece and other countries helped to adorn the streets and fora, the public buildings and arcades of Rome. The walls of their halls and temples were hung with the pictures of Zeuxis, Timanthus, Apelles, Aristides, and the other great masters of Grecian painting,[4] and filled with statues in bronze, ivory, and marble brought from Athens and Corinth.[5] Of all the foreign

[1] See pp. 142, 328.

[2] For the Mausoleum of Augustus, see chap. xiii. pp. 343, 344; the Mausoleum of Hadrian, chap. xi. p. 272. The planting of trees upon a sepulchral tumulus is mentioned in Homer, Il. vi. 419.

[3] See chap. xiii. pp. 309, 316, 319, 331.

[4] Plin. N. H. xxxv. § 60—150; Rochette, Peintures Antiques.

[5] Preller, Reg. p. 231, gives from the Breviarium the following enumeration: 22 colossal equestrian statues, like that of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol; 80 gilt statues of gods, like that of the Capitoline Jupiter;

architectural ornaments collected in Rome, perhaps the most conspicuous were the Egyptian obelisks of syenite, which the emperors brought from the East and erected in the spinæ of the Circi. The Curiosum and Notitia mention only six of these, but the remains of eleven have been found at Rome.[1] In Egypt obelisks were always used in pairs, and erected at the entrance of the great temple portals, close to other gigantic monuments of nearly the same size and height. The two obelisks set in front of the great temple at Karnak overtopped the portico but little, and were in such a position suitably and naturally placed.[2] But the Romans, viewing them only as trophies of their vast Imperial dominion, cared but little to render them effective by placing them in appropriate situations. The Mausoleum of Augustus was indeed decorated in the true Egyptian style, with a pair of these monoliths at the portal, but in general they were not placed near anything of equal height, and presented nearly as forlorn and naked an appearance as those in the modern squares of Rome.[3]

Obelisks.

In proportion, however, as the architectural taste of the Romans deteriorated, their engineering skill seemed to grow. In the employment of the arch in great works of engineering skill, and in the development of its useful capabilities, the Romans have been the great teachers of the world. Neither the Assyrians nor the Egyptians, to whom the principle of the arch, both round and pointed, was well known, employed it except on a very moderate scale, and that chiefly in subterranean works.[4] Nor was the arch often used in any of the sacred buildings at Rome except in the interior. A superstitious dread of offending the deities by altering the form of their temples was quite sufficient

(4) *The want of height, size, and space at Rome compelled the Romans to use the arch, and to employ bricks as material.*

74 ivory statues, like that of Minerva in the Forum of Augustus (Paus. viii. 46; Suet. Tit. 2); 3,785 bronze statues. In the time of the Republic most of the statues stood in the Forum and Area Capitolina, but there were also collections in the Temple of Honour and Virtue of Marcellus, in the colonnade of Metellus, and in the Atrium Libertatis of Asinius Pollio. Augustus and Agrippa ornamented all the corners of the streets, the public fountains, the porticoes, parks, thermæ, and theatres with works of art. At a later time the Forum Ulpium was filled with statues of celebrated personages; and Alexander Severus is particularly mentioned as having taken great pains in the erection of such monuments. (Hist. Aug. Alex. Ser. 24, 25, 27.) Many of the great works of art were carried away to Constantinople; but Cassiodorus (Var. vii. 15, viii. 13, x. 30) speaks of a large number—especially of bronze statues—as still remaining in Theodoric's time. The final robbery was committed in the seventh century, when Constans II. carried the greater part of the Roman works of art to Constantinople. (Anast. Vit. S. Vital. Mirabilia Rom. p. 23, ed. Parthey, 1869.)

[1] Zoega, De Obeliscis, cap. iv. Besides those at Rome, obelisks brought by the Romans have been found at Constantinople, Catana, Arelate, Velletri, and Benevento, and at Wansted in England.

[2] See Reber, Gesch. der Baukunst, p. 167; Fergusson, Arch. vol. i. p. 108.

[3] The mediæval name for obelisks was aguliæ (aculeus). Besides those mentioned in the Curiosum, there was one in the gardens of Sallust, another in the Circus of Maxentius, another in the Circus of Heliogabalus, and another in the Iseum and Serapeum in the Campus.

[4] See above, p. xxiv., note 7.

to prevent any improvement in that department of architecture so long as Paganism lasted; and even if this difficulty could have been got over, the Romans had no notion of making an arch ornamental as well as useful. But the increasing numbers of the Roman people, their gregarious habits, the necessity under the emperors for providing amusement and excitement on a large scale, and the pre-eminently practical genius of the race, soon produced their natural effects upon the national buildings. The Hellenic forms of public buildings, which sufficed for petty towns like Athens, or Corinth, or Ephesus, were totally inadequate to the conditions required in the metropolis of the world.

The population of Athens was probably less than 200,000,[1] while that of Rome was at least 1,000,000.[2] To afford room for the vast assemblies of people who would naturally meet in the public halls of so large a city, the columnar structures of the Greeks were insufficient. Height, it was true, might have been obtained in their buildings by employing shafts of colossal dimensions; but then the difficulty of supporting the roof naturally arose. If the columns were placed so close together, as to allow the old short horizontal architraves of stone to be laid from the top of one capital to the next, a forest of great columns crowded together, such as the temple at Karnak contains, would have been the result; and this would have ill suited the gregarious habits of the Romans.

The ancient plan of timber architraves and roofs was equally objectionable, for Rome had suffered so often and so much by fires that a natural dread would be felt of combustible materials. And the Romans, even from the earliest times, as the massive structure of the Cloaca shows, despised all merely temporary and destructible work, and strove to combine the greatest possible utility and solidity in their buildings.

From the determination to supply these needs arose the two great characteristic features of Roman architecture—the use of brickwork, and of the vaulted arch. To carry a sufficient quantity of travertine for the whole mass of a large building from the distant quarries near Tibur was an expensive and laborious task; and the tufa stone of the Roman hills was not only unpleasing in appearance, but soft, easily disintegrated by the weather, and unavailable for exterior walls. The Romans, therefore, had recourse to brickwork, a mode of building long before practised by the Etruscans, their earliest teachers in art,[3] and facilitated at Rome by the abundant beds of excellent clay to be found

[1] Böckh's Economy, chap. vii. p. 58.

[2] See Merivale, vol. iv. chap. xl.; Dureau de la Malle in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr.* 1825.

[3] The walls of Arretium and Mevania were of brick (Vitruv. ii. 8; Plin. xxxv. 173), and some parts of those at Veii (Dennis, Etruria, vol. i. pp. 15, 16). The Greek brick buildings are noticed by Plin. xxxv. 172.

on the western bank of the Tiber, and by the unrivalled mortar which could be made from the granular tufa (pozzolana) of their hills when mixed with lime. Roman brickwork and cement has become one of the marvels of the world. Even the damp and rotting climate of the Western Islands, where all stones decay, has not injured those well-known blocks of long, thin, flat bricks and stony concrete.

Roman brick walls.

The earliest instance of the use of concrete (fartura) at Rome is in the ruins of the Emporium, B.C. 195.[1] We find there a mass of concrete of rough stones mixed with mortar, and faced with reticulated work. The same mode of construction appears again in the Muro Torto,[2] at the corner of the Pincian hill, commonly said to be of the time of Sulla. An immense core of artificial concrete is there still remaining, as hard as a natural conglomerate rock. The improvements in the public walks have, unfortunately, of late years diminished this interesting mass of masonry considerably. The exterior surface is made of small pieces of tufa, with flat diamond-shaped faces, and wedge-shaped bases. These pointed bases were pressed into the concrete while it was still wet, so that the diagonals of their faces are horizontal and vertical, while the joints run in slanting lines. The name of opus reticulatum is commonly given to this kind of work. Sometimes the pieces of which the facing was made were irregularly placed, so as to present the appearance of polygonal masonry; and this seems to have been preferred, in many cases, from the greater solidity of the joints when irregular. The appearance was not much considered, as such walls were frequently covered with stucco.

Many concrete walls were faced with regular courses of bricks instead of these bits of stone; and in some we find the facing of opus reticulatum combined with courses of bricks, giving a sort of panel-work appearance to the wall; and in other and later buildings, as the Circus of Maxentius, the brickwork is alternated with rough facings of brick-shaped tufa stones. The regular brick-work walls of the time of the early emperors are the most skilfully constructed.[3] The bricks used in them are flat like tiles, and the joints most carefully fitted with a thin layer of mortar. A more negligent style is found in the buildings of the Middle Empire; the bricks became thicker, and the mortar less evenly and compactly laid.[4] It followed, naturally enough, when the great development of

[1] Beschreibung Roms, Synchronistische Tabellen.

[2] Chap. x. p. 260.

[3] Beschreibung Roms, vol. i. p. 189. The brick-work of the first century was the best. After the Antonine era it deteriorated. The kinds of bricks are described by Vitruv. ii. 3, and ii. 8, 16.

[4] Ciampini on the different kinds of construction used at different epochs (Pelet. L'Amphithéâtre de Nîmes, p. 59) says: "I muri fatti a *pietre quadrate* dichiarono il tempo degli Etruschi, *l'incerto reticolato* il principio della Romana republica, il *certo reticolato* il fior della stessa, ed il *reticolato alternante con laterizio* il declinare della medesima: il *laterizio* i tempi d'Augusto et degli imperatori sequenti sino all' anno 200 dell' era volgare; ed *il laterizio alternante a strati di tofo* i tempi di Gallieno e tutto il declinar

Roman building took place under the emperors, that conveniently situated beds of clay and brick-kilns became very desirable property, and that the excellences of various kinds of bricks were compared, and the bricks of certain kilns preferred. Partly from this reason, and partly in order to preserve a record of the date of a building, the larger bricks were stamped with the name of the proprietor of the kiln, and sometimes with the names of the consuls of the year. Large numbers of these stamps (bolli) have been collected and illustrated by the Roman antiquaries.[1] The names found upon them include those of persons of high and even imperial rank, who owned kilns in the neighbourhood of Rome. The core and main body of the great Imperial buildings always consisted of concrete, with brick, or tufa, or marble facings; and the famous boast of Augustus, that he found Rome built of brick and left it built of marble, referred solely to the outer casing of the public buildings with panel-work of marble, the remains of the fastenings of which may still be seen on some ruins in Rome.[2]

But even after the art of wall building had been carried to the greatest perfection, there remained the difficulties of roofing in the enormous spaces required for the crowds who spent their lives in the public baths, theatres, and amphitheatres of Rome. Greek architecture, when carried out on a large scale, required enormous blocks for the architraves, and for the far-projecting cornice, such as we now see in the fragments of the baths of Constantine in the Colonna Gardens at Rome,[3] and in the temples of Baalbec and Palmyra. The expense of labour and time required in cutting, carrying, raising, and laying such huge blocks was so great, and the result so inadequate, that the practical mechanical genius of the Romans soon discovered a new method of roof-construction to meet the exigencies of the case. The old semicircular stone arches were found to be too heavy when constructed of the requisite span, and required enormously thick walls to support them. Recourse was therefore had to the lighter material of bricks, and the employment of these in vaulted arches removed the difficulty, and caused an entirely novel and fundamental change in the principles of the construction of roofs.[4] At the same time the arch was also introduced into

Vaulted arches of brick.

dell' Impero; selce, *croste di marmo, e mattoni* i tempi di Theodorico; *il tumultuario aggregato a cemento* quei di Belisario; i *quadrilateri bislunghi di tofo e mattoni* i giorni di Carlo Magno sino al 1,000, del qual epoca degenerò la construzione dei muri in opera tumultuaria e cemento e continua sino ai tempi presenti."

[1] See Becker and Marquardt's Hdbh. Bd. v. 1, p. 167. The figlinæ Domitianæ, Augustanæ, Caninianæ, Terentianæ, Fulvianæ, are among the most conspicuous.

[2] As in those on the Palatine hill, and at the Baths of Caracalla, and in the great basilicæ.

[3] See p. 256.

[4] "It was the Romans with their tiles who first really understood the true employment of the arch."—Fergusson, Arch. i. p. 188.

wall building. The lightening of the roof made it possible to lessen the ponderous thickness of the supporting walls, and to relieve their monotonous flat surfaces with arched perforations. Even lighter materials than brick were occasionally employed. We find pumice stones introduced in the vaulted arches of the Coliseum, Pantheon, and Thermæ of Caracalla;[1] and in the Circus of Maxentius and other ruins empty jars of pottery are to be seen built into the concrete vaulting to diminish the weight and to save materials. The vaulted arch, constructed with tiles as *voussoirs*, and concrete of great thickness, ornamented with coffers of rich stucco work, or with mosaic patterns, became, in the Imperial times, the usual mode of construction in all buildings, from the ordinary rooms in houses to the vast halls of the public edifices. The ruins on the Palatine hill, the great Basilica of Constantine, and the Thermæ of Caracalla and Diocletian still show, in their huge vaults and masses of brickwork, the mechanical skill of the Roman architects. Three remaining arches of the Basilica of Constantine are sixty-eight feet in span, and eighty feet in height from the ground; and the vaulted concrete roof of the nave was eighty feet in span, and one hundred and fifteen feet in height.[2] They delighted in forming the most varied and novel combinations by crossing their vaults in different directions, by forming domes and semi-domes, and by introducing the arch into every part of their buildings. The dome of the Pantheon shows at how early a period under Augustus they had carried the mechanical art of cupola building to the perfection of solidity and durability. With all their wonderful skill in brickwork, and in the construction of walls, arches, and vaulted roofs, there remained a stiffness and inflexibility in the forms they employed, which showed an inability to diverge from their received models. As in the mouldings of their decorative work they had confined themselves to arcs of the circle only, excluding the other curves employed by the Greeks, so in their arches they made use of the semicircle only, thus sacrificing variety to solidity. And while skill in engineering works and mechanical contrivance made rapid advances among them, the genius to imagine and power to adapt new ornamental additions in harmony with the new structural forms seemed to be entirely wanting. Unable quite to shake off their Greek fetters, they still

[1] Hirt, Gesch. der Bauk. ii. p. 402; Winckelmann, Obs. sur l'Arch. vol. ii. pp. 554—556. The vaulted roofs of the Romans were made by simply piling a great thickness of concrete upon the centres and leaving it to consolidate. The concrete is 1½ feet thick in some of the vaulted roofs of the thermæ at Rome. The cupola of the Church of S. Vitale, at Ravenna, is constructed of hollow pipes of pottery, and parts of the arches surrounding S. Stefano Rotondo at Rome are built in the same way. Fea, Notes on Winckelmann, loc. cit.

[2] The roof of the Diribitorium was the largest in Rome, but constructed of wood. It was pulled down because it was not considered safe. Some of the beams were 100 feet in length. Plin. N.H. xvi. § 201. Flat roofs of timber cannot usually be made more than 25 feet wide with safety. Fergusson, Arch. vol. i. p 158.

sometimes covered up their arches with horizontal entablatures and pediments, and a mask of marble devices, in no way connected with the real parts of the building they concealed.

A prodigious display of constructive energy followed the adoption of the new features in their architecture. Not only Italy itself, but the provinces of the remotest west and east, were covered with huge engineering undertakings, in the shape of aqueducts, bridges, viaducts, amphitheatres, basilicas, and thermæ. Under Trajan and Hadrian the rage for building reached its height. The Ulpian Forum, for which a space was cleared between the Quirinal and Capitoline nearly equal to the area of the other three imperial fora in Rome, was long one of the wonders of the world;[1] and the Villa of Hadrian, near Tibur, occupied the space of an ordinary Italian town, eight miles in circuit, and contained within itself a circus, three theatres, huge thermæ, an imitation of the Vale of Tempe, of Tartarus, and of the Elysian fields.[2] All these, to judge by the remains, were rather remarkable for their colossal size and for the imperial grandeur and force they expressed, than for their beauty of proportion or design. The Romans were in fact rather engineers than architects, and throughout their buildings they made elegance of appearance entirely subservient to practical utility.

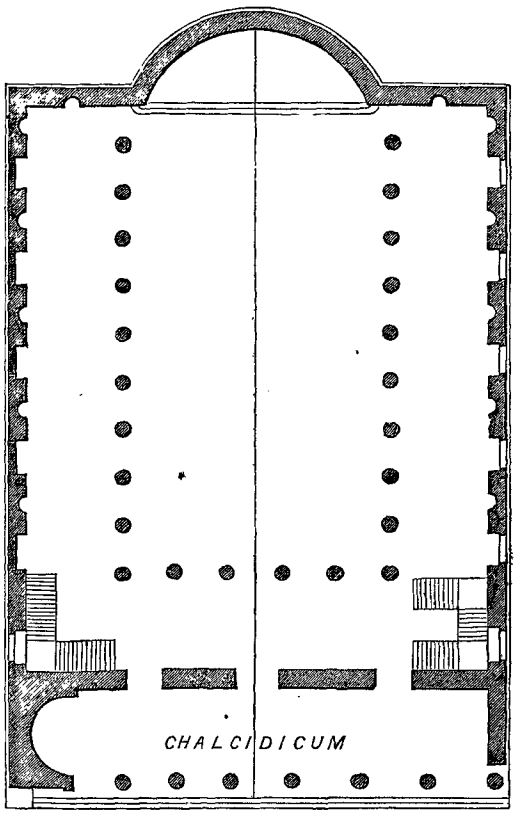


FIG. 9.

Basilicæ. Buildings for public utility.

Among the buildings appropriated to the public service at Rome, none were more important than the Basilicæ. Although their name is Greek,[3] yet they were essentially a Roman creation, and were used for practical purposes peculiarly Roman,—the administration of law, and the transaction of merchants' business. Historically, considerable interest attaches

[1] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10. [2] See chap. xiv. [3] The name probably originated in the *βασίλειος στόα* at Athens, the court of the Archon *βασιλεύς*. Pausan. i. 3, 1; i. 14, 6: Aristoph. Eccl. 684. In Stat. Sylv. i. 30, the Basilica of Paullus is called *regia*.

to them from their connection with the first Christian Churches. The name of Basilica was applied by the Romans equally to all large buildings intended for the special needs of public business, and it does not appear to have referred to the particular form in which such buildings were arranged, so much as to the uses they served. Generally, however, they took the form most adapted to their purposes—a semicircular apse or tribunal for legal trials, and a central nave, with arcades and galleries on each side, for the transaction of business (see Fig. 9). They existed not only as separate buildings, but also as reception rooms attached to the great mansions of Rome. The villa of the Gordian family on the Via Prænestina contained three basilicas, each a hundred feet long,[1] and a ground-plan of a basilica attached to the Emperor's palace has lately been discovered upon the Palatine hill.[2]

It is the opinion of some writers that these private basilicæ, and not the public edifices, served as the model for the Christian Basilica.[3] The first public basilicæ were intended to serve as extensions of the fora, in which shelter could be had from the weather, and interviews carried on without interruption. The public men of Rome, as well as the merchants, probably appeared in them to afford opportunities for conversation on politics or business to those who wished to communicate news to them or ask their advice.[4] The convenience of a basilica therefore required that it should be as spacious as a covered building could be made, and should have, in connection with the central area, some rooms for merchants or notaries' offices. Whether the primitive basilicæ at Rome borrowed their ground-plan from the Greek stoa or not is a disputed question. The Stoa of the Hellanodicæ, at Elis, described by Pausanias as consisting of three parallel naves divided by columns, seems to present the model upon which most of the great basilicæ at Rome were planned, but the description is so brief as to leave us in doubt.[5]

The Æmilian Basilica in the Forum Romanum is the first of which we have any structural knowledge. A fragment of the Capitoline map, which is supposed to give the ground-plan of this building, shows it as divided into several naves by rows of columns. The plan of the Basilica Julia has been discovered by excavations carried on during the last ten years, and shows us a central rectangular nave with a double arcaded corridor on all the four sides. There is no trace of columns having been used, but the

[1] Hist. Aug. Gordian. 32. See chap. xiv.

[2] See *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, vol. ii. p. 84.

[3] Zeitschrift für christlichen Archæologie; Leipszic, 1859.

[4] Cic. Pro Muræna, 70: "Si interdum ad forum deducimur, si uno basilicæ spatio honestamur, diligenter observari videmur et coli. Basilicarum loca adjuncta foris . . . ut per hiemem sine molestia tempestatum se conferre in eas negotiatores possint." Vitruv. v. i.

[5] Pausan. vi. 24, 2: Τῶν στοῶν δὲ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐργασίας ἐστὶ τῆς Δωρίου, διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μοίρας τρεῖς οἱ κίονες.

arcades were supported by solid piers of masonry with pilasters, and resembled the arcades underneath the seats of the Coliseum. Nor was there any apse in the Julian Basilica, a part which is usually considered characteristic of this class of building.

Vitruvius gives a description of a basilica built by himself at Fanum (Fano) in Umbria. In this building, one of the longer sides formed the front facing the forum, as in the Basilica Julia, but it differed in having a semicircular tribunal on the other longer side, with a Temple of Augustus attached to it. From Vitruvius' description it appears that the Roman architects allowed themselves great freedom as to the arrangements of their buildings, and did not by any means rigidly adhere to one type.

The basilica at Pompeii is an oblong, with one of the shorter sides turned towards the forum, and has in front a chalcidium or portico. There is no apse, but a raised square platform served as the tribunal. In the great Ulpian Basilica there were four naves divided by rows of columns, and two tribunals, or semicircular apses, in the shorter sides of the oblong.[1]

Other differences of form are to be found in the ancient Italian basilicæ,[2] which show that the shape of such buildings depended upon the space to be occupied and upon the taste of the architect, and was not regulated by any strict rules of construction. None of them were, it is probable, very ornamental buildings; and certainly that one of which we have the most relics left, the great Basilica of Constantine, was rather a stupendous exhibition of mechanical skill than a building with any pretence to beauty of form. The interior was, it is true, ornamented with colossal columns and marble sculpture, and the monotony of the huge vaulted roof relieved by coffers and rosettes, but the exterior was very ungainly and heavy in appearance. We find in it three naves, the central one higher than the rest, and so arranged that, whether the building was entered from the side next the Sacra Via or from that next to the Temple of Venus and Rome, it presented a triple division of the interior, with an apse at the end of each central division opposite to the entrance.[3] It is perhaps due to the protection of the massive arches of the roof (which at the present day support a large kitchen garden) that this basilica has so long survived its contemporaries, most of which had timbered roofs, and were therefore liable to destruction by fire.

Several buildings were erected by the Emperors for the purpose of preserving large collections of manuscripts. The Library of Asinius Pollio was

[1] See chap. vii. p. 144, and plan of the Fora of the Emperors.

[2] In the basilicas at Præneste and Aquinum there is a single nave only. Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, ii. p. 222. See below, chap. xiv.

[3] See chap. viii. p. 166.

the first public library at Rome, but we know nothing of its size or architectural arrangements.[1] The famous Palatine Library of Augustus seems to have been connected with the Temple of the Palatine Apollo by a colonnade, and was itself a large hall capable of containing a colossal statue of Apollo.[2] Whether the poetical descriptions of Propertius and Ovid apply to the library building itself, or to the Temple of Apollo, or to the colonnades attached to them, is not certain.[3]

Libraries.

We know more about the plan of the Library of Trajan, which formed a part of the group of buildings surrounding his forum. One side of it is represented on the Capitoline map as a rectangular building, standing to the north of the eastern tribune. The interior has a row of columns running round it, and it is flanked by the columns of the basilica on one side, and by those of the Temple of Hadrian on the other. There was a corresponding building on the other side of the small square court in which the pillar stood; and in one of these was the Greek, and in the other the Latin library. This mode of division into two departments, connected by an atrium ornamented with the busts and statues of famous literary men, seems to have been the usual form of Roman public libraries.[4] The library at the Porticus Octaviæ was probably a double building.[5]

The facilities for public traffic between the different parts of Rome were long neglected, and the streets having been rebuilt, after the Gallic conflagration, without a regular plan, must have been crooked and inconvenient. But as soon as the nation found itself in possession of funds available for works of public utility, the streets, roads, and bridges were taken in hand, and methods of construction adopted, the solidity and massive strength of which was as unrivalled as that of the Roman masonry.[6]

Roads.

An examination of the existing Roman roads has shown that they were constructed exactly according to the rules laid down by Vitruvius for the pavement of floors;[7] and this is further confirmed by a passage of Statius, describing the reconstruction of a part of the Appian road by Domitian.[8]

[1] See Preller, Reg. p. 219. Twenty-eight libraries are catalogued by the Regionaries and Mirabilia. Plin. N. H. vii. 115. [2] Ibid. xxxiv. 43.

[3] Propert. ii. 31, 3; Ov. Trist. iii. 1, 61. See chap. viii. p. 175. A recitation room was at a later period attached to the Palatine Library. See Plin. Ep. i. 13. Perhaps the lecture room lately excavated may have been the place to which Pliny here alludes. *Cambridge Philolog. Journal*, vol. ii. p. 87.

[4] See chap. vii. p. 146, and the plan of the Forum Trajani. Preller, Reg. p. 220.

[5] See chap. xiii. p. 310.

[6] Strabo, v. p. 235. Tolls were taken on paved roads for repairs. *Bull. d'Inst.* 1845, p. 132; 1847, p. 174.

[7] Vitruv. vii. 1; Nibby, Dissert. delle Vie degli Antichi.

[8] Stat. Sylv. iv. 3, 40—53.

"If the pavement is to be laid," says Vitruvius, "on the ground-floor, it must first be ascertained whether the earth is thoroughly solid; and if it is, it should be levelled, and the first and second beds (statumen and rudus) laid down:[1] if, however, the whole or a part of the earth be unsound, it must be very carefully hardened by ramming with beetles. Then let the lowest bed be laid (statuminetur) with stones not larger than will fill the hand. When this is done, the second bed may be laid (ruderetur) with rubble (rudus). If the rubble be new, it must be mixed with a fourth part of lime; if it has been used before, with two parts of lime to five. The rubble must then be rammed down very hard with wooden beetles, by gangs of ten men, till the thickness is not more than nine inches. Above the rubble bed must be laid the kernel of the pavement (nucleus), composed of potsherds mixed with a third part of lime. The thickness of this should not be less than six fingers' breadth. The paving stones must be bedded in the kernel, and accurately adjusted with a level."[2] The stone used in the streets of Rome for paving was either the hard black basaltic lava obtained in many places near Rome, particularly in the quarries near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and at Bovillæ on the Appian road, and also on the Via Labicana, or the travertine from Tibur, or peperino from Gabii. The first, which has a conchoidal cleavage, was laid in polygonal blocks, fitted accurately together, as we see in the fragments of the old roads still visible on the Appian, Latin, and Tiburtine roads. The two others were laid in rectangular blocks, such as may be seen in the pavement of Trajan's Forum, and a part of the Forum Romanum, near the column of Phocas. The former method was called "silice sternere," the latter "saxo quadrato sternere," and the roads so paved were called "stratæ."[3]

It must not be supposed that all Roman streets or roads were laid down in this elaborate manner. There were two other kinds of roads mentioned by Ulpian, the gravelled road (glareata), and the earthen road simply levelled and left without further covering (terrena).[4] In early times, as in the censorship of Fulvius (B.C. 174), only the streets within the city were paved with lava, and the roads outside the walls laid with gravel; but afterwards,

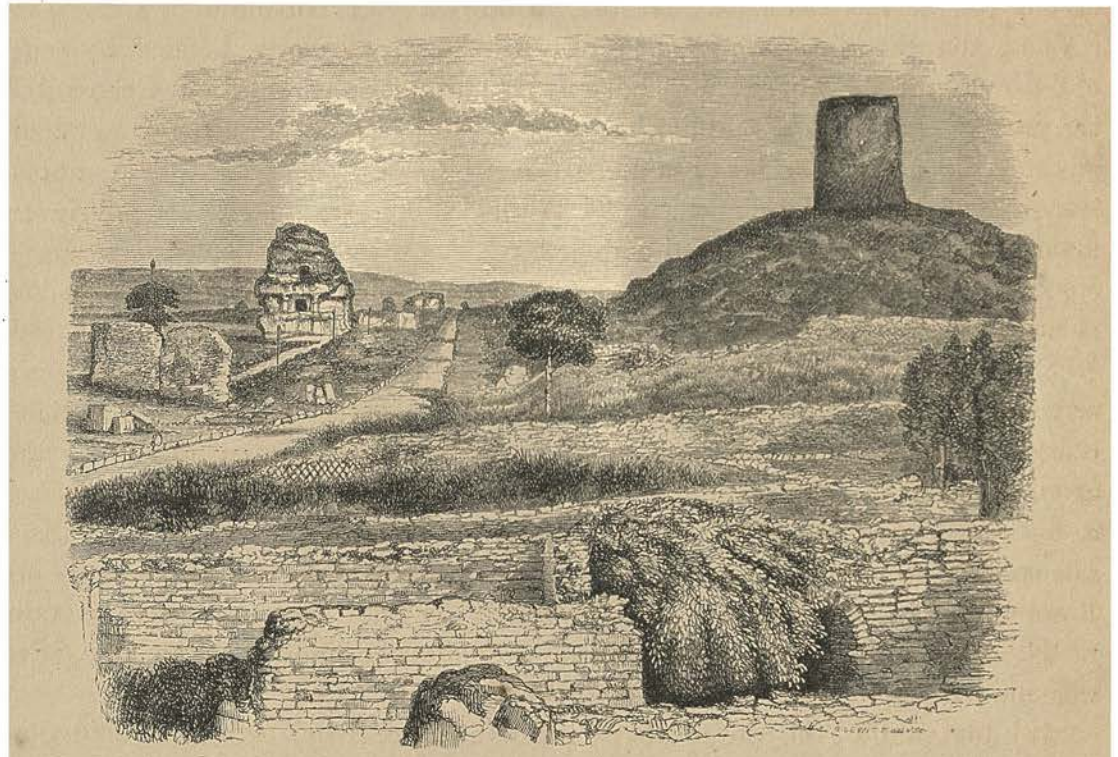
[1] *Statumen* is used in the sense of "foundation." *Rudus* is defined by Isodorus to be "lapides contusi et calce admixti," broken pebbles mixed with lime. Isodor. Orig. vi. 3, 1209. *Nucleus*, the kernel, as being enclosed and protected by the other beds.

[2] The width of the principal Roman road, the Via Appia, is fifteen feet. The Via Tusculana is only eleven feet wide, and the cross roads in the Campagna are not more than nine feet wide. There is a roadway (viottolo) paved with basalt, branching out from the Via Appia under the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, towards the Circus of Maxentius, which is only four feet wide. Nibby, Diss. delle Vie degli Antichi, p. 38, in Nardini, Roma Antica, tom. iv.

[3] Livy, xli. 27, "Silice sternere;" ib. x. 23, "Saxo quadrato sternere."

[4] Digest. lib. xliii. De via publ. refic. i. § 3; Plutarch, C. Gracch. chap. vii.

so far as can be ascertained, all the consular roads were paved with stone.[1] In places where the road passed over rock, the statumen and rudus were dispensed with, and the nucleus and pavement only laid, as on the Appian road near Albano. Besides the central causeway, a Roman road had, in general, a raised footway on each side,[2] about four inches high, edged either with slabs of basaltic lava or squared stones. Nibby mentions a piece of road which still shows footways of this kind, leading from the Labican into the Latin road, about two miles from Tusculum. The centre of the



VIA APPIA.

footway was composed of gravel, and some of the kerbstones were longer than others, and were driven into the mass of gravel so as to bind the margin of the pathway firmly into it.[3]

When a road was carried along the side of a hill, or across a valley, although the Roman architects did not build such viaducts as are now constructed for railways, yet they took great pains to modify the slopes of the hills as much as possible, by massive substructions of masonry, or by

[1] Nibby, Diss. delle Vie degli Antichi, p. 39; Livy, xli. 27; compare Tibull. i. 7, 59.

[2] Crepido, margo (Livy, loc. cit.); umbo (Stat. Sylv. iv. 3, 47).

[3] Hence these longer kerbstones are called *gomphi* by Statius, loc. cit.: "Et crebris iter alligare gomphis."

cutting away the rocks, or even tunnelling through them. In the valley of Ariccia, between Albano and Genzano, the massive substructions of the old Appian road still remain; on the Via Prænestina the Ponte di Nono carries the road over seven massive arches formed by blocks of peperino and tufa, fitted together without mortar, and of the most solid construction possible;[1] and on the way from Rocca di Papa to the old Via Latina, near the so-called Camp of Hannibal, Nibby found a cutting made in the side of Mount Algidus, fifty feet in depth, for the passage of a cross road from the Via Latina to the Via Triumphalis or Albana.[2]

The tunnel on the road from Puteoli to Naples, 2,244 feet in length and twenty-one in width, mentioned by Strabo[3] as the work of Cocceius in the time of Tiberius, is well known to travellers; and the cutting and tunnel of the Furlo pass, on the Flaminian road, through the Monte d'Asdrubale near Fanum, in the valley of the Metaurus, still bears an ancient inscription, stating that it was the work of the Emperor Vespasian. Claudian has described this pass, in his poem on the sixth consulate of Honorius, as one of the sights to be noticed by Honorius on his road from Ravenna to Rome.[4] *Tunnels.*

Of a similar kind, but for a different purpose, were the great cutting and tunnelling works undertaken for the regulation of the water of the smaller Italian lakes. The Veline lake, near Reate, on the banks of which Cicero's friend Axius lived,[5] was drained by M. Curius Dentatus in B.C. 290, by means of a deep cutting, through which the now celebrated cascade of Terni falls. The tunnel of the Alban lake, made in B.C. 395, is also still in activity, and draws off the superfluous water.[6] This tunnel is cut through the grey peperino of the side of the lake, which lies in a crater-like hollow under the Alban hill, and is 7,500 feet in length, 5 feet wide, and 7 or 8 feet in height. At several places the vertical shafts by which the chips of rock were removed, and also the sloping approaches for the entrance of the workmen, can be traced. At the end where the water flows from the lake there is careful provision made, by the position of the walls, for resisting too sudden a flow of water, and also by a piscina limaria for the deposit of mud and refuse. At the other end, where the water issues from the tunnel, is a large reservoir, whence the water was distributed in different directions for irrigation.[7] The principle of the arch was evidently known to those who made this tunnel, and it is probable that it was bored under the direction of Greek engineers

[1] Westphal. Campagna, p. 98. See chap. xiv.

[2] Nibby, op. cit. p. 42.

[3] Strabo, bk. v. p. 245. Seneca, Ep. lvii, calls it Crypta Neapolitana, and complains of having been well-nigh stifled by the dust in it, which shows that it was not then paved with Vesuvian lava, as it now is.

[4] Claud. VI. Cons. Honor. 500.

[5] Cic. Ad. Att. iv. 15: "Rosea rura Velini." Æn. vii. 712.

[6] Livy, v. 15.

[7] See chap. xiv.

sent in consequence of the Delphic oracular response which ordered the work to be undertaken. At all events, the Greeks, from the formation of their own hills and lakes, were well acquainted with this kind of tunnel-work.

But perhaps the most difficult undertaking of the kind that Roman energy ever carried out was the tunnel of the Fucine lake, made by Claudius in order to reclaim the neighbouring district from the water.[1] This is a far longer tunnel than the Alban, being nearly three English miles in length, nineteen feet high, and nine feet in width. It was cut through the hard limestone rock of Monte Salviano, which rises 1,000 feet above the level of the lake, and gave the water of the lake an outlet into the Liris.[2]

To the same class as these tunnels belonged also the great cloacæ of Rome, which not only served as outlets to carry off the superfluous rain-water and sewage of the city, but also to drain off the enormous quantity of water daily poured into Rome by the aqueducts, which must have increased the volume of the Tiber to an appreciable degree.[3] Many of these great archways, no doubt, lie buried under the rubbish of modern Rome. The only two large cloacæ now known and still utilized are the Cloaca Maxima and the cloaca which leads from the Pantheon to the Tiber.[4]

Cloacæ.

Great engineering works in connection with the harbours of Italy and the mouths of the great rivers of the Mediterranean were also undertaken by the Romans. They laboured under the serious disadvantage of having no large harbours on the west coast of Italy. The first great effort[5] to remedy this was made in the time of Augustus by Agrippa, who made a canal from the Gulf of Baiæ to the two lakes of Lucrinus and Avernus.[5] This was considered one of the great marvels of the age at the time, but it does not seem to have long continued to be the station of the Roman fleet, which was removed to Misenum.[6] A great reservoir, called Piscina Mirabile, and extensive subterranean warehouses (cento camarelle), were built there for the service of the fleet.

Harbours.

Great harbours were constructed at a later time, by Claudius at Ostia, and by Trajan at Centum Cellæ. The extent and cost of Claudius's operations may be inferred from the fact that he sank the great ship upon which Caligula

[1] Æn. vii. 759: "Te nemus Angitiæ vitrea te Fucinus unda te liquidi flevere lacus."

[2] Suet. Claud. 20, 21, 32; Tac. Ann. xii. 56, 57; Plin. xxxvi. 15, § 124; Hirt, Gesch. der Bauk. ii. p. 322. Fabretti's treatise "De Emissario Fucini" is most complete: Rome, 1683. Kramer, Fuciner ins. See. Berlin, 1839.

[3] Statius, Silv. i. 5, 24: "Thybrimque novis attollitis undis." In Frontinus' time the *nine* aqueducts supplied 15,000 quinariæ or pipes, an inch and a quarter in diameter. The three aqueducts now remaining, the Aqua Vergine (Virgo), the Aqua Paola (Aurelia), and the Felice (Claudia) pour 20,485,100 cubic feet of water into Rome daily. In the time of Procopius there were fourteen aqueducts.

[4] See chap. xii. pp. 279—286.

[5] Virg. Georg. ii. 161; Hor. Art. Poet. 63; Suet. Oct. 16.

[6] Suet. Oct. 49; Tac. Ann. xiv. 62; Plin. Ep. vi. 16, 20.

brought a huge obelisk from Alexandria, to assist in forming a foundation for his breakwater.[1] Trajan's breakwater at Centum Cellæ, forty-seven miles from Rome, was formed of a mass of huge stones sunk in the sea, and had a lighthouse at each end.[2]

Bridges.

It was of course natural that bridges should be among the first buildings to which the Roman engineers would apply the principle of the arch. The bridges over the Tiber at Rome are described in a subsequent chapter, and therefore need not further be alluded to here than to remark that, after the piers of the Æmilian bridge—the oldest stone bridge at Rome—were built, the completion of the arches, perhaps from the old prejudice against permanent bridges, was not carried out till thirty-seven years afterwards.[3] This seems to show that the construction of bridges of stone was then a matter about which some hesitation was felt.[4]

The medal figured by Nardini, which gives an outline of the Ælian bridge at Rome, shows the mode in which the Romans endeavoured to decorate their bridges.[5] A row of pedestals, rising from the parapets of the bridge, support statues, and the parapets are built with an open balustrade instead of a solid wall. In general, however, the Roman bridges were left without ornament; and I am not aware that attempts were often made to dress them with Greek decorative forms. The bridge of Rimini, built by Tiberius, and entirely composed of marble, has decorated pediments and columns upon the piers, showing that, at the time of its construction, Greek decorations were still considered necessary adjuncts of any considerable building. Trajan was the great Roman bridge builder, and in his forum the worst faults of the Roman adaptations of Greek art were illustrated;[6] yet no such affectation extended to the great engineering works of that emperor. His bridge over the Tagus, at Norba Cæsariana (Alcantara), is perfectly plain and unadorned, yet produces, by a peculiar arrangement of the arches, which are sprung from different levels, a singular impression of graceful proportion united with compact and durable strength.[7] The bridge of Apollodorus over the Danube, represented in the sculptures of Trajan's column, and described by Dion Cassius, was a great effort of engineering genius; but as the piers only were of stone, and the upper part of woodwork, scarcely any remains of it are now visible.[8]

[1] Suet. Claud. 20; Dion Cass. lx. 11; Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 70. See chap. xiv.

[2] Plin. Ep. vi. 31.

[3] The finest ancient Roman bridges are at Rimini (see Eustace, Classical Tour, vol. i. p. 279; Orelli, Inscr. 604) and at Alcantara in Spain (Gruter, Inscr. p. 162).

[4] Livy, xl. 51, B.C. 179. The Fabrician bridge was not constructed till a century later, 62 B.C.: chap. xi. p. 265.

[5] Nardini, Roma Antica, vol. iii. tav. ii. No. 57.

[6] See chap. vii. p. 143.

[7] Figured in Fergusson's Architecture, vol. i. p. 346.

[8] See chap. vii. p. 150.

Aqueducts.

The want of a supply of water at a high level first led the Roman architects to raise their aqueducts on the mighty ranges of arches which now form the most striking feature of the Roman Campagna. The most ancient aqueduct, the Appia, constructed in B.C. 312, was entirely subterranean; and even the Aqua Virgo, the sixth in chronological order of the fourteen which flowed into Rome in the time of Procopius,[1] is chiefly subterranean. But the Claudian aqueduct, begun by Caligula and finished by Claudius, and the Anio Novus were intended to be at a height sufficient to supply the top of the highest hills at Rome, and were therefore carried upon lofty arches during a great part of their course.[2] For ten miles out of the whole forty-six traversed by the Aqua Claudia it is supported on arches; and the Anio Novus flowed for fourteen miles on the summit of an arched aqueduct, some of the arches of which were 109 feet in height.[3] The arches of the Marcian aqueduct, first constructed in B.C. 145, are not nearly so high as those of the Claudian, but are even more solid and durable. At the Porta Furba, an arch constructed by Sixtus V. for the Aqua Felice, about three miles from the Porta S. Giovanni on the Via Tusculana, the ruins of these aqueducts are best seen. The Aqua Marcia and the Aqua Claudia there run nearly in parallel lines on the left-hand side of the road to Frascati, which they cross at the Porta Furba. The former is carried on massive arches at a level twenty-five feet lower than the former.[4] Various kinds of stone are used in these arcades, but chiefly travertine and peperino. In the branch of the Aqua Claudia built by Nero to supply the Palatine and Cælian hills, which diverges from the main aqueduct at the Porta Maggiore, the arches are of the best Roman brickwork;[5] and the aqueduct of Alexander Severus,[6] a great number of the arches of which are to be seen on the left of the Via Labicana, near Torre di Cento Celle, was also built of brick. As the Romans used pipes for the distribution of the water in the city itself, no other explanation of the reason why all these lofty arches were built for a purpose which could have been equally served by subterranean pipes is satisfactory, except that of Fabretti, who remarks, in noticing the strange course of the Aqua Alexandrina, that a reason may be

[1] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. chap. 19. See Bunsen's Beschreibung, Bd. i. p. 195.

[2] Plin. xxxvi. 15, 121: "Ad eam excelsitatem ut omnes urbis montes lavarentur." See Statius, Silv. i. 5, 24: "Marcia præcelsis quarum vaga molibus unda crescit, et innumero pendens transmittitur arcu."

[3] Frontinus, De Aquæd. 14, 15, 18: "Altissimus est Anio Novus, proxima Claudia, tertium locum tenet Julia, quartum Tepula, dehinc Marcia." Pipes to bring water from the sources of the Marcia near Subiaco are now being laid by a new Roman water company (1868).

[4] "Æternum Marcius humor opus;" Propert. iv. 22, 24. The arches of the Aqua Claudia are represented in the woodcut in chap. ii. p. 24.

[5] See chap. ix. part i. p. 222, Neronian arches at Arch of Dolabella on the Cælian. Winckelmann, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 546.

[6] Hist. Aug. Vit. Alex. Sev. 25. This aqueduct supplied the thermæ in the Campus Martius. See chap. xiii. p. 341.

found for this apparent waste of labour in the magnificent appearance of such structures as these aqueducts, the arches of which are frequently not less than seventy feet in height.[1] They are often taken across a valley in preference to an obviously shorter and more level course, apparently for the sole purpose of carrying an archway across.

The same fondness for display led the emperors, at the places where the line of their aqueducts crossed the public roads leading out of Rome, to erect a secondary kind of triumphal arch, upon which an inscription might be placed, recording the name and titles of the builder and of the successive restorers of the aqueduct.[2] At the Porta Maggiore and the Porta S. Lorenzo specimens of these commemorative archways are to be seen,[3] and above them the specus, or the channel in which the water flowed. These channels are about three or four feet wide and seven or eight feet high, so as to allow a man easily to walk along them for the purpose of clearing away the sediment which rapidly accumulated. The whole breadth of the arcade was generally from ten to twelve feet. At intervals along the specus were ventholes large enough to admit a man's body, and at the sources of the aqueduct and also at certain distances along its course were basins (piscinæ limariæ) in which the earthy deposit was allowed to settle. There were, besides these piscinæ, considerable reservoirs (castella) here and there, to keep stores of water either for irrigation or for any sudden emergency. The reservoir called the Sette Sale at Rome, on the Esquiline,[4] is still well preserved; and a still more remarkable building of the kind is to be seen at Misenum, where a supply of water was kept for the Roman fleet stationed there.

Ornamental fountains.

The aqueducts supplied many ornamental cisterns and fountains in Rome. The cisterns and wells were frequently surrounded with a circular marble edging decorated with bas-reliefs, specimens of which may be seen in the Roman museums, or they were protected by a round monopteral building with a cupola.[5]

The only fountain which now remains *in situ* at Rome is the Meta Sudans;[6] and not a trace is left of its marble casing, which was probably very splendid. But the museums of Rome contain numerous stone basins of porphyry,

[1] See Rutilius Numatianus, Itin. i. 97: "Quid loquar aeria pendentes fornice rivos, Qua vix imbriferas tolleret iris aquas?" Fabretti, De Aquæd., Rome, 1788, p. 11. It appears from Vitruv. lib. viii. chap. 7, that Roman aqueducts were sometimes made with leaden or earthen pipes. Pliny, xxxi. § 57, recognizes the principle that water will find its level in a pipe.

[2] The Pont du Gard near Nismes is the best extant specimen of the grandeur and simplicity of Roman buildings when unadorned by Greek columns and pilasters. See Clerisseau, Antiquités de la France, p. 127.

[3] See woodcuts in chap. v. pp. 63, 65.

[4] Chap. ix. p. 232.

[5] See Preller, Regionen, p. 108, who gives a number of interesting details about the lacus and nymphæa of Rome.

[6] Chap. viii. pp. 171, 237.

granite, basalt, alabaster, marble, and breccia, which show the amount of cost and labour expended on such ornamental works. A beautiful little house fountain is preserved in the Capitoline Museum, formed in the shape of a tripod, in the centre of which a hollow column throws up a jet of water, which, falling into the basin, is carried away through the legs of the tripod.[1]

Other large public fountains were made in the shape of cascades, like the modern Fontana Trevi. The ruins of one of these are preserved on the Esquiline. The front of this consisted of two raised ledges, upon which the water flowed from the reservoir behind by six or seven openings, and fell into a basin. The upper part was ornamented with a large niche for sculpture in the centre, and two arched openings at the sides, in which the so-called trophies of Marius, now placed on the ascent to the Capitol, stood.[2]

The castella of the aqueducts were also frequently rendered ornamental by marble decorations and statues. Pliny tells us that Agrippa alone, when Ædile, constructed at Rome no less than "seven hundred cisterns, fifty jets of water, and one hundred and thirty castella, which he decorated with three hundred marble and bronze statues and four hundred marble columns."[3]

Castra.

Besides the Castra Prætoriana,[4] which were built by Tiberius, some other permanent camps in Rome deserve a passing notice among the principal public buildings. These were the Castra Peregrina on the Cælian, the Castra Ravennatium in the Trastevere, the Castra Misenatium, and the Castra Priora and Nova of the Equites Singularii. Architecturally, they were probably less ornamental even than the Castra Prætoriana, but must have been spacious and conspicuous buildings, and contributed to the general impression produced by the aspect of Rome. The Peregrini were foreign troops, possibly introduced as a counterpoise to the Prætorian Guards by Septimius Severus, who boasted that he had quadrupled the number of troops in Rome;[5] and the Misenates and Ravennates were detachments of the marines from Misenum and Ravenna, who were employed in the amphitheatre to manage the velaria.[6] The Equites Singularii seem to have been a picked body of cavalry attached to the Emperor's body-guard, who were used as couriers to carry despatches.[7]

Augustus, among the other great services he rendered to the city, built large public warehouses, mills, wash-houses, and bake-houses, which were

1 See Jordan in *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1867, p. 398. M. Jordan conjectures that the stars engraved on the Pianta Capitolina represent putealia and fountains. There is one in the guard-house of the Vigiles, lately excavated, of this star shape. See Bellori's Pianta Cap. ix, 5, in Græv. Thes. Several beautiful house fountains are preserved at Pompeii. See Dyer's Pompeii, pp. 87–90, 385.

2 See chap. ix. p. 227.

3 Plin. xxxvi. § 121.

4 See chap. v. p. 61.

5 Preller, Regionen, p. 99; Herodian, iii. 13.

6 Hist. Aug. Commodus, 15.

7 Tac. Hist. iv. 70; Preller, p. 99; Notitia Dign., ed. Böcking, p. 788; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1850.

improved and enlarged by subsequent emperors, until they became sufficiently important to be included in the catalogues of public buildings given by the writers of the Notitia and Curiosum. Among the warehouses were the papyrus warehouse, near the booksellers' quarter in the Vicus Sandaliarius, at the back of the Templum Pacis; the pepper and spice warehouse in the same neighbourhood; the warehouses of Agrippa and Germanicus, near the shops of the Vicus Tuscus; and those named after Galba and Anicius near the Emporium. *Horrea.*

The Capitoline map gives a plan of one of these buildings, the Horrea Lolliana, which exhibits it as a large central hall, with open arcades in rows on each side. They were built of stone in order to be fireproof, and Nero was obliged, on account of their solidity and strength of construction, to employ military engines in pulling some of them down when he wished to extend his Golden House over their site.[1] Pliny states that public bake-houses were unknown in Rome before the year of the city 586, but in the Imperial times the contractors for bread became important persons, as may be seen from the monument of Eurysaces at the Porta Maggiore, and from the mention of a Collegium Pistorum at Rome in the reign of Trajan.[2] The pistrina publica are enumerated in the catalogues of the Regionarii, together with the horrea and balnea, and were therefore probably buildings of considerable size and prominence. *Pistrina.*

With all their earnestness and practical sagacity in public business and in works of national utility, the Romans, or perhaps it should rather be said the motley crowd who in Imperial times inhabited the city of Rome, were a people passionately fond of recreation and excitement. The buildings raised for these purposes were the most magnificent and durable in the empire. While the temples of the gods and the fora of the emperors have nearly disappeared, the thermæ and amphi-theatres still defy the inroads of time, and, if spared by the hands of man, seem likely to justify the epithet of Eternal applied so frequently to Rome. *Buildings for public recreation.*

The Roman thermæ were a combination on a huge scale of the common balneæ with the Greek gymnasia.[3] Their usual form was that of a large quadrangular space, the sides of which were formed by various porticoes, exedræ, and even theatres for gymnastic and literary exercises, and in the centre of which stood a block of buildings containing the bath rooms and spacious halls for undergoing the complicated process of the Roman warm *Thermæ.*

[1] See Preller, Regionen, p. 102.

[2] Aur. Vict. Cæs. xiii. 5; Preller, Reg. p. 111. See below, chap. v. p. 65.

[3] The older thermæ are sometimes called gymnasia. Dion Cass. liii. 27; Tac. Ann. xiv. 47; Suet. Nero, 12.

bath.[1] The area covered by the whole group of buildings was, in many cases, very large. The court of the Baths of Caracalla enclosed a space of 1,150 feet on each side, with curvilinear projections on two sides. The central mass of building was a rectangle, 730 feet by 380, covering an area equal to that occupied by the English Houses of Parliament together with Westminster Hall; and the largest hall, which St. George's Hall at Liverpool resembles very much, was 170 feet in length, 82 feet in width, and 120 feet in height.[2] It was roofed by intersecting vaults of brickwork in three compartments supported by eight huge columns, similar to those now standing in the Thermæ of Diocletian[3] (Sta. Maria degli Angeli). The other great Imperial thermæ of Rome, those of Nero, Titus, Domitian, Diocletian, and Constantine, were probably upon the same plan as the Thermæ Caracallæ. All were built of brick, and the interior was decorated with stucco, mosaics, or slabs of marble, and other ornamental stones. These architectural embellishments have in all cases disappeared, with the exception of the grand granite columns of the great hall of Diocletian's Thermæ, and it is therefore impossible to say what was the original appearance they presented. Some idea of the effect produced by their stuccoed roofs may be gained from the coffers in the roof of the Basilica of Constantine, or the Temple of Venus and Rome, or the interior of the Pantheon.[4] It is not likely that the taste displayed in the ornamental work would be faultless, since most probably the vulgar love of the Romans for costly splendour showed itself in an exaggerated form in these halls of luxurious recreation; but the whole impression derived from groups of building of such colossal dimensions must have been one of vast Imperial power and grandeur. The exterior of the thermæ was probably very plain, and even unsightly, and illustrates the Roman tendency to develop the interior of their buildings at the expense of the exterior, a tendency also to be noted in their basilicæ. Greek gymnasia, on the contrary, opened outwards, and were ornamented on the exterior with colonnades and gateways. These great thermæ were, in fact, in every way characteristic of Rome. The baths at Pompeii and other provincial towns were merely establishments like the Oriental baths of Constantinople and Damascus at the present day; but the extent of the Roman thermæ implies that thousands of the inhabitants of Rome spent a large portion of their time in the indolent recreations thus provided for them.

Agrippa and Alexander Severus were the principal founders of the public

[1] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10: "Lavacra in modum provinciarum exstructa."
[2] Chap. ix. p. 212.
[3] Chap. x. p. 257.
[4] Chap. viii. p. 166; xiii. p. 327.

balneæ, as distinct from thermæ.[1] The balneæ were used simply as baths, and had none of the luxurious accessories attached to them which were found in the courts of the great thermæ, such as gymnasia, exedræ, and theatres. At Pompeii a tolerably perfect balneum is preserved, the principal room in which is a laconicum, or circular building with a domed roof, and the ground-plan of a similar establishment is to be found in the Capitoline map under the name Balneum Cæsaris. *Balneæ.*

There was hardly a town in the empire which had not an amphitheatre large enough to contain vast multitudes of spectators.[2] The savage excitement of gladiatorial combats seems to have been almost a necessary to the Roman legionaries in their short intervals of inaction, and was the first recreation for which they provided in the places where they were stationed. At Rome a more effeminate mode of life was allowable, and even literary recreation might be tolerated in the halls of the thermæ; but when abroad, and in the subject provinces, the Roman was expected to wear the military dress, and to strike terror by a military ferocity of character. *Amphitheatres.*

It is very difficult to determine whence the Romans took the elliptical shape of their amphitheatres. Gladiatorial combats were held from early times in the Forum,[3] and wild beasts hunted in the Circus; but until Curio built his celebrated double theatre of wood, which could be made into an amphitheatre by turning the two semicircular portions face to face,[4] we have no record of any special building in the peculiar form afterwards adopted. It may have been, therefore, that Curio's mechanical contrivance first suggested the elliptical shape. There is an elliptical amphitheatre at Sutrium, in Etruria, excavated in the rock, which is by some antiquaries thought to be anterior to the time of Curio, and which might, in that case, have furnished the pattern of the Roman buildings.[5] Canina and Nibby, however, both pronounce it to be of Roman construction, and not earlier than the reign of Augustus.[6] It still remains, therefore, uncertain whence the Romans derived the elliptical form of their amphitheatres.[7]

As specimens of architecture, the amphitheatres are more remarkable for the mechanical skill and admirable adaptation to their purpose displayed in them, than for any beauty of shape or decoration. The hugest of all, the

[1] Plin. xxxvi. 15, § 122; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 38.

[2] Sixty-two amphitheatres are enumerated by Clerisseau, Antiquités de la France, p. 92, as still existing in ruins. See also Friedländer, Sittengesch. Roms, ii. pp. 284, 404, where an exhaustive account is given of all the known Roman amphitheatres.

[3] B.C. 264, Livy. Epit. 16; Val. Max. ii. 4, § 7.

[4] B.C. 50, Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 15, 24, 117—119.

[5] Dennis, Etruria, vol. i. p. 95.

[6] Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 142; Giorn. Arcad. xxiii. p. 311.

[7] Some of the later Greek stadia, as that of Aphrodisias in Caria, had two rounded ends, and may have suggested the form of the Roman amphitheatre. Reber, Gesch. der Baukunst, p. 253.

Coliseum, was ill proportioned and unpleasing in its lines when entire. The solid wall of its uppermost story gave it a heavy appearance; the width of the whole mass is too great in proportion to its height; and the columns and entablatures with which its exterior is decorated are structurally false, as they afford no real support to the building. But vast size and massive dimensions force admiration even from the most critical, and produce an overwhelming impression of grandeur and immoveable strength. Two architectural merits have been pointed out in the Coliseum—the impression of height and size conveyed by the tiers of arches rising one above another, and the graceful curves produced by the continuous lines of the entablatures as they cross the building.[1] But what the Roman emperor under whose auspices this great building was raised would doubtless have valued more than any elegances of design which could have been pointed out to him is, the perfect adaptation of the structure to its purposes. After the great catastrophe at Fidenæ, where 20,000 persons were injured or killed by the breaking down of a wooden amphitheatre, solidity and safety were the principal requisites.[2] Free ingress and egress for crowds of spectators, as well as for any great personages who might attend, was also indispensable. A glance at the plan of the Coliseum will show how admirably each of these objects was attained. The extraordinary solidity of the building removed all possibility of the failure of any part to bear whatever weight might be laid upon it, and the entrances, galleries, and vomitoria were, by the oval form of the building rendered so numerous that each seat in the whole cavea was accessible at once, and without difficulty. A system of carefully-arranged barriers in the passages would effectually prevent confusion and excessive crowding.[3]

In endeavouring to adorn the great amphitheatre of the metropolis more richly than that of the provinces, its architect defeated his own object. Some of the provincial amphitheatres, as that of Capua, though in other respects like the Coliseum, show a simpler, and therefore more natural exterior. When the Doric order is retained in all the tiers, it harmonizes far better with the rude strength of such an edifice than the Corinthian and Ionic orders of the Coliseum.[4] At Verona and Pola a still further improvement is made by the rustication of the exterior.[5] At Nismes, on the other hand, the faults of the Coliseum are

[1] Fergusson, Hist. of Arch. vol. i. p. 304.

[2] Tac. Ann. iv. 62; Suet. Tib. 40.

[3] See chap. ix. p. 237. It has been pointed out to me by a friend that some of the plans of Roman amphitheatres represent the passages leading from the exterior to the vomitoria with convergent sides, whereas in reality they were built with skew archways, so as to preserve the same width throughout. The plan of the Amphitheatre of Thysdrus in the *Monumenti dell' Inst.* 1852, vol. v. tav. 43, is correctly drawn in this respect.

[4] See Fergusson, Hist. of Arch. vol. i. p. 304.

[5] See Allason's Pola, and Maffei's Verona.

aggravated by breaking the entablatures and introducing pediments over each front; and in the small Amphitheatrum Castrense at Rome, where the Corinthian order is executed in brick, a lamentable illustration of Roman want of taste is exhibited.[1]

Naumachiæ.

The naumachiæ at Rome were very similar to the excavated amphitheatres, of which many are still remaining,[2] but the central space was necessarily much larger, in order to make room for the combatant ships. The great Naumachia of Augustus was 1,800 feet long and 1,200 feet broad,[3] showing that the shape was oval, like that of an amphitheatre. But we know nothing of the extent or height of the spectators' seats. They were constructed of stone, for Suetonius tells us that the Naumachia of Domitian was pulled down at a subsequent time to furnish stone for the repairs of the Circus Maximus.[4]

Circi.

The races and wild beast shows in the circi were among the most ancient and most favourite Roman amusements, and the buildings dedicated to these sports were numerous, and nearly equal in magnificence to the amphitheatres. The Circus Maximus, which was first provided with permanent seats for the spectators as early as the time of Tarquinius Priscus,[5] was successively restored and ornamented by the Republican Government in 327 and 174 B.C., and by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Claudius, Domitian, and Trajan.[6] The result was a building which, in dimensions and magnificence, rivalled the Coliseum, but has, unfortunately, proved far less durable, scarcely a vestige of it now being left. From the scattered notices which can be picked up here and there, and from the representations given upon the medals of Trajan, struck in honour of the circensian games of his reign, we gather the following information as to the architectural arrangements of the Circus Maximus in the time of the Empire, when it was entirely constructed of stone.[7] The exterior consisted of a triple range of arcades, one above the other, supported on piers, with the usual ornamental half-columns added. These tiers of arcades were of the same pattern as those of the Coliseum, only on a much smaller scale. The inner sides of the two lower arcades supported the seats, which were arranged as in an amphitheatre; and the upper arcade formed a covered gallery, somewhat similar in appear-

[1] See Le Grand's Antiquities of Nismes; Pelet, L'Amphithéâtre de Nîmes; and below, chap. ix. p. 219.

[2] As at Sutri and Dorchester. See Stukeley, Iter Curiosum, p. 166.

[3] See Monum. Ancyr. ed. Zumpt. At the sea-fights exhibited by Julius Cæsar there were 4,000 seamen and 1,000 marines engaged. Appian, B.C. ii. 102.

[4] Suet. Dom. 5.

[5] Livy, i. 56; Dionys. iii. 68.

[6] Livy, viii. 20, xli. 27; Suet. Jul. 39, Aug. 45, Claud. 21; Dom. 5; Dion Cass. lxviii. 7; Plin. xxxvi. 15.

[7] See Panvinius, De Lud. Circ. pp. 49, 50; Bianconi, Descrizione dei Circi.

ance to the gallery which runs round the uppermost part of the Coliseum. Shops and offices of various kinds occupied the vaults of the lowest arcade. At each end was a grand gateway, and at each corner of the rectangular end (or oppidum), and at the extremities of the hemicycle of the rounded end, were towers, called mœniana, where persons of distinction had places assigned to them. The Emperor's pavilion, a projecting portico, was on the left of the carceres, and so placed that he could give the signal for starting from it.[1] The magnificence of the whole building after the restorations of Trajan was much celebrated. Pliny especially notices the beauty of the long lateral arcades, which he says rivalled those of the great temples. We can well understand that the effect of the whole was probably superior to that of any of the Roman amphitheatres or theatres.[2] The arcades gave a light and elegant appearance to the exterior, and the monotony of their long lines was broken by the gates and towers which rose above them. The interior was also agreeably diversified by the podium with its gilt railings, the tiers of stone seats, and the upper gallery, rising one above the other.[3]

The other circi of Rome were not equal in grandeur to the Circus Maximus. The Maxentian Circus, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, on the Appian road, the plan of which can still be easily traced, had no exterior colonnades, but a blank brick wall, pierced only here and there with doorways. There were only ten rows of seats, and the gallery above them was narrow and low.

Theatres.

The Theatre of Marcellus is the only Roman theatre of which the ruins are still left in Rome itself. Scarcely a vestige of the great theatres of Pompey and of Balbus can be found; but Vitruvius has left so complete a description of the plan on which the Augustan theatres were built, that we know pretty accurately what their architectural excellences and defects must have been. In speaking of amphitheatres, I have already anticipated much which applies equally to theatres. The exterior of the Theatre of Marcellus is similar to that of the Coliseum, but the details are worked out in a much purer style; and though the same objection must be felt to the principle of exterior decoration with half-columns and entablatures, yet in the Theatre of Marcellus there was probably no solid wall, as in the Coliseum, forming

[1] Besides the Circus Maximus there were in Rome the Circus Flaminius and the Neronianus. See below, pp. 270, 295, 313.

[2] Plin. Panegr. 51. A somewhat similar appearance to the exterior of the Circus is presented by the cryptoporticus of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro. See Adams' Spalatro.

[3] The Hippodrome at Constantinople, built by Constantine, shows the same architectural peculiarities. The lower story was built on piers with arches between them, and the upper decorated with columns. See Panvinius, De Ludis Circ.

the uppermost story, and the general appearance must therefore have been less heavy. The ground-plan of the Roman theatres differed from that of the Greek chiefly in the greater extent of the scena. This alteration was caused by the abolition of the chorus as intermediate between the spectators and actors, and the division of the place assigned to them, the orchestra, between the spectators and the stage proper. Thus the stage was brought much nearer to the spectators. The Greek cavea was a segment of a circle greater than a semicircle. The Romans, with their peculiar fondness for the semicircle above alluded to, reduced their cavea to that form—an alteration also required by the necessity of making more room for scenic displays, as the drama became less and less simple in its accessories, and depended more upon gorgeous effect than real dramatic art. Of the provincial Roman theatres, the best preserved is that of Aspendus, in Asia Minor, which shows not only the cavea, but the scena nearly entire. The theatre of Orange, in France, presents a complete scena, the outer wall of which is one of the grandest masses of Roman masonry extant, and free from the sham ornamental network of columns and entablatures so often found in such buildings.[1]

Domestic architecture; interior of the house.

In domestic as well as in civil architecture, the Romans borrowed the most ornamental and luxurious parts of their houses, their peristylia, their triclinia, œci, exedræ, diætæ, sphæristeria, pinacothecæ, and bibliothecæ, from the Greeks. All these Greek names belong to the unessential and extraneous apartments attached, for the sake of recreation or pleasure, to the normal Roman house. In the primitive times of Rome, the houses of the citizens consisted of one principal central room, the atrium, round which the other parts of the house were grouped. In the atrium all domestic transactions took place; the family hearth and the images of the Penates were there, meals were taken there, the mistress and her slaves worked there, the kitchen was there, the waxen masks of ancestors, the marriage-bed, and the money-chest of the paterfamilias stood there, visitors were received there, and it was in all respects the common room of the house. The name atrium is probably Etruscan,[2] and the primitive atria were such as Vitruvius describes under the name "cavædium Tuscanicum," a large room, with a roof supported on four beams; two placed across from wall to wall, and two others at right angles to them, so as to leave a square opening in the centre, towards which the roof sloped down on all four sides from the walls.[3] The opening in the centre was possibly, in the earliest times, intended only

[1] At Vicenza there is a theatre called Teatro Olimpico built by Palladio (1580), after the rules of Vitruvius, with the exception that it has an elliptical cavea.

[2] Müller, Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst, S. 181; Varro, L. L. v. 161.

[3] Vitruv. vi. 3.

as a vent for the smoke; but as the atrium became enlarged, it took the form of the impluvium. In the course of time, most of the domestic acts originally performed in the common hall were transferred to separate rooms, and the atrium came to be used only for the reception of guests, for the symbolical marriage-bed, for the images of ancestors, and for the lying in state of the dead. The extension of the atrium naturally caused the introduction of columns to support the roof, which had been unnecessary in the narrow, old-fashioned atria.[1] A further enlargement of the house then took place, and the atrium was left as the reception-room for clients and visitors, while another similar but larger court was built beyond it for the use of the family and intimate friends or guests. This was the cavædium. Both these courts are generally found in the houses at Pompeii, which were probably imitations of the ordinary houses of the metropolis, and not, as is sometimes supposed, planned on Greek models.[2] We find the Pompeian atria sometimes further enlarged by quadrangular recesses at the side furthest from the entrance, to which the term "alæ" used by Vitruvius probably applies.[3] The space between the atrium and cavædium was filled up by a central square room, where it was customary to keep family records and documents; this was called the tablinum: and on each side of it were passages (fauces) forming the communication between the atrium and cavædium.[4]

The cavædium (Plin.), or cavum ædium (Vitruv. and Varro), was a repetition of the atrium on a larger scale. The most common methods of building it were those called by Vitruvius Tetrastylon and Corinthium; the former with four pillars—one at each corner of the compluvium—and the latter with rows of pillars supporting the timber of the roof.[5] The central opening had a lacus or cistern to receive the water from the roof, or a fountain and basin, with flower-beds or shrubs and statuettes.[6] The intervals between the columns were sometimes closed against cold winds, rain, or sun, by vela or by boards which could be removed like shutters.[7] Thus the atrium and cavædium, but especially the cavædium, were the central points towards which the other parts of the house converged; and into them the cubicula and culina

[1] Plin. Ep. v. 6, 15: "Atrium ex more veterum." Hor. Od. iii. 1, 46: "Cur invidendis postibus et novo sublime ritu moliar atrium." One of these old atria is to be seen at Pompeii, No. 57, Strada Stabiana.

[2] The Pompeian houses all have the tablinum and fauces, which were essentially Italian parts of the house. They also correspond with the ground-plans of the houses given on the Pianta Capitolina.

[3] Vitruv. vi. 3, 4.

[4] The position of the tablinum is almost entirely conjectural and rests upon the arrangement of the Pompeian houses. The name tablinum is only mentioned by Vitruvius, vi. 3, 5; Festus, p. 356; Paul. Diac. p. 357; Plin. xxxiv. § 7, as a muniment room next the atrium.

[5] Besides these there were two other kinds of cavædia, the displuviatum with the roof sloped outwards, and the testudinatum entirely covered with a lacunar. Vitruv. vi. 3.

[6] Hor. Ep. i. 10, 22; Od. iii. 10, 5.

[7] Isodor. xix. 26; Ov. Met. x. 595; Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 55.

opened, and received light and air through the doorways. The chamber devoted to the Penates, after their removal from the atrium, was called the lararium, and was usually on the left of the atrium, near its entrance.

So far, the Roman houses were national in construction and arrangement. But as soon as it became fashionable at Rome to imitate Greek customs, and to borrow from the Greeks all the refinements and elegances of life, the great houses at Rome were enlarged by the addition of various rooms and courts. The most common of these was the peristylium, which is found in many of the Pompeian houses, and was probably attached to the houses of all wealthy persons at Rome. This was a court surrounded with colonnades on three sides, or sometimes on all four sides, and containing a flower-garden (viridarium) in the centre. It differed from the cavædium only in having no dwelling-rooms round it, and in having rows of columns as an indispensable part. If any further enlargements of a house were desired, they could be added to the peristylium. The most common of these extra rooms were the triclinia, several of which were sometimes built to suit the different seasons of the year. Besides triclinia, other extensions of the Roman houses, such as exedræ, which were semicircular projections or bays, furnished with seats for discussion or conversation; airy saloons called œci, opening upon gardens; basilicæ, or halls for business; pinacothecæ, and bibliothecæ, were all borrowed from the Greeks.

Domestic architecture; exterior.

We have, unfortunately, not much to guide us in the endeavour to form an idea of the exterior appearance of the common houses in the streets of Rome. The interior arrangements of the Roman houses, and the domestic life of the Romans, have become known, in minute detail, to us from the Pompeian excavations, and may be most vividly realized by a walk through the streets of the resuscitated city, and a study of the contents of the Museum at Naples; but we are left to construct, from a few scanty notices, as we best may, the elevations and decorative peculiarities of their exteriors. The houses at Pompeii were mostly small and mean, and of the simplest plan. Scarcely any of them had upper floors, with the exception of those placed on sloping ground, where the first floor formed a kind of receding higher terrace. The fear of earthquakes, and the facility with which extensions could be made on the ground-floor, probably prevented the Pompeians from building lofty houses. But in Rome, where a large population was closely compressed round the great centres of business and pleasure,—the fora and the Imperial palaces,—it was necessary to raise the houses to a considerable height, to make the streets narrow, and to build projections into

them.[1] Even after the great Neronian conflagration, when parts at least of ten out of the fourteen regions were burnt down,[2] the houses in Rome were probably far higher, and of a different construction from those of provincial towns, where no want of space was felt.

Pliny expressly mentions the lofty height of the houses as one of the characteristics of Rome in his time; and the complaints of Juvenal as to their insecurity are well known.[3] Nero fixed the extreme height to which houses might be raised. But though the houses were still very lofty, the general aspect of the streets must have been very different before and after the Neronian restoration. Cicero, comparing the old state of Rome with that of Capua, says that Rome was situated on uneven ground, and that the dwellings of the inhabitants were hoisted up and almost suspended in the air that the streets were not of the best kind, while the alleys were execrably narrow, and that the metropolis could not bear comparison with her regularly built and wide-streeted neighbour Capua.[4] In Cicero's time the evil was probably at the worst: we hear of Rutilius Rufus urging this subject on the consideration of Government; and Augustus abated it considerably by his wise regulations forbidding houses to be built more than seventy feet in height, and instituting a regular public service for enforcing this law, and taking supervision of the streets and buildings.[5] Trajan restricted the height of houses to sixty feet.[6]

The height of the houses in Rome must have had a considerable effect upon their exterior appearance, for it is plain that when the building was raised to a second or third story the rooms could no longer be lighted from the inner courts, but must have had windows looking out into the streets. Thus the tendency to make all the openings of the house turn inwards, which appears so plainly at Pompeii, must at Rome have been counteracted by the necessary conditions of their sites. But here attention must be drawn to the difference which prevailed in this respect between two great classes of private dwellings at Rome, the domus and the insula; for while the domus was in all probability seldom more than one or two stories in height, the insula, on the other hand, must have had five or six stories; and great inequalities in the appearance of the streets must have been the consequence.

[1] The population was most dense in the fourth, eighth, and tenth regions. See Preller, Regionen, p. 86; Vitruv. ii. 8.

[2] Tac. Ann. xv. 40.

[3] Plin. iii. 5, § 66: "Quod si quis altitudinem tectorum addat, dignam profecto," &c. Juv. iii. 190, 270; x. 17.

[4] Cic. De Leg. Agr. ii. 35, 96.

[5] Suet. Oct. 30, 89; Dion Cass. lv. 8; Strabo, v. p. 235. Aristides the rhetorician, at a later date, the Antonine era, said that if the houses now piled one upon another in Rome were to be placed on level ground by the side of each other, they would reach to the Ionian Sea, covering the whole of Southern Italy. Aristid. vol. i. p. 324, ed. Dindorf, 1829.

[6] Aur. Vict. Epit. 13. See also Gruter, Inscrip. 1090, 9.

The small number of the domus in Rome in proportion to insulæ[1] shows that the former were the houses of men of wealth and importance—the palazzi of ancient Rome, built according to the rules laid down by Vitruvius for houses covering a large space of ground—while the latter, inhabited by the middle and lower classes, and generally built upon a narrow site, were carried up to the extreme height allowed by law. Each insula contained a great number of separate suites of rooms, or single rooms having separate entrances, which were let as lodgings to families or individuals.[2] These were called cœnacula.

An ordinance of the Twelve Tables fixed the space which must be left clear between each insula or domus at two feet and a half;[3] but this enactment appears to have been completely neglected before the time of Nero, for we find that in his restoration of the city it was expressly laid down, as a new regulation, that each building should have separate walls and a space (ambitus) left open all round it.[4]

The insulæ must, as Preller remarks, have been very much like the large hotels of modern times, with one or more courts; and they sometimes occupied the whole of a block of buildings, bounded on all sides by streets, as in the case of the Louvre Hotel at Paris.[5] A passage of Vitruvius well explains the mode of construction usual in the insulæ: "The laws of the land do not allow any house wall built on public ground (*i.e.* towards the street) to be more than one and a half feet in thickness, and the other walls, in order to save space, are always built of the same thickness. But unburnt brick walls less than two or three bricks thick (a Roman brick being one foot in length) will not bear more than one story. The immense size and crowded population of Rome, however, make it necessary to have a vast number of habitations, and as the area is not sufficient to contain them all on the ground-floor, the nature of the case compels us to raise them in the air. And therefore lofty buildings supported on stone pillars, burnt brickwork, or ashlar, and furnished with numerous boarded floors, are made to supply the requisite number of separate apartments."[6]

[1] In the Catalogues of the Regionarii $\frac{\text{domus}}{\text{insulæ}} = \frac{1}{25}$. Preller, p. 86. See the description of a domus in Petronius, 77.

[2] Rooms at the back or top of a domus were also sometimes let. See Plaut. Trin. i. 2, 157; Livy, xxxix. 14. Crassus owed his great wealth partly to successful speculation in building a vast number of insulæ: Plutarch, Crassus, 2. See Orelli, Inscr. 4324; Martial, iv. 37. Juvenal complains of the high rents; Sat. iii. 166. But without insurance offices the risks were great. See Gell. xv. 1, 2.

[3] Paul. Diac. v. 16; Varro, L. L. v. 22.

[4] Tac. Ann. xv. 43.

[5] The insulæ were then called vici from their resemblance to a vicus, *i.e.* a group of houses surrounded on all sides by streets. Festus, p. 371. Insula also means a set of rooms in an insula.

[6] Vitruv. ii. 8, 17. One of the insulæ, in Reg. ix., named Felicles Insula, from the name of the owner, became proverbial for its enormous number of stories. Tertullian compares the Gnostic ideas of

After the great fire at Rome all the new houses were, by Nero's orders, constructed partly of peperino stone to resist fire, and had arcades built in front of all, from the top of which help might be afforded in case of fire.[1] The front ground-floor under the arcades would be probably occupied with shops. The interior of the insulæ was very complicated, from the number of passages and staircases required to reach all the separate lodgings, and to arrange all the storehouses and offices of various kinds. The building was under the charge of a dominus insulæ, or insularius, an agent who accounted for the rents to the proprietor.[2]

Materials and modes of construction.

The passage of Vitruvius above quoted shows that the insulæ were usually, in the time of Augustus, built of unburnt brick in the lower parts, and of burnt bricks or stone in the upper, with timbered floors. The Roman unburnt bricks (lateres) were of two kinds, either whole bricks one foot and a half in length and a foot wide, or half bricks half a foot wide and one inch in thickness.[3] In building a wall of the regulation thickness (a foot and a half), on one side a row of whole bricks was laid, and on the other a row of half bricks, and in the next layer a row of half bricks was laid upon the row of whole bricks, and a row of whole bricks upon the half bricks, so as to bind the wall together firmly by an interlacing structure.[4] Sometimes the bricks were laid in sloping rows diverging from a central line (herring-bone work, or opus spicatum, so called from its resemblance to the arrangement of the seeds in an ear of corn), and confined by stone edgings. These unburnt brick walls were always covered with stucco (tectorium or albarium) made with great care, sometimes of pounded marble chips, and were generally painted in bright colours, as may be seen in the streets of Pompeii. When concrete (fartura) was used for the core of the wall, it was sometimes cased with stones placed irregularly (opus incertum),[5] and was then always covered with stucco; or it was cased with small square stones arranged in a regular chess-board pattern (opus reticulatum), in which case stucco was not always used. Walls of unburnt brick were also sometimes cased with opus reticulatum, and occasionally

different stages in heaven to this building: "Insulam Feliculæ credas tanta tabulata cœlorum." Adv. Val. chap. vii.

[1] Tac. Ann. xv. 43. These arcades were similar to those of Padua, Bologna, and other Italian towns.

[2] See numerous names of insulæ in Preller, p. 92. The following notice of the lodgings in an insula to be let, found at Pompeii, is interesting: "Insula Arriana Polliana Gn. Alifii Nigidii Mai locantur ex id. Jul. primis (*i.e.* proximis) tabernæ (under the arcades) cum pergulis suis et cœnacula equestria (such as a knight might live in) et domus. Conductor convenito primum Gn. Al. Nig. Mai servum." Orelli, Insc. 4324, 4331.

[3] See Vitruv. ii. 3.

[4] Winckelmann, Arch. des Anciens, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 545. Roman bricks were sometimes of a much larger size. Those used in vaulting were generally wedge-shaped.

[5] It is doubtful whether the term "opus incertum" includes ashlar-work.

brick and concrete were mixed in alternate layers and cased with stucco or opus reticulatum or incertum. The larger houses and public buildings were built with solid walls of squared stones, reaching completely across the whole breadth of the wall, and laid in equally-sized courses (opus isodomum), or in unequally-sized courses (opus pseudisodomum).

Exterior of the house; vestibule.

The principal entrance of a domus stood a little back from the line of the street in a recess (vestibulum), the two projecting sides of which were frequently occupied by shops opening into the street.[1] These vestibules were of various depths. At Pompeii they are generally very small, but in some of the large houses at Rome the vestibule was ornamented with trophies which would require a considerable space.[2] They were occasionally ornamented with pilasters or a portico of Greek construction. In the case of Nero's Golden House the vestibule must have been a splendid court surrounded with arcades and ornamented by the huge colossal statue of the emperor.[3] The threshold and lintel (limen inferius and superius) and the doorposts (antepagmenta) were of wood or stone, according to the wealth of the owner. There were frequently inscriptions or signs over the door, marking the house as in mediæval times,[4] and sometimes a parrot taught to say "Salve" or "Χαῖρε" was hung up in a cage.[5] Doorbells do not seem to have been usual, though bells were sometimes employed for giving signals of other kinds; but there were always knockers of metal to the doors, at which every one except inmates of the house were expected to knock.[6] As carriages were not used commonly in the streets before the third century,[7] few of the principal house entrances were large enough to admit them, but they were of course wide enough to admit the sedans of considerable size in which Romans often went out into the town. There were generally side and back doors of smaller size, without vestibules, leading into the side streets.

The ground-floors both of the domus and insulæ were, as has been stated, usually occupied by shops, and therefore rooms on the ground-floor had

[1] Gell. xvi. 5: "Vestibulum non est in ipsis ædibus, sed locus ante januam domus vacuus," &c. Becker derives vestibulum from *ve*, apart, and *stabulum*, a place to stand in apart from the house; as *prostibulum*, *vecors*, *vesanus*.

[2] As rostra, Cic. Phil. ii. 28: statues, Æn. ii. 504, vii. 177; Juv. vii. 125.

[3] Suet. Nero, 31. See below, p. 165. Vitruvius speaks of "vestibula regalia."

[4] As "ad malum punicum; ad capita bubula," &c. Suet. Dom. 1, Oct. 5.

[5] Petron. 28; Mart. vii. 87, xiv. 76; Pers. Prol. 8.

[6] Plautus, Most. ii. 2, 14; Cist. iii. 18, &c., &c. But Seneca, De Ira, iii. 35, mentions a doorbell. The doors at Rome generally opened inwards (Dionys. v. 39), contrary to the Greek fashion, as shown in the comedies taken from the Greek. Plaut. Bacch. ii. 2, 56: "Sed foris concrepuit nostra quinam exit foras?" It was the custom in Greece to knock before going *out* in order that any one passing might avoid being struck by the door opening outwards. But in later times many doors at Rome also opened outwards. See Pandect. lib. viii. tit. 2.

[7] See Friedländer, Sittengesch. Roms, S. 52; Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6.

doors opening on the inner courtyard and had no windows. In the lofty courts of the insulæ, where the ground-floor rooms would naturally be very dark, they were probably used as storerooms and offices. The rooms on the upper floors opened by windows on the street, which were often provided with balconies or projections supported on brackets and called mœniana, pergulæ, or podia.[1] These balconies must have improved the exterior appearance of the houses very much by breaking the flat surface of the wall. From them shows in the streets were surveyed and speeches sometimes delivered.[2] Martial gives a lively picture of the spectators on the line of the Emperor Trajan's entry into Rome:—

Windows.

"Quando erit ille dies quo campus, et arbor, et omnis
Lucebit Latia culta fenestra nuru.
Quando moræ dulces, longusque a Cæsare pulvis,
Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via."[3]

The windows were closed with lattice-work or plates of talc, or sometimes with glass, to keep out the cold and wind, and had folding shutters.[4] The roofs of the houses in Rome were sometimes gabled (pectenata) exactly like modern houses, and it is a mistake to suppose that only temples had gables, and that the streets of Rome showed a succession of flat roofs. Some of the pictures of houses in the Pompeian house decorations show gabled roofs, and Cicero, writing to his brother, speaks of the roof of a house as having more than one gable.[5] The regular triangular pediment, however, was peculiar to the temples of the gods, the palaces of the Cæsars, and some of the other public buildings. The eaves sometimes projected considerably over the street, and enactments were passed limiting their size.[6] Domed roofs and quadrilateral roofs were sometimes built, but naturally these were for the most part confined to small angular or circular edifices, such as the Temple of the Penates in the Forum, or the

Roofs.

1 Σύλων ἐξοχαὶ πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. Herodian, vii. 12.

2 Livy, i. 41, Tanaquil addresses the populace from a window. Vitruv., v. 6, speaks of a view from a window in a common house. Livy, xxiv. 21: "Pars tectis fenestrisque prospectant." See also Juv. iii. 270; Prop. iv. 7, 15; and Claudian, De VI. Cons. Hon. ii. 544: "Quantum licuit consurgere tectis una replet turbæ facies, undare videres ima viris, altas effulgere matribus ædes."

3 Mart. x. 6.

4 The subject of glass windows in ancient houses is fully discussed in Hirt, Gesch. der Bauk. iii. 1, Beilage C. He thinks that the expression "specularia" denotes glass windows and = specularia vitra. Ὕαλος λευκή, in Philo, Leg. ad Caium, § 45, probably means glass; in which case the palace of Caligula had glass windows. In the public baths at Pompeii a bronze casement with panes of glass was found. Mazois, Pal. de Scaur. viii. p. 97. See Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 45; Ep. ii. 17, 4: Sen. Ep. 90: Mart. viii. 14: Ov. Pont. iii. 3, 5; Amor. i. 5, 3: Hor. Od. i. 25, 1.

5 Festus, p. 213; Cic. Q. F. iii. 1, 4. Trichorus, in Stat. Silv. i. 3, 57, and Hist. Aug. Pesc. Nig. 12, probably means a house of three stories in height. In the tenth century, trichorus = triclinium. See Gregorov, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. vol. iii. p. 563.

6 Digest. ix. 3, 5, § 6. The term used for eaves was stuggrundæ. Vitruv. x. 21 (15 Schn.).

so-called Temple of Vesta on the river-bank. The "cavædium testudinatum" of Vitruvius was roofed in this way.[1] Flat roofs were the most frequent in the Roman domus, the other kinds being more adapted to the insulæ. Upon the top of their flat roofs gardens were constructed, and filled with flowers and fruit-trees, and seats were made for basking in the winter sun.[2] The usual outer covering of the roofs when flat was of stone, stucco, or metal. For sloping roofs, thatch or shingles, tiles, slates, or metal plates were used. Pliny states that, until the time of the war with Pyrrhus, all Rome was roofed with shingles.[3] The common form of dwelling-house in those times was probably the primitive hut (tugurium), or at best the old Tuscan form of the atrium, a small court with a square impluvium supported by four beams. The Roman tiles were of two kinds, flat tiles and smaller curved tiles. The flat tiles had raised rims at the sides, except at the upper end, which was pushed under the tile next above on the roof. The small curved tiles were then laid over the joined edges of the lower ones, and formed a complete protection for the joints.[4]

To say that the dwelling-houses of Rome presented in general an irregular appearance is no doubt correct;[5] but when their architectural pretensions are condemned as inferior to those of modern houses, it may be questioned whether such an opinion has not been too much influenced by the aspect of the Pompeian houses. It has been shown that contrasts were drawn by Roman writers between the metropolis and the provincial towns, especially with reference to the size and height of the houses; and in the crowded parts of Rome, and along the principal thoroughfares leading to the great roads, as the Via Lata and the Alta Semita, which seem to correspond to the modern Corso and Via della Porta Pia, nearly all the dwelling-houses were probably lofty, well built, and furnished in the upper stories with handsome windows and balconies, and with porticoes or arcades projecting over shops on the ground-floor.

At the same time, on account of the hilly nature of the site and the interruption of the lines of the streets by the great fora and public buildings, but few long wide streets could have existed in ancient Rome. There was apparently a constant necessity for edicts providing against the excessive crowding and blocking up of the streets by vehicles. Carriages or carts,

[1] Vitruv. vi. 3. The space between these raised roofs and the ceiling was sometimes used as a hiding-place. See Tac. Ann. iv. 69.

[2] These places at the tops of the houses were sometimes called solaria, an expression which was also applied to balconies. Seneca, Ep. xx. 5 (122).

[3] Plin. xvi. 10, § 36.

[4] Tegulæ and imbrices. Plautus, Mil. Glor. ii. 6, 24: "Confregisti imbrices et tegulas;" Mostell. i. 2, 25.

[5] Cf. Rein in Becker's Gallus, ii. p. 271.

with few exceptions, were not allowed to pass during the first ten hours of the day, and a clearance of the projecting mœniana and the stalls of all tradesmen and hucksters had to be made periodically.[1] Martial complains bitterly of the noises at night, from the traffic in the streets, which would not allow him to sleep, and praises Domitian for having cleared the barbers', cooks', butchers', and winesellers' stalls away, and made it at length possible to pass freely along the streets.[2]

Roman architects.

It has been remarked that, with all the Roman passion for Greek forms of architecture, yet the names of the architects employed at Rome which have come down to us are mainly Roman,[3] and that even before the time when the first Greek architect, Hermodorus of Salamis, is mentioned as employed at Rome, we find a Roman, Cossutius, engaged in the erection of the great Temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.[4]

The architect of the famous Temple of Honour and Virtue, dedicated by Marius, was a Roman, C. Mutius; and Cicero employed a Roman architect in the erection of the chapel in memory of his daughter Tullia. Vitruvius praises three books on architecture written by the Romans Fufitius, Varro, and Publius Septimius.[5] Under Augustus, besides Vitruvius himself, who was an Italian by birth but a Greek by education, we find only Valerius of Ostia mentioned as employed in architectural works, and a freedman, L. Cocceius.[6] Again, in Nero's time, the great architects Severus and Celer have Roman names; and Rabinius, the architect of Domitian, appears to have been a Roman.[7] A Greek artist, Apollodorus, first comes into prominent notice in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, but it is probable that a Roman, Frontinus, was also largely patronized by these emperors.

But in the Imperial times a perfect army of architects and builders must have been kept up in order to execute new works or keep the old buildings in repair. It is said that 700 architects were employed by Nero and Trajan for the sole purpose of attending to the supply of water for the city.[8] The whole number engaged in different parts of the world under these emperors must therefore have numbered many thousands. We find the governor of

[1] Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 9, 10: "Mœniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romæ prioris quoque vetita legibus."

[2] Martial, vii. 61, xii. 57.

[3] Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, ii. p. 257; Ampère, Hist. Rom. à Rome, vol. iv. p. 77.

[4] Vitruv. iii. 2, 5; vii. præf. § 15. Caius and Marcius Stallius were also employed at Athens. Vitruv. v. 9, 1.

[5] Vitruv. loc. cit.; Cic. Ad Att. xii. 17, xiii. 29. Three architects mentioned by Cicero, Cyrus, Chrysippus, and Corumbus, have Greek names, but were possibly slaves. Pro; Mil. 17; Ad Att. xiv. 3.

[6] Plin. xxxvi. 24, § 1.

[7] Mart. vii. 55, x. 71.

[8] Diet. Antiq. s. v. Aquæductus. Under Aurelian the architects received regular salaries from the State: Hist. Aug. Aur. 35.

Nicomedia asking for an architect from Rome to construct a serviceable aqueduct for the city, as two previous attempts, possibly by local architects, had not succeeded.[1] Hadrian, it is well known, was his own architect in many cases, and prided himself upon having designed the great Temple of Venus and Rome; but he also employed vast numbers of architects to assist in his minor works.[2]

Several names of ancient architects have been found at Terracina, Pozzuoli, in Spain, and at Bonn, all of which are Roman; and the probable reasons for the employment of Romans in preference to Greeks are not difficult to assign.[3] The Roman Emperors sought, above all things, durability and colossal size in their architectural works. While therefore Greek sculptors would doubtless be preferred for the decorative parts of the building, the designing of the whole on a large scale, and the strength of the construction, would be best entrusted to a Roman, who might well be more an engineer than an architect. In the raising of huge stones, and the construction of enormous arches, the Romans had more practical talent and skill than the Greeks; and as these were principal matters in their huge buildings, it does not seem strange that Roman architects were more frequently employed than Greek. The profession of an architect at Rome was considered inferior to that of a military engineer, a natural result of the supremacy of the military and political elements in the Roman national character.

Vitruvius.

The architect about whom we know most, Vitruvius, was really a military engineer, and had served in that capacity during a great part of his life. He would have so remained, or at least would not have published his scientific views on architecture, had he not seen that Augustus was something more than a mere hard, practical statesman, and possessed great refinement of taste, and a desire to introduce into Rome a love for the beautiful in art.[4] Vitruvius's chief object was to perpetuate the great principle of purity and simplicity in design and elegance in proportion laid down by the great Greek master, and to counteract the vulgar taste for coarse and overladen decoration, which he saw prevailing at Rome. While we sympathize with Vitruvius in his dislike of the Roman fondness for accumulation of unmeaning ornament, and with his protests against their neglect of constructive truth, we cannot help regretting that he failed to see wherein

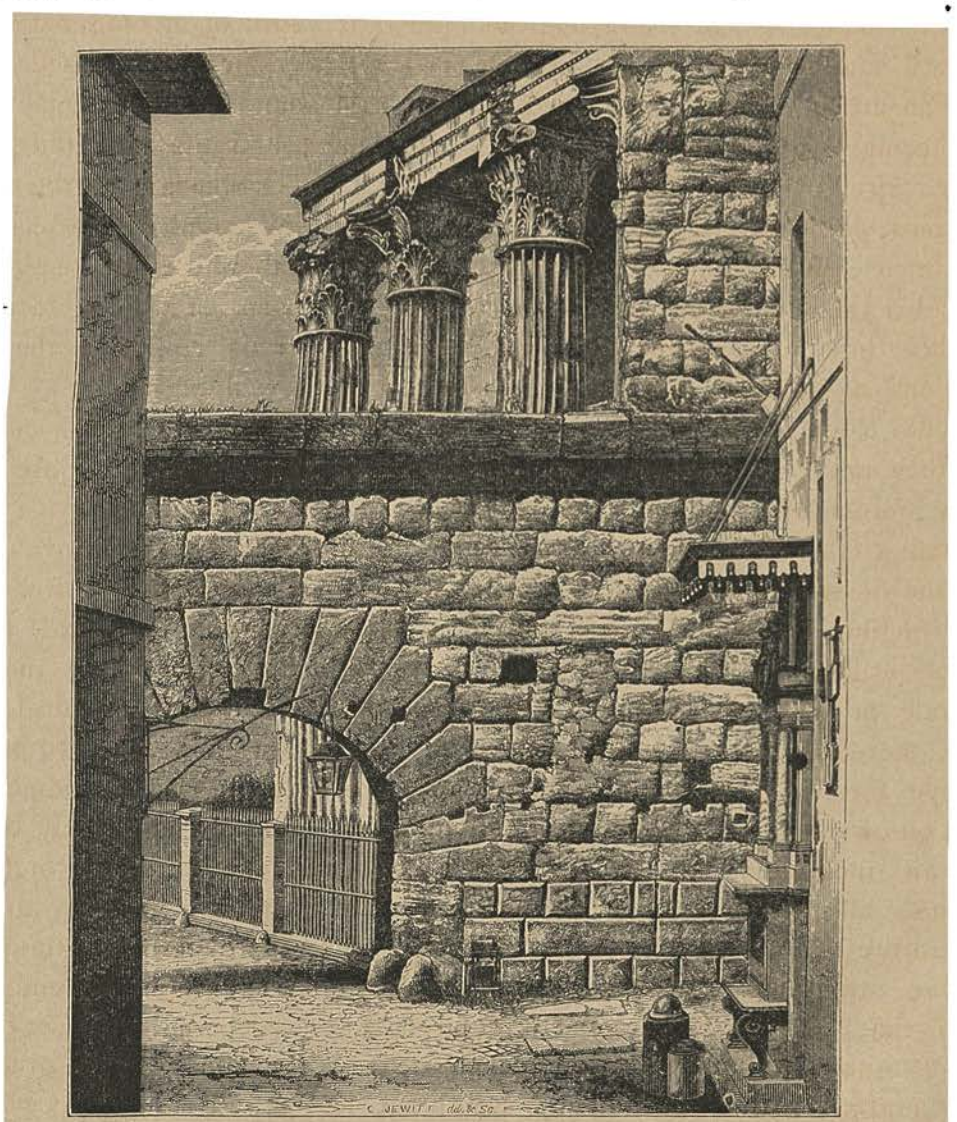
[1] Plin. Ep. x. 46, 47.

[2] Dion Cassius, lxix. 3, 4. Aur. Vict. Epit. 14: "Namque ad specimen legionum militarium, fabros, perpendiculatores, architectos, genusque cunctum extruendorum mœnium seu decorandorum in cohortes centuriaverat."

[3] Ampère, Hist. p. 79.

[4] Vitruv. i. præf.: "Ad exitum vitæ . . . . hæc tibi scribere cœpi . . . . te non solum de vita communi curam habere, sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum ædificiorum ut Majestas imperii publicorum ædificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates."

the real strength of Roman architecture consisted, and in what direction its true development lay, and that he encouraged instead that slavish imitation of the Greeks, which was as fatal to the growth of genuine Roman architecture as it was to the development of a really national Roman



ARCO DEI PANTANI.

literature. The horizontal lines of Greek architecture, and the necessarily narrow areas of their buildings, were never brought into living union with the peculiarly Roman method of construction by the arch. We can derive much pleasure, it is true, from the Romano-Greek buildings; but we feel

that they are not a real embodiment of Roman ideas, but a composite mass of heterogeneous elements, which no skill can reduce successfully into a harmonious whole.

The same mixed character belongs to their literature, in which their real natural characteristics, their deep and practical views of human nature, their political and military genius, are everywhere overlaid and dressed up with Grecian art, and forced into Grecian forms. Just as a native Roman style of architecture was never developed by the Romans themselves, but in their arched structures they left to succeeding ages the rudiments of the grandest and most perfectly expressive of all styles of architecture, so in the same way the intense interest in human life, and the moral and practical spirit which pervaded their literature, and formed its support, has, like the hidden arches of their buildings, proved the framework upon which some of the noblest creations of modern intellect have been reared.

Romans engineers rather than architects.

The Romans were the greatest builders that the world has ever seen; but they never succeeded in developing any system of decorative architecture. They were an arch-building but not an architectural nation. They planted in the West and the East, in the remotest part of Britain and the deserts of Petra and Palmyra, imperishable monuments of their engineering and masonic skill; but in all their attempts to create ornamental structures they failed to produce anything more than gigantic or grotesque imitations of Greek art. From an æsthetical point of view, therefore, the study of their buildings is barren. They did not possess an eye for fine proportion of outline, or symmetrical and harmonious combination of details. A certain vulgar love of gorgeous and costly ornament, and an incapacity for appreciating the beauty of simplicity and purity, pervade all their most elaborate buildings. But as historical monuments, illustrative of the peculiar genius and character of the Romans, the study of Roman structures is most important and valuable. We see embodied in them that indomitable energy and strength of purpose which bridged the valleys and tunnelled through the hills; that conviction of the grandeur of their empire and destiny which could not be satisfied with anything short of the colossal and imperishable; that strong practical utilitarianism which constantly sought means to improve the conditions of human life, and render the earth a more convenient habitation for man, and at the same time that intense passion for fierce excitement and luxurious enjoyment, which made them lavish untold wealth in the construction of stupendous amphitheatres and thermæ.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS IN ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA.

I.—REGAL PERIOD.

A. C.	A. U. C.	
753	1	Roma Quadrata. Temple of Jupiter Stator.
715	39	Regia and Temple of Vesta. Capitolium Vetus. Temple of Quirinus. Temple of Janus. Argean Chapels.
673	81	Temple of Tellus. Tigillum Sororium.
641	113	Ostia founded. Fossa Quiritium.
616	138	Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Cloaca Maxima. Circus Maximus begun by Tarquinius Priscus.
578	176	Walls of Servius. Regions of Servius. Temple of Diana on the Aventine. Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta.
534	220	Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and Cloaca Maxima finished by Tarquinius Superbus.

II.—PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC.

507	247	Capitoline Temple consecrated.
497	257	Temple of Saturn.
495	259	Temple of Mercurius in the Circus.
493	261	Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.
484	270	Temple of Castor in the Forum.
429	325	Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius.
399	355	Temple of Mater Matuta restored.
391	363	Temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine.
367	387	Temple of Concord on the Clivus Capitolinus vowed.
344	410	Temple of Juno Moneta in the Arx.
338	416	Rostra.
312	442	Via Appia. Aqua Appia.
306	408	Equestrian Statue of Tremulus in the Forum.
305	449	Temple of Concord consecrated.
302	452	Temple of Salus.
298	456	Temple of Bellona. Capitoline Wolf and Twins cast.
294	460	Temples of Jupiter Stator (Regulus), of Quirinus, and of Fors Fortuna (Carvilius). See p. 288.

A. C.	A. U. C.	
294	460	Via Appia paved as far as Bovillæ.
291	463	Temple of Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber.
272	482	Aqueduct of the Anio Vetus built.
260	494	Columna Rostrata of Duilius.
259	495	Temple of Tempestas.
220	534	Circus Flaminius and Via Flaminia.
218	536	Temple of Concord in the Arx.
215	539	Temple of Venus Erycina in the Capitol.
212	542	Repair of the Walls of Rome.
205	549	Temple of Honour and Virtue.
195	559	Triumphal Arches of Stertinius.
193	561	Emporium built.
191	563	Temple of Magna Mater.
190	564	Arch of Scipio Africanus.
187	567	Temple of Hercules Musagetes.
184	570	Basilica Porcia. Cloacæ enlarged and repaired.
181	573	Temple of Venus at the Porta Collina.
179	575	Basilica Fulvia. Temples of Juno Regina and Diana in the Circus Flaminius. Theatre of Æmilius Lepidus. Macellum Magnum. Streets of Rome first paved.
169	585	Basilica Sempronia.
167	587	Porticus Octavii.
148	606	Temples of Jupiter and Juno built by Metellus in the Circus Flaminius.
144	610	Marcian Aqueduct built.
142	612	Pons Palatinus.
132	622	Temple of Mars in the Circus Flaminius.
125	629	Tepulan Aqueduct built.
121	633	Basilica Opimia.
120	634	Arch of Fabius.
109	645	Milvian Bridge built.
108	646	Porticus Minucia built.
81	673	Capitoline Temple rebuilt.
69	685	Capitoline Temple reconsecrated.
62	692	Fabrician Bridge built.
58	696	Theatre of Scaurus built.
55	699	Theatre of Pompey and Temple of Venus Victrix built.
50	704	Basilica Paulli (Æmilia).
46	708	Forum of Julius Cæsar. Temple of Venus Genetrix. Basilica Julia. Naumachia in the Campus Martius.
42	712	Temple of Julius Cæsar in the Forum decreed. Rostra Julia and Curia Julia. Temple of Mars Ultor vowed.
36	718	Temple of Palatine Apollo.
33	721	Julian Aqueduct and Agrippa's great public works.

III.—IMPERIAL PERIOD. THE CÆSARS.

A. C.	A. U. C.	
30	724	Amphitheatre of Statilius.
29	725	Mausoleum of Augustus begun.
28	726	Eighty-two Temples restored. (See Monumentum Ancyranum.)
27	727	Pantheon of Agrippa.
26	728	Septa Julia. Temple of Jupiter Tonans.
20	734	Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol.
19	735	Aqueduct of Aqua Virgo built.
16	738	Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal.
14	740	Temple of Saturn rebuilt.
13	741	Theatre of Balbus built.
11	743	Theatre of Marcellus built.
10	744	Egyptian Obelisks erected in the Circus and Campus.
A. D.	A. U. C.	
6	759	Temple of Castor in the Forum rebuilt by Tiberius.
10	763	Arch of Dolabella.
12	765	Porticus of the Basilica Julia built.
16	767	Arch of Tiberius on the Clivus Capitolinus.
23	776	Castra Prætoria built. Basilica Æmilia restored.
27	780	Temple of Augustus built.
39	792	Palace of Caligula and bridge from the Palatine to the Capitol.
52	805	Claudian Aqueduct and Aqueduct of the Anio Novus.
55	808	Circus Neronianus.
62	815	Thermæ Neronianæ. Domus Transitoria.
64	817	Neronian Fire.
65	818	Golden House of Nero built.

IV.—THE FLAVIAN ERA.

70	823	Capitoline Temple rebuilt.
71	824	Forum Pacis built.
81	834	Coliseum and Thermæ of Titus opened.
82	835	Capitoline Temple again rebuilt. Arch of Titus on the Velia built.
94	847	Forum Transitorium or Palladium begun by Domitian. Temple of Isis and Serapis built.

V.—THE ANTONINE ERA.

96	849	Meta Sudans erected.
111	864	Aqueduct of Trajan built (from the Lago Bracciano).
113	866	Forum and Column of Trajan built.
116	869	Thermæ of Trajan built. Triumphal Arch of Trajan erected in his Forum.
119	872	Temple of Trajan. Basilica Neptuni built by Hadrian.
130	883	Temple of Venus and Rome. Ælian Bridge. Mausoleum of Hadrian begun.
137	890	Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa built.
138	891	Temple of Hadrian built.
141	894	Pillar of Antoninus Pius erected. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.
183	936	Column of Marcus Aurelius in the Campus (Antonine Column).
		Thermæ of Commodus built.

VI.—THE LATER EMPERORS.

A. D.	A. U. C.	
195	948	Thermæ of Severus.
202	955	Pantheon and Porticus Octaviæ restored by Severus.
203	956	Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum. Arch of the Goldsmiths in the Forum Boarium.
216	969	Thermæ of Caracalla.
227	980	Thermæ of Alexander Severus.
242	995	Villa Suburbana of the Gordians built (Tor de' Schiavi).
252	1005	Thermæ of Decius built.
263	1016	Arch of Gallienus and Cornelia Salonina on the Esquiline (?)
271	1024	The Walls of Aurelian begun.
273	1026	Temple of the Sun built by Aurelian.
276	1029	The Walls of Aurelian finished.
303	1056	Thermæ of Diocletian. Aqua Jovia, a branch of the Marcia, built.

VII.—CONSTANTINIAN ERA.

309	1062	Circus of Romulus built by Maxentius.
312	1065	Destruction of Prætorian Camp by Constantine. Basilica of Constantine.
313	1066	Thermæ of Constantine.
326	1079	Arch of Constantine.
357	1110	Egyptian Obelisk placed in the Circus Maximus by Constantine.
379	1132	Arches of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.

VIII.—THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

402		Honorius repairs the Aurelian walls and fortifications of Rome.
406		Triumphal Arches of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius.
410		Rome taken by Alaric.
455		Rome taken by Genseric.
472		Rome taken by Ricimer.
500		Theodoric preserves and repairs the monuments, walls, and aqueducts.
537		Rome besieged by Vitiges.
546		Rome ravaged by Totila.
553		Narses restores the Ponte Salaro.
593		The Lombards commit outrages in the neighbourhood of Rome.
602		The Column of Phocas erected in the Forum.
663		Constans II. carries away the bronze statues and decorations from Rome.
756		Siege of Rome by Astulf.
833		Ostia restored by Gregory IV. (Gregoriopolis).
846		The Saracens plunder the neighbourhood of Rome.
848		The Leonine Suburb built by Leo IV.
916		The Saracens defeated at Garigliano.
1084		Rome plundered by Robert Guiscard.
1241		The Mausoleum of Augustus destroyed in the war between the Pope and the Emperor.
1349		Tremendous earthquake at Rome, by which many ancient buildings are destroyed.

Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co

ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITE OF ROME.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE SITE OF ROME — GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMPAGNA — COURSE OF THE RIVER THROUGH ROME—THE HILLS OF ROME—GENERAL VIEW OF ROME — THE VALLEYS OF ROME—THE SITUATION OF ROME NOT ADAPTED FOR THE METROPOLIS OF A LARGE EMPIRE, WHETHER COMMERCIALLY, OR IN RESPECT OF CLIMATE — BUT FAVOURABLE TO A LIMITED TRADING COMMUNITY COMBINED WITH A LARGE AGRICULTURAL CLASS—BEAUTY OF THE VIEWS FROM ROME—THE GENERAL FORM OF THE GROUND REMAINS THE SAME AS IN THE EARLIEST TIME.

Κτίσαι τὴν Ρώμην ἐν τόποις οὐ πρὸς αἵρεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτηδείοις. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐρυμνὸν τὸ ἔδαφος οὔτε χώραν οἰκείαν ἔχον τὴν πέριξ ὅση πόλει πρόσφορος.—STRABO, book v. p. 229.

"Beholde what wreake, what ruine, and what wast,
And how that she which with her mightie powre
Tamed all the world, hath tamed herselfe at last;
The pray of Time, which all things doth devoure."

The Ruines of Rome, by BELLAY.

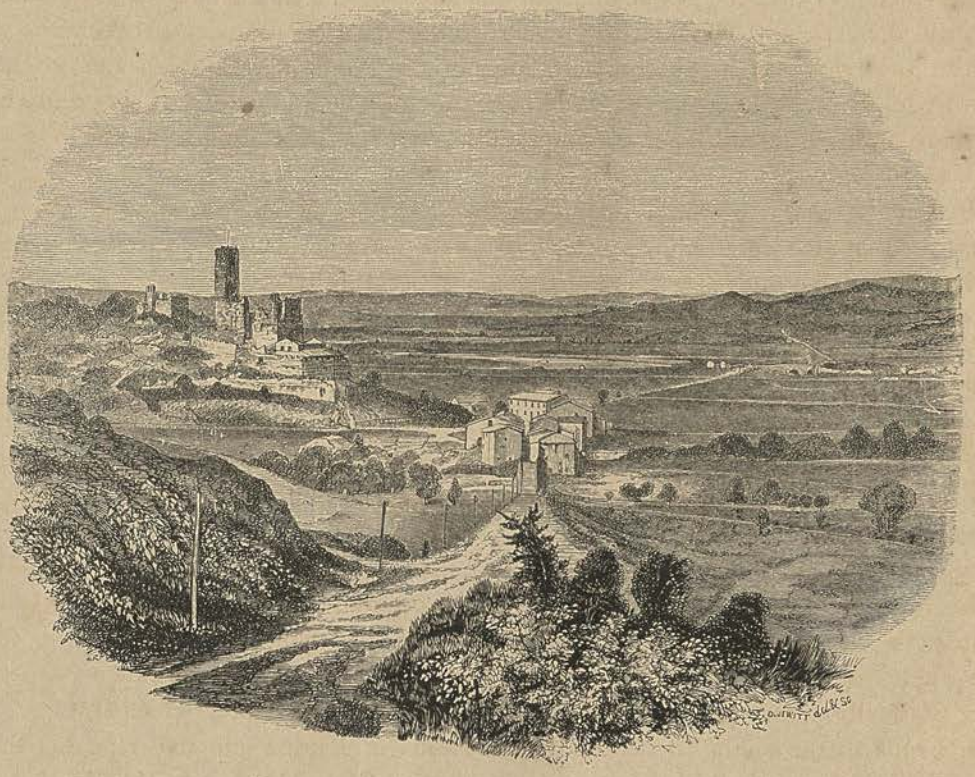
ROME has no very striking advantages of *situation*. Her rise to be the metropolis of the world was but little aided by local strength or opportunities, and her fall was certainly hastened by the want of those facilities for communication by sea which the situation of their city denied to the Romans. Strabo distinctly states his opinion that the site was chosen more by necessity than on account of its suitability. For, he adds, there is no great strength in the position, and the surrounding country is not such as to be convenient for a large city.[1] And Strabo's opinion is said to have been endorsed by some of the ablest men Rome ever produced. Julius Cæsar, according to Suetonius, entertained the design of removing Rome to Alexandria or to the coast of Asia Minor,[2] and something of the same kind

Disadvantages of the site of Rome.

[1] Strabo, book v. p. 229. One tradition about the foundation of Rome relates that it was debated whether the settlement should be placed on the Palatine, or four miles lower down the river. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 223.

[2] Suet. Jul. 79; Lucan, ix. 998.

seems to have been rumoured in the time of Augustus.[1] Religious prejudices were, however, too strong to allow the desertion of the old site, connected as it was with so many legends of the Gods, or to venture to provoke the avenging wrath of Juno a second time.[2] Several of the later Emperors seem to have felt a wish to remove the seat of empire to a more convenient site. Diocletian and Maximian lived mostly at Milan, Nicomedia, Carthage, or Antioch, and would gladly, had the popular feeling permitted, have transferred the seat of government to one of those cities.[3]



VALLEY OF THE TIBER WHERE THE FLAMINIAN ROAD CROSSES IT AT THE FORTY-SECOND MILESTONE FROM ROME NEAR OCRICULUM (OTRICOLI).

At length Constantine found himself powerful enough to establish a new capital in a more commanding, healthy, and fertile site. His opponents could no longer, as Camillus and Horace had done, appeal to the religious sanctity of the site of Rome.[4] The superiority in beauty, security, and accessibility of Constantinople over Rome might be thought sufficient to have perpetuated this change. But sentiment proved stronger than expediency, and Rome has preserved a strange vitality as a capital city notwithstanding the attempts of her own sons to dethrone her.

[1] Hor. Od. iii. 3; Merivale, vol. ii. p. 483, note.

[2] Æn. i. 36: "Juno æternum servans sub pectore volnus."

[3] Aur. Vict. De Cæsaribus, cap. xxxix. 45; Auson. De clar. Urb. v. 10.

[4] Gibbon, chap. xvii.; Livy, v. 51.

The group of hills on which ancient Rome was built, and over part of which modern Rome extends, lies nearly in the centre of a broad tract (Latium) of undulating country, shut in on the north by low ranges of hills, on the east by the mighty wall of the Sabine Apennines, on the south by the Alban hills, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. The distance of the city from each of these is from fifteen to twenty miles. Into this enclosed plain there are four entrances, through which roads may be carried, corresponding pretty nearly to the four points of the compass. The valley of the Tiber, along which the railroad to Ancona is now carried, leads to the north. Access to the east is afforded by the opening between the Sabine Apennines and the Alban hills, commanded by the isolated hill of Præneste. To the south, the Appian Road and the modern railroad to Naples pass between the Alban hills and the sea through the damp lowlands of the Pomptine marshes; and to the west the railroad to Civita Vecchia is carried between the hills of Cervetri (Cære) and the sea. These are the four grand lines of communication between Latium and the rest of the peninsula of Italy.

General description of the Campagna.

The general character of the country within a radius of ten miles around Rome may be described by the term hillocky, as it consists of numerous small isolated and steep hills, intersected by ravines. Through the centre of this tract the river Tiber flows in a southerly direction until it reaches Rome, and then bends towards the south-west, falling into the sea at Ostia. The bed of the Tiber, as is the case with most rivers not traversing a perfectly plain country, forms a narrow depression in the bottom of a tolerably wide valley, from side to side of which the river winds, cutting its way through its own alluvial soil. The average width of the river is 300 feet, and its stream rapid and turbid. The water contains a fine yellow micaceous sand, which gave it the name of Fulvus or Flavus Tiberis.[1]

In that portion of the Tiber valley which lies within the walls of Rome, the course of the river, on first reaching the walls, is nearly due south; it then bends gradually towards the west for three-quarters of a mile, and, turning sharply at a right angle, runs for a mile and a quarter towards the south-east. It then turns gradually round to the south-west for about a mile; after which it again bends to the south. Thus the river at Rome is divided into five reaches: the first, of nearly half a mile in length, extending from the Cattle Market to the Ripetta Ferry; the second, three-quarters of a mile in length, from the Ferry to the Hospital of San Spirito; the third, from the Hospital to the Suspension Bridge, a little more than a mile in length; the fourth, three-quarters of a mile in length, from the Suspension Bridge to the ruins of the Emporium; and the fifth, half a mile in length, from the Emporium to the angle of the Aurelian walls, near Monte Testaccio.

Course of the river through Rome.

At the south-eastern end of the third reach of the river, its water is divided nearly equally into two channels, by an island about 300 yards in length and 90 in its greatest breadth.

The western side of the Tiber valley at Rome is bounded by the Vatican hill and the long ridge of the Janiculum. Between the slope of the Vatican hill and the banks of the river, there is a flat space for a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, but

[1] See Hor. Od. i. 2, 13; Ov. Met. xiv. 448; Virg. Æn. vii. 31, ix. 816; Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 94.

the high ground then rapidly approaches the river, and at the northern end of the Janiculum comes within a hundred yards of it. The ridge of the Janiculum, combined with the third and fourth reaches of the river, inclose the space within which the Regio Transtiberina lies.

The hills of Rome.

The hills on the eastern side of the Tiber at Rome may be divided into two classes. The first of these is a very broken and irregular series of projecting hills and headlands, running out from a tract of table-land, which unites them at the back. They have been compared by Brocchi[1] to the fingers of a man's hand, the palm of which represents the plain from which they jut out. This comparison, however, gives but a faint idea of their real shape, even if we add that the fingers must be conceived of as strangely distorted and mutilated. The most northern of these hills is the Pincian, which approaches to within 300 yards of the river. Next to this is the crooked ridge of the Quirinal, resembling a bent and gouty finger. The space between the extreme point of this hill and the river is more than a mile wide, and comprises the greater part of the modern city which stands upon the ancient Campus Martius.

South of the Quirinal lies the insignificant tongue-like strip of the Viminal, round which the Quirinal bends itself. The Esquiline is a much broader and more important hill, comprising, besides several minor projections, two principal spurs, anciently called the Cispius and Oppius. The Cœlian, though it is semi-detached, may yet, like the above-mentioned, be considered as a spur running out from the background of the Campagna.

The Aventine, Palatine, and Capitoline belong to a different description of hills from the above. They are entirely isolated heights, rising in the valley between the river and the high ground, from which the Pincian, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Cœlian project.

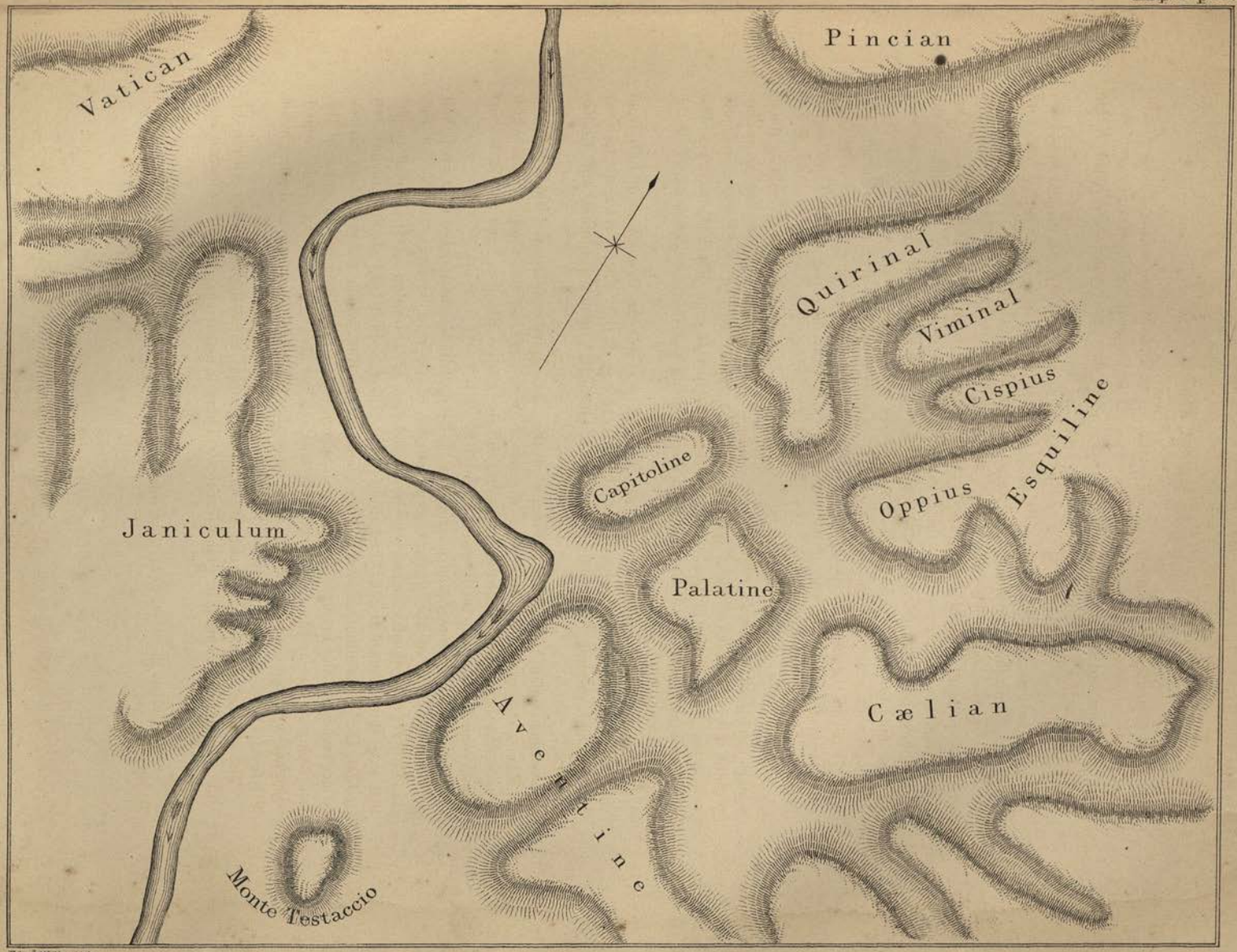
Another small portion of the edge of the Campagna is inclosed within the walls of Rome, comprising the projecting tongue of Mons Celiolus, the rising ground which runs at the back of the baths of Caracalla, and the hill on which S. Saba and S. Balbina stand, sometimes called the Pseudo-Aventine.[2]

Such is a brief enumeration of the hills of Rome, which, compared with a map, will give some notion of the general configuration of the ground upon which the city stands. It may most conveniently be considered as a portion of the Tiber valley inclosing three detached hills, and from which several short and shallow ravines run up into the surrounding country. The height of the hills which separate these ravines is inconsiderable, the highest point on the eastern side of the river, at the statue of the Dea Roma on the agger of Servius, being only 236 feet above the sea-level. The ground is higher on the western bank, but even there the Janiculum rises only to the height of 260 feet.

The general appearance of the site of the city from these highest points within the walls is tame, and wanting in grand features. There is no striking natural eminence like

[1] Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 84. The heights of the principal hills of Rome range from 140 to 280 feet.

[2] See chap. ix.



Edw.d Weller, lith.

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that of the Acropolis at Athens, of the Castle Hill at Edinburgh, or St. Elmo at Naples, to arrest the eye. There is no broad, mast-crowded Thames, but the river is swift, turbid, and torrent-like, devoid of dignity and beauty. Rome did not enhance her greatness by any superior charms of position; and from the absence of towers and lofty domes, the ancient city must have presented a greater uniformity of outline than the modern. It is not without some difficulty in the present day that the Capitol can be singled out from the somewhat confused mass of the city buildings, and the stranger who attempts to trace the limits of the seven famous hills finds himself not a little perplexed in his endeavours to distinguish one from the other.

General view of Rome.

The highest point within the walls of Rome is the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, on the Janiculum.[1] From this point of view the site of the ancient city presents to the stranger's eye a broken and confused appearance, and the summits of the different hills are only discoverable by the more remarkable buildings placed upon them, as they rise but little above the general level of the Campagna.

On the extreme right, the unromantic and unstoried Monte Testaccio, a hill in great part composed of potsherds, thrusts itself into undue prominence, as if claiming to be one of the famous seven.[2] But the first veritable hill of the seven which meets the eye, ranging over the city from the right, is the Aventine, on which the churches of S. Sabina and S. Alessio stand up prominently over the steep travertine rocks on the eastern bank of the Tiber. The river, itself sunk deep between its banks, is not visible except for a short distance on the right of Monte Testaccio, where the new railway bridge crosses it. To the left of the Aventine, the eye, when aided by the ruins of the Cæsarean palace, and the Chinese pagoda-like building in the Villa Spada which marks the site of the library of Apollo, can discern the flat top of the Palatine. Behind the Palatine rises the Basilica of St. John Lateran, marking the Cœlian, and to the left, the tower of the Senator's Palace marks the Capitoline. It is very difficult to discern the Esquiline, from the want of some one prominent object. The position of the Cispian tongue is, however, sufficiently shown by the two towers of Santa Maria Maggiore, which appear a little to the left of the tower on the Capitol, and the extremity of the Oppian by the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The great mass of the Esquiline lies behind the Coliseum, which still rears its top, though broken, above the surrounding slopes. Upon the Viminal the new railway station is the most conspicuous object, and this insignificant hill has thus emerged from obscurity, and become a familiar and frequented neighbourhood. Further to the left, the northernmost of the seven hills, the Quirinal, may be singled out by the huge Quirinal Palace of the Pope, the Torre delle Milizie, and the cypresses in the Colonna Gardens.

The Pincian hill, the public promenade of modern Roman society, was not included within the walls of Servius, and has not therefore taken rank as one of the mystic seven.[3] It is marked by the church of S. Trinita dei Monti and the gardens of the Villa Medici. Between it and our point of view lies the modern city, occupying the Campus Martius,

[1] "Hinc septem dominos videre montes et totam licet æstimare Romam."—MART. iv. 64.

[2] See Story's Roba di Roma, vol. ii. p. 29; and woodcut in chap. ii.

[3] But see below on the Septimontium, chap. iii., where it is shown that the original Septimontium did not correspond with the seven hills as now commonly enumerated.

a mass of red roofs broken by numerous domes and overgrown palaces. To the left of the modern city, above the colossal mausoleum of Hadrian, the eye can follow the Tiber valley northwards towards the Milvian bridge, directly over which hangs the height of Monte Mario, with its cypress woods and beautifully-placed villa. Close to us on the left is the Vatican hill, crowned by the graceful dome of St. Peter's.

The valleys of Rome.

Of the *depressions*, for they can scarcely be called valleys, which lie between these hills, the most famous is that formed by the slopes of the Palatine and Capitoline, and the extremities of the Quirinal and Esquiline. In that valley lay the Forum, in Republican times the heart of ancient Rome, whose mighty throbs were felt throughout the world. The other valleys of Rome diverge from it. Towards the east, the Subura runs up between the Esquiline and Quirinal, a district of ancient Rome which has acquired an unenviable notoriety from the abuse heaped upon it by Juvenal, Martial, and Horace. Towards the west the valley which runs down between the Palatine and Capitoline to the river had the names of Velabrum and Forum Boarium. On the north, the opening between the Capitoline and Quirinal was traversed in earlier times by the Flaminian road, and at a later date it was widened by cutting away the side of the Quirinal, and Trajan's gigantic forum was built there.[1] Towards the south-east ran the Sacra Via, communicating with the south-eastern gates of the city.

Next in importance to the Forum-valley was that lying between the Palatine and Aventine, through which flows the brook of the Marrana. It was called the Vallis Murcia, and the Circus Maximus, the great racecourse of Rome, occupied nearly the whole length and breadth of it. The valley between the Palatine, Esquiline, and Cœlian, in which the Coliseum still stands, was also the receptacle of some of the most wonderful results of Roman power and extravagance. The gardens of Nero's Golden House extended across it from the slope of the Palatine to the Esquiline; in it he excavated a vast lake for aquatic amusements, and at its entrance towered his colossal statue.

North of the Capitoline hill, and inclosed by the Pincian, Quirinal, Capitoline, and the river, lay the flat meadows of the Campus Martius, the southern and eastern parts of which were called respectively the districts of the Prata Flaminia and the Campus Agrippæ. It must not be supposed that in the Imperial age of Rome there were open fields here, and that the modern city stands on a site unoccupied by the ancient. Nearly the whole Campus Martius was covered with magnificent public buildings of various kinds, markets, theatres, cloisters, baths, and temples, stately columns, obelisks and statues, the spoils of Greece, Egypt, and the East.

On the opposite side of the river, and between its bank and the Vatican hill, lie some flat meadows, formerly called the Quinctian meadows; and in the hollow between the Vatican and the northern end of the Janiculum, on the site of St. Peter's, were some Imperial gardens and a circus of Nero. Along the foot of the Janiculum, and occupying the level space between it and the river, lay the Regio Transtiberina. Only a part of this was inclosed by the walls of Aurelian; namely, that part which lies between the Ponte Sisto, the Porta S. Pancrazio, and the Porta Portese. Except as an outwork defending the city on the west, it was of little importance, compared with the eastern part of the city.

[1] See below, chap. vii.

Rome quickly outgrew her site. The Palatine, Capitoline, and Aventine hills, the cradles of the empress of the world, were admirably adapted for the protection of her infancy, and well fitted to be the emporium of Latium, but not to be the metropolis of a large empire. The central position of Rome in Italy enabled her, during the first five centuries of her existence, to command that peninsula from the Alps to Calabria; but at the end of the fifth century came the necessity for determining whether the empire should be extended beyond the limits of Italy. Hence arose that pause and vacillation in the policy of Rome observable during the First Punic War. Italy was won, and many of the Roman statesmen were opposed to any further annexation of territory. They wished to rest and be thankful. Their city, they might have urged, was not intended by its natural position to extend its dominion beyond Italy. The Roman fleet was a mere appanage to the army, and her sailors were never likely to become so skilful as those of other nations more favourably situated for communication by sea. That many Roman statesmen and a great part of the nation were of this opinion, is shown by the feeble and slack prosecution of the war; and in fact it was not the nation, but a few enthusiastic patriots, who raised a volunteer fleet, won the battle of the Ægates, and decided the future of Rome.

The situation of Rome not adapted for the metropolis of a large empire.

In still later times, at the height of her power under the Emperors, the unsuitability of the site on which her towers were planted contributed not a little to her ruin. Could the power of Rome have been successfully transferred in the time of Augustus to the site of Constantinople or Nicomedia, the decay and fall of the Roman Empire might have been considerably retarded. It is true that Livy and Cicero speak in high terms of the advantages of the site of Rome. When, after the burning of the city by the Gauls, the Roman commons wished to migrate to Veii, Livy puts into the mouth of Camillus an encomium on the situation of Rome.[1] "Not without good reason," he says, "did our founders, under the guidance of God, select the spot where our city stands. The hills on which it is built have a most healthy air, the river is most convenient for the importation of corn from the Mediterranean districts, and the encouragement of maritime commerce; the sea is close at hand, and offers numerous advantages; we are not too much exposed to danger from an enemy's fleet, we are placed in the centre of Italy; in fact the site seems peculiarly adapted for the development of a metropolis." Camillus was, no doubt, right in opposing the removal of Rome to the site of Veii; for although Veii is perhaps more completely defensible as a strategical position, yet it is farther from the sea, and therefore less accessible. But the rest of his speech is plainly rhetorical exaggeration. Cicero, in a passage of his "Republic," which greatly resembles in its rhetorical character the speech put into the mouth of Camillus by Livy, gives Romulus great credit for having foreseen, by Divine guidance, the wonderful suitability of the site of Rome for the capital of a large empire, as being both capable of fortification, and so placed that the commodities of all countries could be brought by sea to supply its markets, while the river furnished a means of communication with the inland districts as well as with the seaboard.[2]

[1] Livy, v. 54.

[2] Cic. de Rep. ii. 5. From an agricultural point of view, Fabius Maximus, quoted by Servius on Æn. i. 3, says: "Æneas ægre patiebatur in eum devenisse agrum macerrimum litorosissimumque."

Now as regards the commercial advantages secured to Rome by the river Tiber, they may have been sufficient for the requirements of the Republic, but must have proved totally inadequate in the times of the Empire. The Tiber is narrow and rapid, and not accessible to ships of large burthen, being only from fifteen to twenty feet in depth, and one hundred and eighty-five feet broad at the bridge of St. Angelo.[1] There is no tide, and the river winds so much as to make sailing a very difficult and slow process. In fact, there is just enough water to carry stores and afford considerable assistance to an attacking army, as was shown in the Gothic wars,[2] but not enough to maintain an extensive intercourse and commerce with a rich and distant empire.[3] The Tiber was also in another respect injurious to the city, for it was subject to sudden and frequent floods, from its short and tortuous course, and from the mountainous nature of the district through which it passes.[4] In the time of Tiberius a proposal was made in the Senate to divert the affluents of the Tiber, and to decrease the danger of its inundations by cutting off its supplies of water.[5] The intention of those who made this proposal was to turn the water of the Chiana, the principal affluent of the Tiber, into the Arno, a junction which is now actually effected by the Canale della Chiana,[6] to separate the Nar into smaller channels, and dissipate its waters over the surface of the country, and to block up the exit of the Veline lake above Terni. Tacitus hesitates to decide whether the entreaties of the inhabitants of the threatened districts, or the difficulty of the undertaking, or the superstitious fear of the anger of Father Tiberinus at having his supplies cut off, deterred the Senate from accepting the proposal. At all events, the damage done by the river must have been considerable to have suggested such a measure, and it does not appear that the loss of commercial advantages to the city was used as an argument against the scheme, or in any way entered the minds of the disputants.[7]

Whether commercially,

The Tiber is, in fact, too large a river to be harmless, and too small to be of any extensive service to commerce. It is also from its narrowness easily blocked up. Marius, when he co-operated with Cinna in B.C. 86 in attacking the aristocratical party in Rome, occupied and blocked up the Tiber without difficulty, and thereby did considerable mischief to Rome.

[1] See Dionys. iii. 44. Only ships of 3,000 amphoræ or less burthen could enter. The solid contents of an amphora was exactly a Roman cubic foot.

[2] Gibbon, ch. xliii.

[3] Pliny, however, calls the Tiber, Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, "Rerum in toto orbe nascentium mercator placidissimus."

[4] See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, vol. i. p. 31.

[5] Tac. Ann. i. 79. Julius Cæsar had before made the proposal mentioned by Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 33, that the river should be diverted at the Pons Mulvius just above Rome, and taken across the Campagna to Terracina by means of a canal. See Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iv. part ii. p. 505, Eng. trans. This was done with the view of improving the site of Rome and providing a better harbour.

[6] The Chiana or Clanis seems to have been confined by flood-gates in Pliny's time, which were, however, necessarily open in flood-time. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9.

[7] Great famines were sometimes caused at Rome from the difficulty of importing corn. See Friedländer's Sittengeschichte Roms, vol. i. p. 32; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. 4, p. 47, Eng. trans. Many instances of the mischief caused by the Tiber might be collected. See Hor. Od. i. 2; Livy, xxiv. 9, xxxvii. 28; Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, 55; Tac. Hist. i. 86. The modern inundations are marked on the left-hand column of the Ripetta Port, and on the façade of the church of St. Maria Sopra Minerva. The highest rose twenty-five feet above the level of the ancient Forum. Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, pp. 15—17.

The commercial advantages of the site of Rome may therefore be reckoned as insignificant. To proceed to the other points commended by Cicero and Livy: whatever may be said in favour of the opinion that in ancient times the climate was less injurious to health than it now is, it cannot be doubted that the site of the seven hills is unhealthy in comparison with other parts of Italy, and that to apply the epithet "saluberrimus" to it is contrary to plain fact.[1] I shall subsequently show that the opinion of the writers of the Augustan age seems to have been that the air of the hills was salubrious while the surrounding country was unhealthy.

Or in respect of climate.

The only commendation which is really deserved, therefore, of those bestowed by Livy or Cicero on the site of Rome, appears to be the centrality of its position; and this, no doubt, apart from the prestige of its name, constitutes at the present day its chief claim to be the capital of Italy. It has been acutely said that Italy looks westwards as Greece looked eastwards,[2] and the situation of Rome on the western side of the peninsula ill suited a city which aspired to be the capital of the East as well as the West. Had she been content with her Western provinces, the dissolution of her empire might have been put off till a later time; and in this sense the invectives of the Roman satirists against Orientalism are full of weighty meaning.

What then could have been the advantages which led the earliest settlers at Rome to choose it as a site for their city, and what subsequently gave the city so founded a character different from the rest of the Latin settlements, which were numerously scattered over the neighbouring district? It seems unlikely to suppose that the particular knot of men who planted themselves upon the Palatine hill had anything in their character different from their neighbours of the same race. The theory which would seek an explanation of the force of the Roman character in the mixture of races from which they are said to have sprung, and in the desperate courage of the outlaws who resorted to the asylum of Romulus, is not sufficiently borne out by what we know of their real early history. It does not appear that the Romans were a mongrel race, or that the story of Romulus's asylum is any more credible than the rest of the legends about him. The destiny of a city is in the first instance more dependent upon its situation than upon the character of its inhabitants. There were some peculiarities in the position of Rome which first raised her above her neighbours; and the impetus once given was continued and increased by a variety of coincident causes, although the original source of power was soon forgotten.

But her site was favourable to a limited trading community combined with a large agricultural class.

The city of the Romans stood upon the most defensible position within a moderate distance of the mouth of the Tiber, and thus commanded all the trade of the west coast of Italy, such as it was in the eighth century before the Christian era. The Tiber sufficed to bring them into contact with the neighbouring tribes, and to make their settlement the emporium of the district of the Campagna. Their commercial spirit is marked, as Mommsen has well observed, in very early times, by the law which allowed to a foreigner the unrestricted right of acquiring property in Rome;[3] and perhaps the legend of the

[1] See Brocchi, p. 22.

[2] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 6.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 91. 'A modern asylum is opened near Ardea, for the purpose of cultivating a malarious tract of ground there. See Ampère, Hist. Rom. à Rome, vol. i. p. 67.

asylum may be traced to the liberality which granted a settlement to all comers except slaves, and the legend of the destruction of Cacus by the Tyrian Hercules to the civilization of the primitive inhabitants of the Palatine by the spirit of commerce. Thus, Father Tiberinus, although, as has been said, he afterwards proved too feeble to sustain the weight of the vast empire created by his children, yet enabled them to take the first steps in their rise to universal dominion, and is beautifully represented by Virgil as guiding Æneas to the spot destined to bear the Eternal City.[1] There is no other site between Rome and Ostia which offers any defensible hills like the Capitoline and Palatine, and any city placed higher up the river would become liable to have its commerce interrupted by the superior advantages of Rome.

Thus Rome was placed in the most suitable locality in Latium for acquiring in her infancy a certain degree of wealth by commerce and power on land. It was most fortunate for her that no great Etruscan city could be founded below her on the river for want of an eligible site. Rome was far enough inland to be safe from the invading Hellenic colonists, who doubtless paid the western coast of Latium many a visit in the early times of Rome, and yet near enough to come into a limited contact with them, and learn from them improvements in the art of shipbuilding and navigation.[2] At the same time she had no large foreign trade like the Etruscans, and thus retained the virtues of an agricultural community, and imported no extraneous vices. No sudden fortunes were made in her, and her nobility lived among their dependants in the country, and preserved a sympathy with them which afterwards proved of great value.

That the majority of the original inhabitants of Rome were agricultural seems to be asserted by the legend, according to which the Palilia or Parilia, the shepherds' festival, was celebrated upon the day of the actual foundation of the city.[3] The day was, it is plain, determined not by any real knowledge of the date of the foundation of Rome, but by the vernal equinox, the season when the shepherds' chief anxieties began, and the help of the gods was most desirable. There may possibly be some connexion between the names Palatium and Pales, and the latter may have been the god or goddess after whom the Palatine was named.[4] In the Imperial age of Rome the Palilia was still celebrated as the day of the foundation of Rome. "We heard," says Athenæus, who lived at the beginning of the third century A.D., "the noise of pipes, and clash of cymbals, and beat of drums, and singing of songs throughout the city, for it was the time of the festival called the Parilia formerly, and now the Romæa, when that most excellent and accomplished of sovereigns, Hadrian, dedicated a temple to the Fortune of the City. All the Romans and visitors at Rome keep this day as a particular festival every year."[5]

[1] Virg. Æn viii. 31, seq.:—"Ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam. . . . . mihi victor honorem persolves."

[2] The chief indications of the early commercial relations of Rome with the west coast of Italy are: (1) The Græco-Sicilian forms of the Greek alphabet, and of many Greek words as used at Rome. (2) The early treaties with commercial states, Carthage and Rhodes. (3) The galley in the city arms. (4) The early use of coined money. (5) The imposition of duties on exports and imports at Ostia. (See Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. pp. 50, 209, 212, 223.)

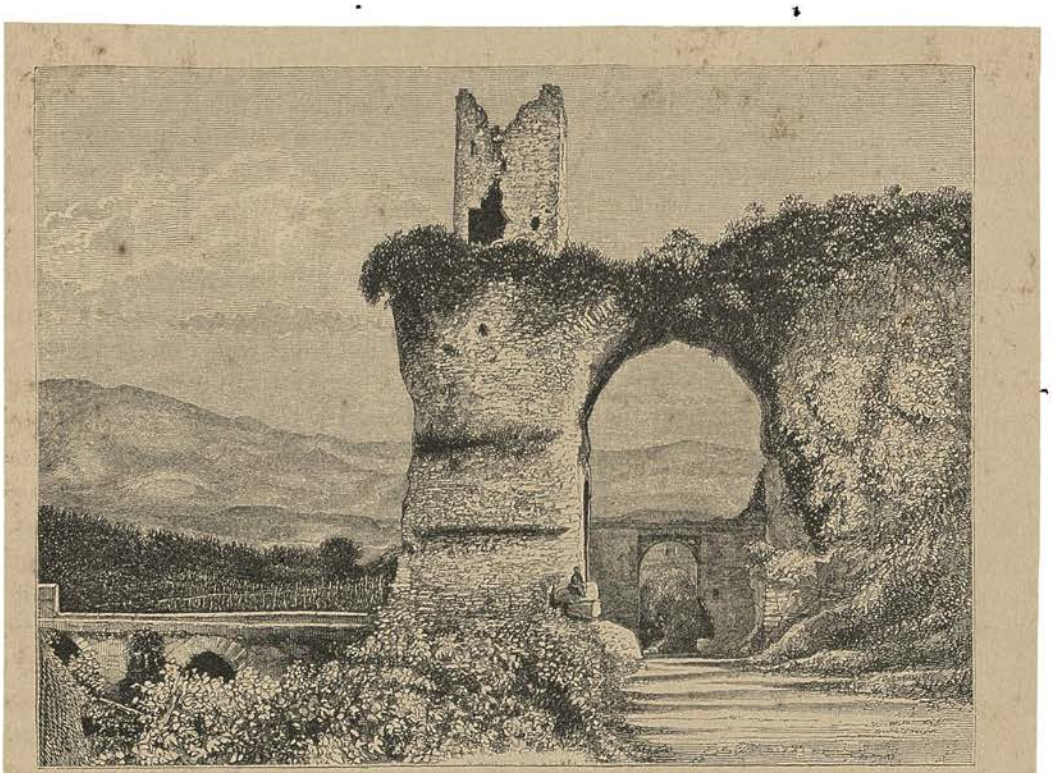
[3] Festus, ed. Müller, pp. 222, 237; Cic. De Div. ii. 47, § 98; Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 66, § 247; Ovid. Fast. iv. 721; Plut. Romul. 12; Propert. v. i. 19, v. iv. 74. Schwegler connects "Roma" with "ruma," the teat, the nourisher, as evidence of a pastoral race. Mommsen connects it with "rama," the "brushwood" city, and Dyer with *ῥώμη*.

[4] Pales was both masc. and fem. See Merkel on Ov. Fast. p. ccviii.

[5] Athenæus, viii. p. 361; Suet. Cal. 16.

But whatever may be said against the general suitability of the site of Rome as the metropolis of a wide and distant empire, and whatever disparaging comparisons may be made between it and other cities with regard to its grandeur and beauty of situation, yet the view from its walls over the surrounding country is most varied and picturesque. On one side, at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, rise the peaks and ravines of the Sabine and Volscian Apennines, snow-clad during the winter, painted with delicate tints of brown and red in the summer, and glowing with a thousand hues of light and shade.[1] Tibur and Præneste, and the white buildings of

Beauty of the views from Rome.



RUINED ARCH OF THE MARCIAN AQUEDUCT, WITH THE SABINE HILLS NEAR TIBUR IN THE DISTANCE.

numerous other places with names dear to the scholar's ear, stand perched on their jutting spurs. On another side, and at the same distance, stands the group of the Alban hills, the ancient central sanctuary of the Latin clans, clothed with groves of olive and ilex. At their feet glisten the white villas of Tusculum and Albano, and towards them diverge the long ranks of majestic arches on which the aqueducts of Rome were carried, and the straight unswerving line of the Appian Road, fringed with the ruined tombs of consuls and senators. Far away on the north, Soracte and the broken horizon of the Ciminian hills bound the prospect; and on the west and south-west the long level glimmering line of the

[1] See Arnold's Life, vol. ii. pp. 313, 363.

Mediterranean is seen from Alsium to Lavinium. Every charm which can be added to a landscape of exquisite outline by varied and delicate colours and shades of distance is to be found in the horizon of the Roman Campagna.

Although an immense elevation of the general level of the ground in Rome has been caused by the extraordinary amount of rubbish accumulated during past ages, yet it does not appear necessary to suppose that any very great changes have taken place in the general form of the hills and other parts of Rome since the times of the Empire. Such changes as have been effected have consisted chiefly in an alteration of the slopes of some of the hills. The Capitol, for instance, was certainly much steeper on the side towards the Campus Martius,[1] and the Aventine was also considerably less accessible; but the relative height of the hills is much the same, a large accumulation of rubbish having taken place, not only in the valleys, but also upon the tops of the hills. This may be seen on the Aventine, where, in a vineyard opposite the church of S. Sabina, some huge arches of ancient buildings are entirely covered up with rubbish.[2] The Palatine under the Villa Spada or Mills is said to be covered with ruins to the depth of nearly thirty feet. In the Vicolo di S. Felice, between the Quirinal and Viminal, the pavement of the ancient street was found at a depth of nearly forty feet.[3] The base of the column of Phocas, in the Forum, is about twenty-five feet beneath the present level of the Campo Vaccino, and the Forum of Trajan about fifteen feet below the adjoining street. Brocchi, the geologist, who made borings in a number of different places, says that the original surface of the soil is seldom less than fifteen feet below the present surface. Even in Nerva's reign Frontinus speaks of the height of the hills as having been increased by the frequent fires.[4] Nor is this at all surprising when we consider that the burning of the city by the Gauls and the fire under Nero extended over the greater part of the city, and that numerous other extensive fires took place at different times. It may almost be said with truth that the ruins of four cities lie under the present surface of the soil—the Regal and Early Republican city, the Later Republican, the Imperial, and the Mediæval. The level of the whole having been thus raised, the heights of the hills above the valleys have not been much decreased, except in so far as rubbish would naturally accumulate in the hollows. Some artificial hills have been formed by ruins since the Imperial times, such as the Monte Testaccio (no mention of which has been discovered among the writers of the earlier centuries of the Christian era),[5] Monte Citorio, and Monte Giordano, the last of which was formed in the Middle Ages from the ruins of some vast building. These, however, with the exception of the first mentioned, Monte Testaccio, do not cause any conspicuous alteration in the general configuration of the ground.[6] That the bed of the Tiber has not been raised more than a few feet, at the most, above its level in the early ages of Rome, is proved conclusively by the position of the Cloaca Maxima; and the same conclusion results from a comparison of the level of the river at Rome with that of the sea.

The general form of the ground remains the same as in the earliest times.

[1] Ov. Fast. i. 264; Æn. viii. 348.

[2] Brocchi, p. 83.

[3] Montfaucon, Dia. Ital. p. 195.

[4] Frontinus, De Aquæd. 18: "Nam nunc colles qui sunt propter frequentiam incendiorum excreverunt rudere."

[5] See chap. ix.

[6] The railway cutting which passes through the Servian agger has made the most considerable change in the conformation of the ground at the present day.

The Tiber has always been a rapid and turbid river; but supposing that its level had ever been much lower than at present, there would not have been fall enough to make it a turbid stream. At present, its level at Rome above the sea-level at Ostia is said to be only sixteen feet four inches.[1] Add to this, that the spring of the arches in the ancient Ælian and Cestian bridges, built by Hadrian and Valens respectively, is still visible when the river is at its ordinary height, and the conclusion seems irresistible that the river-level has not been materially changed in historical times.

[1] Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. i. pp. 30, 31. Bunsen, following Linotti in the "Giornale Arcadico," reckons the elevation of the Tiber bed since the construction of the Cloaca at four or five feet.

CHAPTER II.

THE GEOLOGY AND CLIMATE OF ROME.

THE TERTIARY MARINE FORMATIONS—THE VOLCANIC FORMATIONS—HARD TUFA—GRANULAR TUFA—ANCIENT VOLCANOES OF LATIUM—THE FRESH-WATER FORMATIONS—CHANGES IN THE TIBER WATER—ANCIENT LEVEL OF THE TIBER—PRIMÆVAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—UNHEALTHINESS OF THE CAMPAGNA—CAUSES OF THE INCREASE OF THE MALARIA IN MODERN TIMES—NUMEROUS ANCIENT POPULATION OF THE CAMPAGNA—THE ROMANS OF THE EMPIRE THOUGHT THE CAMPAGNA UNHEALTHY—CLIMATE WAS ONCE SOMEWHAT COLDER—DRAINAGE IN ANCIENT TIMES—THE ANCIENT ROMAN DRESS MORE HEALTHY THAN THE PRESENT—WOOLLEN TOGA GIVEN UP.

"Omnia pontus erant."—OVID. *Met.* i. 292.

BEFORE entering upon any details of topography, it seems advisable to attempt to give some account of the geological formation of the soil of Rome. Those who have accustomed themselves to associate certain peculiarities in the outlines of a landscape with the character of the underlying strata will be assisted by such a description in realizing more vividly the appearance of the district in which Rome stands; and an enumeration of the different kinds of rock to be found in the neighbourhood will be interesting in connexion with the building materials of ancient Rome. Some points, also, in the question of the alteration of climate supposed to have taken place at Rome in modern times, will have light thrown upon them by an examination of the geological conformation of the district.[1]

The geological strata found on the site of Rome and in its immediate neighbourhood divide themselves into three principal groups. The oldest of these is a marine formation, and exhibits itself upon the Vatican, the Janiculum, and Monte Mario. The second, of which all the hills on the eastern bank are composed, is of volcanic origin, and consists chiefly of beds of tufaceous matter erupted from submarine volcanoes, and more or less solidified. The third, which appears in the hollows of the Tiber valley, is a fresh-water formation, and is found on the slope of the hills on both banks of the river.

The tertiary marine formations.

The oldest of these three groups belongs to the division of the tertiary period called by Lyell the *older pleiocene*, as having had a fauna and flora in which the greater number of species were identical with those now living on the earth. These strata are of marine formation, and are similar to those which extend over a great breadth of Italy on both flanks of the Apennine Mountains, reaching as far south as the point of Reggio in Calabria.[2] Their lower bed consists of

[1] The geological information given in this chapter is chiefly derived from Brocchi's work, "Dello Stato Fisico del Suolo di Roma," Rome, 1820; and from Bunsen and Plattner's "Beschreibung Roms," Band i. s. 45.

[2] Brocchi, p. 165.

GEOLOGICAL MAP
OF
ROME
Ch. II.

Edwd. Weller. lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

a bluish-grey marl, which will be found in the valley between the Janiculum and the Vatican. Its marine origin is sufficiently proved by the fossils found in it, which belong partly to the genera *Lepas* and *Balanus*, partly to those of *Dentalis* and *Tellina*, with some remains of seaweeds. This bed of clay is of a plastic nature, and is still used for making pottery, as it was in the time of Juvenal.[1] Above it lies a stratum of yellow calcareous sand, which sometimes takes the form of loose sand with boulders, sometimes of a stratified arenaceous rock, and sometimes of a rough conglomerate. This may be seen outside the Porta Angelica, on the left, under the walls of the city, and in the Belvedere Gardens on the Vatican. The Church of S. Pietro in Montorio is said to derive its name Montorio (*monte aureo*) from the yellow colour of this sand.[2]

On Monte Mario an abundance of fossil shells, most of which, according to Brogniart, resemble the *Ostrea hippopus*, together with other varieties of sea-shells, may be seen, plainly indicating the marine origin of this formation. The only places within the actual walls of Rome where these tertiary marine strata are to be found are the Vatican and the Janiculum. At the base of the Capitoline, in the subterranean vaults of the Ospitale della Consolazione, under the volcanic rock which forms the upper part of the hill, Brocchi found a stratum of calcareous rock and clay which he affirms to be of marine origin, and to resemble the limestone of the Apennines.[3] It does not seem, however, to be determined whether this rock belongs to the same period as the sandstone and marl of the Vatican and Janiculum. Brocchi implies that it is a secondary formation, by his comparison of it with the Apennine limestone, but it is more probably of the same date as the blue clay of the Vatican hill. The depth at which these marine formations of clay and sand lie beneath those parts of Rome where they do not appear on the surface may be conjectured from the depth at which water is found in the wells sunk through the upper strata. At the top of the Pincian and Palatine hills this depth is about 115 feet; and on the Aventine, Quirinal, and Esquiline, it varies from 50 to 90 feet.

The second group of strata found on the site of Rome is one which is not confined to the neighbourhood of Rome, but is most extensively spread over the whole of the Campagna, the district of Campania, and a considerable part of Southern Italy. The great mass of the Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Esquiline, Cælian, Viminal, Quirinal, and Pincian hills is composed of this formation. Geologists give it the general name of tufa. Brocchi divides it into two kinds, the stony and the granular. It is distinguished from lava by not having flowed in a liquid state from the volcano, and is a mechanical conglomerate of scoriæ, ashes, and other volcanic products, which have been carried to some distance from the crater of eruption, and then consolidated.[4] The harder kind of tufa (*tufa litoide*) is a reddish brown or tawny stone, with orange-coloured spots. These spots are imbedded fragments of scoriaceous lava. It is hard enough to be used as a building stone, and has been quarried largely under the Aventine hill near S. Saba, at Monte Verde on the southern end of the Janiculum, and at other places near Rome, as at Torre Pignatara, on the

The volcanic formations.

Hard tufa.

[1] Juv. Sat. vi. 344: "Et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas." The "Vaticani cadi" mentioned in Martial, which Brocchi thinks are jars of Vatican pottery, are more probably jars of Vatican wine. See Martial, i. 18, xii. 48; compared with vi. 92, x. 45.

[2] Ampère, Hist. Rom. chap. i.

[3] Brocchi, p. 155.

[4] Ibid., p. 109.

Via Labicana, at the bridge over the Anio, on the Via Nomentana, and at the Tarpeian rock.

This tufaceous stone presents itself in very thick banks, traversed by long vertical and oblique fissures, probably produced by the contraction of the mass on passing from a humid and soft to a dry and hard state. The arch of the Cloaca Maxima,[1] near S. Giorgio in Velabro, is built of this stone, and the inner part of the substructure of the Tabularium on the Capitol. Portions of the Servian wall were also built of it, and many stones which were taken from this wall are to be seen at the present day in the walls of Aurelian, near the gate of S. Lorenzo. Others have been laid bare by the railway excavations in the Servian agger. Brick-shaped masses of it are found in the *ambulacra* of the theatre of Marcellus, so that the use of it must not be restricted to the earliest times of Roman architecture. In fact, several buildings of the Middle Ages, in or near Rome, consist of this stone, as may be seen at the fortress Gaetani, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and in the large tower at the side of the Palace of the Senator.[2]

From its being used generally in quadrangular pieces, this stone was called *saxum quadratum* by the Romans,[3] just as the Germans call a particular kind of sandstone *Quaderstein*. Another name by which it was called was *tophus*,[4] and the name "Ad saxa rubra" was given to a place on the Via Flaminia, beyond the tomb of the Nasos, now named Prima Porta, from the reddish colour of this rock which appears there at the surface.[5]

In the more ancient buildings of Rome, besides the above stone, one of a similar character, but finer grain and yellowish grey colour, was also employed. A good specimen of it is to be seen, according to Brocchi, in the walls of a vault at No. 66 in the Via Longaretta, in the Trastevere. The place where this latter kind of stone was procured is not known. It approaches more nearly than the reddish stone to the *peperino* obtained from Albano and Marino, but is not exactly similar.

Granular tufa.

The second kind of tufa is granular, with imperfect cohesion. It is of a brown, yellowish grey, or violaceous brown colour, spotted with white grains of flowery leucite and scales of black mica, and often contains small particles of grey or blackish lava. The Catacombs of Rome, with the exception of that of S. Valentino, which is in the travertine rock, are excavated in this granular tufa; it forms the greater part of the hills on the eastern bank of the Tiber, and it is also found near the top of Monte Mario. Extensive pits were dug in it by the ancient Romans, called *arenariæ*,[6] a name which still survives in the word *arnare*, given to such pits in the districts of Frosinone and Segni. It is used for mixing with lime to make mortar. Vitruvius speaks of four varieties,—the black, the grey, the red, and the carbuncular.[7] The

[1] The ancient arch must be distinguished from the more modern masonry of the embouchure in the "pulchrum littus" of the Tiber.

[2] The use of tufa was certainly not confined to the earliest times of Rome. It has always been, and still is, used largely at Rome for interior construction. See Brocchi, p. 112; and Winkelmann, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 546.

[3] Livy, i. 26, "Horatiæ sepulcrum constructum ex saxo quadrato;" Livy, x. 23; Vitruv. ii. 7; Plin. Ep. ad Traj. 37.

[4] "Nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum," Juv. Sat. iii. 20; Vitruv. ii. 7.

[5] Mart. iv. 64, 15; Livy, ii. 49; Cic. Phil. ii. 31.

[6] See Cicero, Pro Cluent. xiii. 37: "Asinius in arenarias quasdam extra portam Esquilinam perductus occiditur." Varro, De Re Rustica, i. 2, ad fin., classes "arenariæ" with "lapicidinæ."

[7] Vitruv. ii. 4, 1.

excellence of this Roman cement is well known. Had not other causes, the violence of fires and invading armies, and, above all, the hands of her own inhabitants, destroyed the buildings of Rome by force, perhaps few cities in the world would have been likely to stand so long against the attacks of time and weather.

The varieties of granular tufa are very great. Sometimes it is coherent nearly to the same degree as recent lapillo, but not so dry; at other times it is very friable, and almost passes into an earthy state. When it has suffered decomposition to this extent, it is called by Brocchi *tufa terroso*. He points out several spots where this earthy tufa may be well observed, among which are the vaults of S. Francisco di Paola, on the Esquiline, and a bank on the left hand of the road leading from the Arco Oscuro to the Acqua Acetosa.

Mixed with the tufa of Rome, pumice in considerable quantity is found, which affords an indisputable proof of its volcanic origin. The beds of pumice are generally a few inches thick, and lie interspersed among the granular tufa.

Ancient volcanoes of Latium.

It is an interesting question, and one which belongs to the history of the site of Rome, whence these volcanic materials, which form the great mass of the Roman hills, could have come. Were they produced on the spot by volcanic craters which have disappeared in the lapse of ages, or were they hurled from a distance through the air, or carried by means of water to the situation they now occupy? There appears to be no place in the immediate neighbourhood of the city itself which we can point to as the remains of an extinct crater. There is no lava to be found nearer than the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, three miles from Rome, on the Appian road; and the lava there visible forms the extremity of a current which can be distinctly traced to its source in the Alban hills. It is probable, then, that the tufa of Rome has been brought, either through the air or by the water, to its present position from some considerable distance; and there can be little doubt that water has been the vehicle by which it has been conveyed and deposited. For in a vast number of places in and near Rome, and in almost all the tufa banks on the side of the Comarca towards Tuscany, distinct stratification can be traced. Such stratifications may be seen in the beds of tufa along the post-road from Viterbo to Rome; and at Rome itself in the Catacombs and many other places. Strata of basaltic gravel and pebbles worn by water lie intermixed with the tufa in some places, and not unfrequently beds of rounded pieces of lava or of pumice, and even of calcareous stones. And again, the beds of tufa run up into the limestone valleys of Tivoli, Subiaco, Arsoli, and other places, whither they must have been carried by water, as there are no traces of lava currents or volcanic craters near them. From these facts it appears evident that the tufa-beds of Rome were laid down by water. Was this water, then, the water of the sea, or of rivers and torrents?

The immense extent of the tufa-beds of Southern Italy, which are found nearly over the whole of Campania, and extend to Calabria and Sicily, forbids us to suppose that they could have been deposited by river water. Moreover, marine shells have been found at Albano in this formation; and near Montalto, on the road to Corneto, Brocchi found a quantity of the shells of *Venus islandica*, a sea-shell. Sea-shells are also said to have been discovered in the beds of sand which alternate with tufa near Acqua

Traversa, beyond the Milvian bridge. In Campania, also, and Sicily, similar proofs of marine origin have been found in the corresponding tufaceous beds of those countries. Our conclusion, then, is that the sea, which once covered a great part of the peninsula of Italy, contained some submerged volcanoes, from which the pieces of pumice, cinders, and lava, forming the stratified tufa, were ejected, and that the pebbles of limestone, bones of animals, and trunks of trees, which are sometimes found in the tufa, were carried and deposited in it by the sea.

Brocchi thinks that the constituent elements of substances ejected at a high temperature from volcanoes are not likely to be so equably distributed as to preclude subsequent re-arrangement under the gradual influence of water, which would give free scope to the exercise of affinities, and induce new movement and combination among their elements.

The further question as to the place where these supposed submarine volcanoes were situated has been pretty generally determined by geologists in favour of the extinct craters of the Ciminian hills, of which the Lago Bracciano is the largest. These are, it is true, more distant from Rome than the Alban craters, but certain reasons seem entirely to exclude the latter. The *tufa litoide*, so common at Rome, is not found at the Alban hills, but, instead of it, the grey peperino.[1] No traces of pumice have ever been seen near Albano or Frascati, while it is common at Rome. But both these substances are found in great quantities near the Ciminian craters. They cover the neighbouring country, extending beyond the Tiber to the districts of Sutri, Ronciglione, Civita Castellana, and Montefiascone. On approaching nearer to Rome from the north, the beds of tufa become less and less voluminous, showing distinctly that their source is becoming more distant; and it seems as if the last remnant had been deposited at Rome itself, composing the finely-grained and solidified tufa found there.

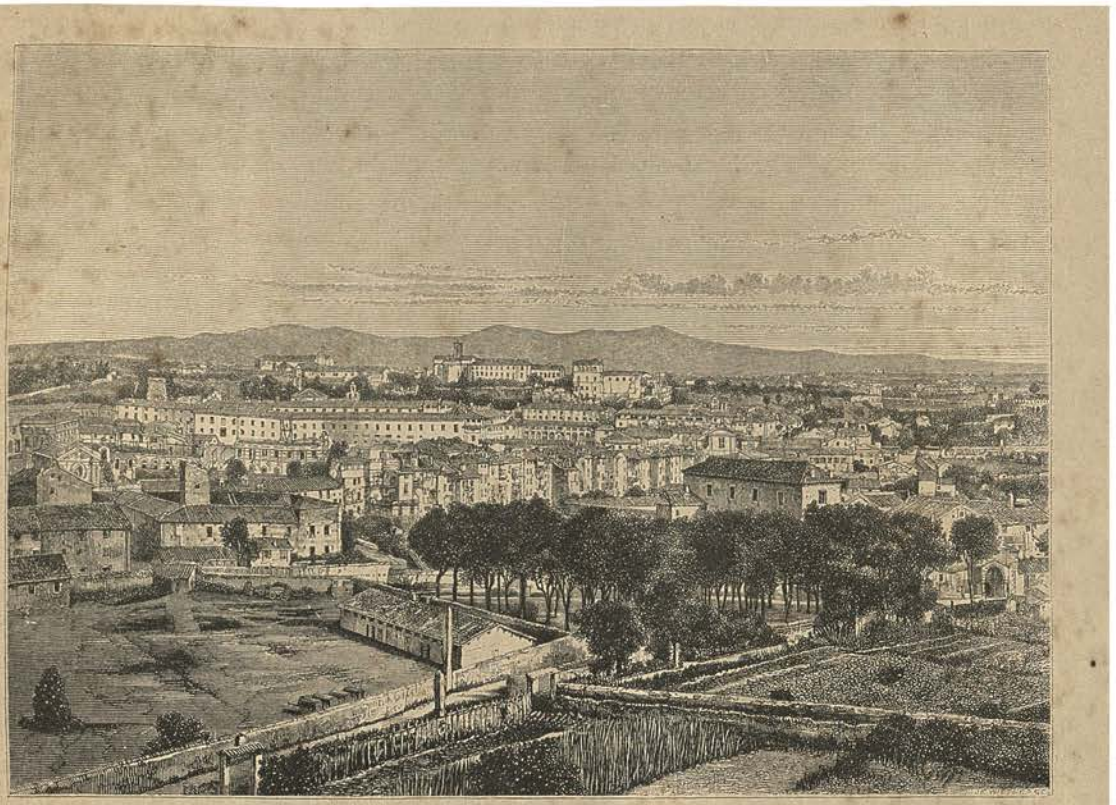
With regard to the time at which these deposits of tufa took place, nothing more definite can be stated than that they appear to be of about the same age as the marine deposits of the Janiculum and Vatican, which belong to the middle tertiary formation.

The fresh-water formations.

Fresh-water formations cover the bottoms of all the valleys in the district of Rome and the whole of the Campus Martius, and ascend to a considerable height on the flanks of the hills. They consist chiefly of sand, clay, gravel, and the stone called travertine, and of tufa-beds which have been disturbed and then re-deposited. This re-deposited tufa has been the subject of some controversy. It was at one time thought to indicate that the lower tufa was also a fresh-water deposit, since it is sometimes found overlying the fresh-water formations. But no doubt now remains that it must have been formed by a re-arrrangement in fresh water of previously deposited marine tufa-beds. The water of the Tiber, at the time when these fluviatile formations took place, stood at such a height as to leave deposits upon the Intermontium of the Capitol, and as high as the Church of S. Isodoro on the Pincian, and it must have partially removed and shifted the previously existing light and porous volcanic soil of the sea-bottom. Even the top of the Pincian was covered by this fresh water; for fragments of calcareous matter, containing terrestrial remains, such as are deposited in fresh water alone, were found in digging the excavations

[1] The peperino so common in Roman buildings comes from Albano and Gabii. It is a harder and more crystallized stone than tufa, and of a finer grain and more sightly colour.

for the fountain on the public promenade. The level of the broad river which then existed seems, in fact, to have been from 130 to 140 feet above the present level of the Tiber, and its waters must have been more surcharged with alluvium derived from sources with which the present river is no longer connected. Among the fluviatile deposits, argillaceous marl-beds now play an important part. They intercept the water as it descends from the hills, and impede its descent to the river, thus furnishing supplies to the wells in Rome, but rendering the soil less dry and healthy. But the greater portion of



ALBAN HILLS FROM S. PIETRO.

these strata consist of a mixture of sand and clay. The rising ground between the Campo Vaccino and the Coliseum, on which the Arch of Titus stands, is formed almost entirely of this mixed stratum of clay and sand. To prove the fresh-water origin of these deposits we need only refer to the masses of travertine and the shells of lacustrine animals which they contain. The *Helix palustris* and *planata* of Linnæus, species which live in sluggish but not altogether stagnant water, were found by Brocchi in the sand-beds near the Arch of Titus. These fossils are also to be found in the yellow marl of the Aventine, which overlies the great mass of travertine on its western side, and in the clay of the Intermontium on the Capitoline.

The river water has no longer the power which it once possessed of depositing the travertine which we find lying in thick beds upon the slopes of some of the hills of

Rome.[1] This travertine is formed from carbonate of lime, which the waters take up as they pass through the soil containing it. In order, however, to give the water the power of holding this carbonate of lime in solution, a certain quantity of carbonic acid gas must be present in it. When, by means of the rapid movement of the water, or from other causes, this gas becomes disengaged, it leaves the carbonate of lime behind in the shape of a hard, stony deposit. This natural process of petrifaction is familiar to all who have seen the Falls of the Anio at Tivoli, and the way in which the artificial canals of running water in that neighbourhood are choked by limestone concretions; and it may be seen in all vessels made use of to boil water which is impregnated with lime. The more violent the agitation of the water, the more rapid is the disengagement of the carbonic acid gas, and the consequent settlement of the lime. This process is accompanied, in most places where it can be seen, by the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen, which produces a white colour in the water by precipitating the substance called *gesso* by the Italians. Hence an explanation of the ancient name of Albula given to the Tiber. In the period when the Tiber had the power of depositing travertine, its waters were much more strongly impregnated, not only with carbonate of lime, but also with gesso, which gave a white tinge to the water, as it now does to the sulphureous waters near Tivoli. The same colour was characteristic of "the White Nar with its sulphureous stream," in Virgil's description of the chief stream of the Central Apennines.[2]

Changes in the water of the Tiber.

The Tiber water still gives out a certain quantity of carbonic acid gas, but at the time when it was called the Albula the quantity must have been much greater, from whatever source we are to suppose that it was derived. The Acqua Acetosa, a well-known spring near Rome, is strongly impregnated with carbonic acid, and the Anio has deposits of travertine along its whole course; but no considerable quantity seems at the present time to enter the Tiber.

The most striking deposit of travertine within the walls of Rome is that on the western side of the Aventine, which is plainly seen from the road running along the left bank of the river. From the Arco della Salara to the Bastione di Paolo III., for nearly half a mile this steep cliff of stone extends along the edge of the hill at a height of at least ninety feet above the present level of the river. It contains fresh-water shells, and there can therefore be no doubt of its fluviatile origin. Masses of travertine are to be seen in the Catacombs of S. Valentino, and on the rock near the Acqua Acetosa, called the Punta di S. Giuliano, where it takes grotesque shapes.

Von Buch seeks to account for the height of the ancient level of the Tiber by supposing that the level of the sea was much higher, or, as it would be probably expressed by more modern geologists, that the last elevation of the sea-coast of Latium had not then taken place. Modern science thus expresses itself, because the elevation of certain portions of the sea-coast is considered to be a matter of observation; while no universal depression of the sea-level has ever taken place since the period of scientific observation. Phenomena similar to those of the fresh-

Ancient level of the Tiber.

[1] Travertine is the stone used in the exterior of most of the great buildings at Rome, as the Coliseum, the theatre of Marcellus, and the Mausoleum of Hadrian.

[2] "Sulfurea Nar albus aqua," Æn. vii. 517. Compare Ennius, ap. Prisc. vi. 692; Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 12, 109. The Liris is also called *sulfureus* by Sil. Ital. viii. 400.

water formations of Rome are found in many other parts of the upper Tiber valley and its tributaries the Anio, the Nar, and the Paglia, and also upon the coasts of the Adriatic and in the valleys of the north-eastern side of the Apennines. It has been before mentioned that, in the first century of the Christian era, it was proposed to turn the water of the Chiana into the valley of the Arno, and that this was afterwards actually effected. There is evidence to show that in the first century that portion of the Arno itself which traverses the plain of Arezzo discharged its waters by the channel of the Chiana into the Tiber. Thus, in addition to the higher level of the sea, the larger body of water which anciently found its way by the Tiber valley to the sea contributed to enlarge its operations in depositing alluvial soil.

Primæval condition of the country.

But few traces of these primæval conditions of the country are preserved by language or tradition. The names Velabrum[1] and Velia seem to refer to the water which, in the last geological epoch to which the soil bears testimony, covered the valleys on both sides of the Palatine. The Velabrum Majus, according to Varro, was a lake supplied by the Tiber, and lay between the Aventine and Palatine, and the Velabrum Minus, a similar lake between the Palatine and Capitoline.[2] The story of Mettus Curtius, the Sabine officer whose horse is said to have plunged into the morass which then occupied the Forum valley, as related by Livy, Varro, Dionysius, and Plutarch, refers to the Velabrum Minus.[3] The same tradition is alluded to by Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid, who speak of the boats which were used to cross the water, and the reeds which grew on the margin of the lake.[4] An old *basso-rilievo*, portraying the accident of Mettus Curtius, which was found near the north-east corner of the Palatine, and is now fixed in the wall of the Palace of the Conservators in the Capitol, represents the Velabrum as a marsh. A statue of Vertumnus, which stood in the valley of the Velabrum, is said to have been placed there in commemoration of the turning back of the waters by that god (*ab amne verso*),[5] and a church which stood in the Middle Ages on or near the Velabrum was called S. Silvestro in Lacu.[6] A later stage of the gradual desiccation of these spots is pointed to by the legend of the casting ashore of Romulus and Remus on the slope of the Palatine during a flood, and by the tradition related by Solinus, that the aborigines left their settlement on the Palatine on account of the frequent flooding of the river Tiber.[7]

The story of Cacus, a monster living on the Aventine, who vomited flames, and was the son of Vulcan,[8] has been interpreted by M. Breislak as an allegorical representation of the volcanic origin of the Roman hills, and the cave of Cacus has been converted by him into a crater of eruption, which he supposed to have been situated in the Forum valley. But this is contrary to the indications of the strata themselves which underlie the valley of the Forum; and Dionysius and Livy,[9] in their account of the legend, omit altogether the fire-vomiting powers of Cacus. That Cacus is represented as the son of Vulcan is not to be taken as indicating anything more than the

[1] Velabrum, Gr. *Φέλος*. The same root is found in Velletri and Velino.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. 43, 156.

[3] Livy, i. 12; Varro, v. 148; Dionys. ii. 42; Plut. Rom, 18.

[4] Propert. v. 9, 5; Tib. ii. 5, 33; Ov. Fast. vi. 401.

[5] Propert. v. 2, 10.

[6] Martinelli, Roma Sacra, pp. 222, 401.

[7] Solinus, i. 14, ed. Mommsen.

[8] Virg. Æn. viii. 193; Ov. Fast. i. 551.

[9] Dionys. lib. i. 39; Livy, i. 7.

ordinary mythological descent of a monster. The founder of Præneste, Cæculus, was also represented as the son of Vulcan,[1] yet Præneste is situated on a spur of the calcareous rock of the Apennines, far removed from any volcanic influences.

Two other memorials of the ancient high level of the Tiber may be found in the names of the Palus Caprea, in the Campus Martius, whence Romulus is said to have been carried to heaven while reviewing his army;[2] and the Vada Terenti, where the river wears away the bank below the Ripetta Ferry.[3]

The subject of the climate of Rome is naturally connected with that of the nature of the soil and configuration of the hills and valleys.

Unhealthiness of the Campagna.

It is not difficult to see why the peculiar geological formation of the Campagna proves, without careful drainage, extremely deleterious to health. We have there a district containing numerous closed valleys and depressions in the soil, without outlet for the waters which naturally accumulate. The tufa which composes the surface seems commonly to take the shape of isolated hills, with irregular hollows between them, so as to impede the formation of natural water-courses. Under this tufa is a quantity of marl and stiff clay, which retains the water after it has filtered through the tufa, and sends it oozing out into the lower parts of the country, where it accumulates, and, mixed with putrescent vegetable matter, taints the surrounding atmosphere. A want of movement in the air, caused by the mountainous barriers by which the Campagna is inclosed, is another source of malaria.[4]

Causes of its increase in modern times.

It is a most curious fact that the ancient inhabitants of Rome and the Campagna do not seem to have felt the baneful influences of the *aria cattiva*, or malaria, to the same extent as the modern Italians. And yet certainly at the time when the waters of the Tiber frequently invaded the Velabrum and stagnated there, when the valley of the Circus Maximus was a marshy pool, and when the Palus Caprea and the Stagna Terenti, as has been seen, occupied a part of the Campus Martius, the site of Rome must have been much more pestilential than at the present time. The level of the soil has been much raised by the rubbish of ruins, and the Tiber seldom now overflows its banks. Add to this, that the volume of water carried by the river has decreased since the turning of the water of the Chiana into the Arno, and the felling of the numerous forests which spread over the country in ancient times. Scattered in various directions in the neighbourhood were lakes and lagunes, some of which have been since dried up and drained. The Lake of Regillus, which

> "—— bubbled with crimson foam,
> What time the thirty cities
> Came forth to war with Rome,"

and the lakes of Gabii, of Juturna, and of Turnus, with innumerable lagunes in the neighbourhood of Lavinium, Ardea, and Laurentium, have been gradually absorbed by the sinking of the level of the Tiber, or by artificial drainage.[5] All these must have

[1] *Virg. Æn. vii. 678.*

[2] *Livy, i. 16; αἰγὸς ἕλος,* Plut. Rom. 27.

[3] *Festus, p. 351; Ov. Fast. i. 501; Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 63.*

[4] The district of Auvergne is compared by Dureau de la Malle with the Campagna. Ec. Pol. des Rom. ii. 226.

[5] Columella, De R. R. lib. ix.; "palus Laurentia," Æn. x. 709; "stagna Numici," Æn. vii. 150, 242. See Nicolai, Bonificamenti delle terre Pomptine, lib. ii.–iv.

contributed to make the air less healthy in past times than it now is. Now what is said to be so extraordinary is that, from the early times of Rome down to the Augustan age, we find a numerous population living not only at Rome, but in the Campagna, where now human beings fear to encounter the deadly effects of the air, even for a single night. At the era when the Servian reforms were introduced into the military organization of Rome, which must be placed in the second century of the city, Livy, quoting Fabius Pictor, gives the number of freeholders capable of bearing arms as 80,000.[1] This is probably a conjectural calculation, as Mommsen has pointed out, and proceeds upon the assumption that the normal strength of the infantry composing the centuries, viz. 16,800, might be multiplied by five in order to arrive at the whole number of citizens capable of bearing arms.[2]

Ancient population of the Campagna.

It is more reasonable to take this number, 80,000, as including the whole population of both sexes. We should then have a population of 190 souls to the square mile of territory; and it may be shown that the population increased from this time at an enormous rate, so that in the sixth century of Rome it amounted to nearly 1,400,000. Under the first Emperors, the whole number of Roman citizens, including those in the provinces, was 4,063,000.[3] This number probably continued to increase for the next two centuries, till the time of Honorius, and may possibly have then amounted to 5,000,000. It may be supposed, therefore, that the population of Rome and the Campagna was from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 in Imperial times. Now the population of Rome itself does not at the present day amount to more than 230,000, and that of the Comarca, or surrounding province, to about 100,000. These statistics must, however, be received with caution, and are perhaps likely to give an exaggerated idea of the accuracy to which it is possible to attain in these matters. A few considerations, drawn from what we know of the towns in Latium, will show more plainly the contrast between the density of population in ancient and modern times.

The sites of Veii, Fidenæ, and Gabii, once the rivals and equals of Rome, are now entirely deserted, except by a few shepherds and cattle-stalls. Along the coast stood Ardea, Laurentum, Lavinium, and Ostia, all of them towns apparently with a considerable number of inhabitants. Of these, Ostia, formerly a large town (Nibby, Viaggio, ii. p. 288), is now a miserable village, Ardea contains about sixty inhabitants, while Laurentum and Lavinium are represented by single towers. During a part of the year, the Roman nobility lived in great numbers on these very shores now found so deadly. Pliny the younger describes the appearance of their villas near Laurentum as that of a number of towns placed at intervals along the beach; and he writes an enthusiastic letter in praise of the salubrity and convenience of his own house there.[4] Lælius and Scipio used to make the seaside at Laurentum their resort, and to amuse

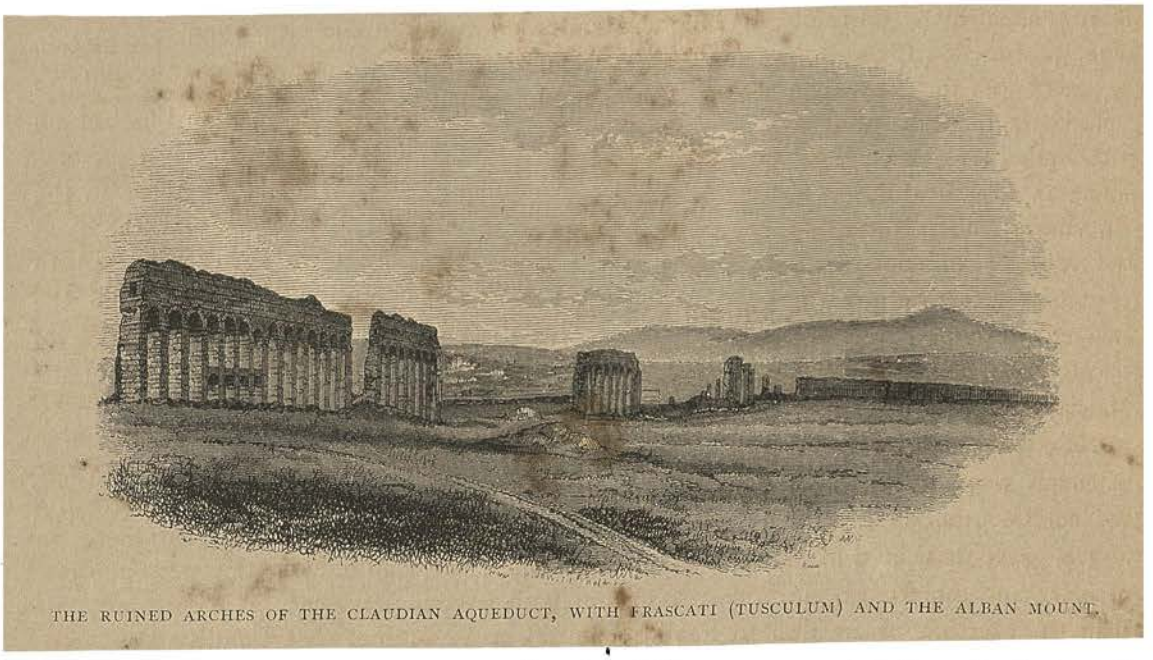
[1] Livy, i. 44.

[2] Mommsen, Rom. Hist., vol. i. p. 102, Eng. trans.

[3] Lipsius, De Magn. Rom. i. 7; Mon. Ancyr. ed. Zumpt, tab. 2.

[4] Plin. Ep. ii. 17. The depopulation of the Campagna began even in the time of the later Republic. See Appian, B. C. i. 7. "Latifundia perdidere Italiam," is Pliny's expression in speaking of large farms: Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. § 35. Pliny lived at his villa in the late autumn, winter, and spring, as we see by his mention of cattle driven from the mountains. The villa of Castel Fusano, now on the site of Pliny's villa, is only inhabited in the spring for a few weeks. In the Antonine era and the following reigns, pestilence and famine swept off millions of inhabitants. Zumpt, Stand. des Bevolkerung, p. 84, quoted by Merivale, vol. vii. p. 610.

themselves there with collecting shells.[1] Nor was it only on the sea-coast that the country villas were placed. Six miles from Rome, on the Flaminian road, at the spot now called Prima Porta, there stood a well-known country-house belonging to the Empress Livia, part of which has lately been excavated.[2] This was a highly decorated and commodious house, as the rooms which have been discovered, containing a splendid statue of Augustus and the busts of several members of the Imperial family, amply testify. The views from this spot over the Campagna and the Sabine hills are most lovely, but the contrast between the beauty of Nature and the haggard and fever-stricken appearance of the modern inhabitants is melancholy enough. A few squalid houses, occupied by agricultural labourers, stand by the roadside. Among their tenants, not a



THE RUINED ARCHES OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT, WITH FRASCATI (TUSCULUM) AND THE ALBAN MOUNT.

single healthy face is to be seen, and even the children are gaunt, hollow-cheeked, and deadly sallow in complexion. No wealthy Roman would now consent to live on the site of Hadrian's stately villa in the Campagna, near Tivoli. Tivoli itself, which Horace wished might be the retreat of his old age, and which was celebrated as a healthy place in Martial's time,[3] has now lost its reputation for salubrity, and is known as

"Tivoli di mal conforto
O piove, o tira vento, o suona amorto."

Strabo speaks of the now desolate district between Tusculum and Rome as having been once convenient to live in (*εὐάγωγα*).[4]

But there is no need to multiply proofs, which might be gathered from all sides, of what is an acknowledged fact; that the malarian fevers of the present day were not nearly so deadly in the classic times of Rome, or even in the Middle Ages. The troops

[1] Cic. De Or. ii. 6; Val. Max. viii. 8, 1.

[2] Suet. Galb. i.; Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 40, 136, 137.

[3] Hor. Od. iii. 6, "Tibur, Argæo positum colono, sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;" Mart. iv. 60, "Inter laudatas ad Styga missus aquas."

[4] Strabo, v. 3, 12, p. 239.

of labourers who, fearing to pass the night in the country, are met returning to Rome every evening, the forsaken towers and buildings which stand rotting everywhere about the Campagna, all tell the same tale of a pestilence-stricken district.[1]

Notwithstanding these evidences of a thick population, and of a general aptitude for the residence of man, but few encomia upon the healthiness of the Campagna can be found among ancient writers. It is true that Pliny, speaking in a rhetorical and vague way, praises the "healthiness of the climate," and that Livy puts into the mouth of Camillus, when enumerating the advantages of the situation of Rome against those who wished to remove to Veii, an encomium upon Rome, as placed upon "hills of a most healthy air;"[2] but the balance of testimony tends to show that the Romans of the Empire considered some parts of the neighbourhood of Rome unhealthy. Certainly, terrible epidemics prevailed in the city from time to time.[3] Cicero's opinion is expressed clearly in the description he gives of the site upon which Rome was founded by Romulus, as "placed in a pestilential region, though healthy itself, and well supplied with springs."[4] A passage of Strabo, quoted above, speaks of the district on the sea-shore as less healthy than the Campagna further inland. Frontinus, Inspector of Aqueducts under Nerva, and Tacitus both mention the unhealthiness of Rome, and use the epithet "infamous," as applied to the climate. Tacitus, however, in using this expression refers only to the Vatican hill, where the army of Vitellius was encamped and suffered much loss from disease caused by the unhealthiness of the spot.[5]

The Romans of the Empire thought the Campagna unhealthy.

Horace's dread of the autumnal heats and the scirocco of Rome is well known, and Martial condemns Ardea and Castrum Inui as fatal to health during the summer.[6] Add to this, that altars were erected in different parts of Rome to the goddess Febris, one of which stood upon the Palatine, and two others upon the Esquiline and Quirinal, in the neighbourhood of the Areæ Marianorum and the Vicus Longus; and that there was also a grove dedicated to Mephitis on the Esquiline.[7] Brocchi remarks that personification of fever and malaria does not necessarily imply their wide prevalence at Rome, any more than the erection of an altar to Fear can be taken as a proof that timidity was a characteristic failing of the Romans.[8] But it furnishes a sufficient testimony of the actual existence of fever and malaria from the most ancient times. The singular facts, then, which we have before us, are on the one hand, that a dense population formerly occupied, with apparent security and health, regions where vigorous health is impossible at the present time; and on the other, that the air of many of these very spots is condemned by ancient writers as prejudicial to health.

A change in the average temperature has been assigned by some writers as the cause of this alteration in the effects of the climate of Rome. And there is reason to believe

[1] See Story's Roba di Roma, vol. ii. ch. 2; Bunsen's Beschreibung Roms, vol. i. p. 104.

[2] Livy, v. 54.

[3] See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, vol. i. pp. 35, 36; Tac. Ann. xvi. 13; Tillemont, ii. 594.

[4] De Rep. ii. 6.

[5] Frontinus, De Aquæd. § 88; Tac. Hist. ii. 93. The Pope removes from the Vatican to the Quirinal Palace in summer. See also Cato, De Re Rust. i. xiv. 5; Solinus, i. 14.

[6] Hor. Od. ii. 14, 15; Sat. ii. 6, 19; Ep. i. 7; Martial, iv. 60; Juv. iv. 56.

[7] Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. 25; Val. Max. ii. 5, 6; Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 745; Varro, L. L. v. 49.

[8] Brocchi, Suolo, p. 229.

that the climate was colder in the times of Cicero and Horace. On the 12th of February B. C. 54, the Senate was so poorly attended on account of the cold that Appius was obliged to defer the session.[1] Frozen snow, which Horace mentions as a hardship the serenading lover at Rome had to encounter in his days, and frozen streams are rare phenomena now in Rome.[2] Much reliance cannot be placed upon the terrible accounts given of the hard winter of 396 B.C. by Livy and Dionysius,[3] or of that mentioned by St. Augustine,[4] when snow lay in the Forum for forty days, and the Tiber was frozen over; or upon the statement of Pliny and Solinus, that the cedar could not be transplanted from its native soil of Media and Persia.[5]

Climate was once somewhat colder.

There remain, however, some reasons for supposing that the climate was rather colder. The heats of summer must have been somewhat tempered by the greater extent of woodland, which always promotes rain, and the greater body of water contained in the rivers would tend to cool the air.

The cooler climate may have borne some part in rendering Rome more healthy than it now is. But without doubt the principal cause lay in the cultivation of the soil. Active drainage was carried on; the Pomptine marshes were successfully, though perhaps only temporarily, dried, in B.C. 160.[6] What is now a festering marsh, or a rank, weedy tract, was once occupied by thousands of busy farms. The soil was purified by regular drainage, and the air by the upturned earth, where now the water stagnates, and the vegetation rots year after year on the ground. Some spots there were of old, as now, in which the air was pestilent and infamous, but in general the hillocky ground of the Campagna and the hills of Rome were healthy, because they were inhabited thickly and cultivated regularly. The effects of agriculture were actually tried with singular success by several of the Popes. The drainage of the Pomptine marshes was resumed, and partially effected by canals, in the reigns of Boniface VIII., Martin V., Sextus V., and Pius VI. A law was enacted in 1480 by Sixtus IV. severely punishing any lay or ecclesiastical proprietor, baron, bishop, or cardinal, who forbade his tenants to sow their land, and kept it under pasture. The health of Rome itself was much bettered by the extensive buildings and improvements of Sixtus V.

Drainage in ancient times.

But the most beneficial influences were produced under the orders of Pius VI. and VII., who endeavoured to compel by law the cultivation of a large extent of land in the Campagna. By this means fever was manifestly checked, and the health of all the neighbourhood improved.[7]

Let us add to this another cause upon which Brocchi lays great stress—the greater fitness of the ancient Roman dress, as compared with the modern, for resisting the

[1] Cic. Ad Quint. Frat. ii. 12.

[2] Hor. Od. i. 9, iii. 10, 7; Mart. iv. 18.

[3] Livy, v. 13; Dionys. xii. 8. The snow lay 7 feet deep.

[4] Aug. De Civ. Dei, iii. 17.

[5] Solin, 46, 6, p. 197, ed. Mommsen. See Tournon, Études Statist. sur Rome, vol. i. ch. viii. He says, "Il tombe rarement de la neige dans la plaine."

[6] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 404. The climate of Greece has also become less healthy. (See Grote, Greek Hist. vol. ii. p. 309, ch. i.) In the case of Rome the decrease of country population began with the introduction of large farms. (See Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 390.)

"The Italian Government projected agrarian colonies in 1856 to remove the intemperie of Sardinia." —Forester's *Sardinia*, p. 373.

See further instances in Bunsen's "Beschreibung," vol. i. pp. 105—108.

[7] Nicolai, Bonificamenti delle terre Pomptine, lib. ii.—iv.

poisonous influence of the *aria cattiva*, and the greater simplicity and wholesomeness of the ancient diet.[1] "That fatal epoch," he says, "when the deleterious influences which infested the air of this beautiful region, and which had been hitherto resisted successfully, except under extraordinary circumstances, began to work deadly effects upon the inhabitants, and to bring in their train an army of diseases, dates from the time when the Romans abandoned their old austerity of life, and, disdaining the fashions of dress established by their ancestors adopted a foreign costume, and became the slaves of all the vices which opulence and luxury engender.

The ancient Roman dress more healthy than the present.

"It was then that, for their decent tunics and toga of woollen stuff, they substituted silk, lawn, and fine linen clothes, all of which they prized for their coolness and lightness. Pliny, in speaking of the lawn dresses, plainly states the object for which they were worn. 'Even men,' he says, 'are not ashamed to wear these clothes for the sake of their lightness in the summer. We have so far lost the habit of wearing arms that even our clothes are a burden to us. We have not, however, yet taken to wearing Assyrian silk, as the ladies have.'[2] The toga was discarded, and the lacerna introduced instead, which, though consisting of wool, was yet much less voluminous, and resembled a shawl fastened over the breast with one or two clasps. I have never seen a statue clothed in this dress. Its shape may, however, be seen upon the figures in some bas-reliefs on the pedestals of the columns which stand on the side of the arch of Septimus Severus towards the Capitol, where men who are fastening the chains of the captives wear it, and where it is fitted with a hood (*cucullus*) thrown back behind the shoulders.[3] Augustus, who used himself to wear no less than four tunics and a shirt (*subucula*), and a woollen under-waistcoat (*thorax laneus*), and wrappers round his thighs and legs (*feminalia et tibialia*), in addition to a thick toga, was unwilling that the Romans should give up their national dress, and ordered the Ædiles to allow no one to appear in the Forum without wearing a toga."[4]

Woollen toga given up.

It may be somewhat fanciful to attribute so much importance as Signor Brocchi does to the abandonment of woollen clothes in the summer by the Romans, but there can be no doubt that one of the best preservatives against malaria is the wearing of the fleeces or skins of animals, and avoiding all sudden chills. The fires which are to be seen nightly, during the summer months, in the Campagna, are lighted round the cottages for the purpose of preventing the deadly chill of the night air, and dispersing the vapours; and the goatskin clothes and leathern doublet, which give at the present day to the Roman peasant a most startling resemblance to a wild satyr, are precautions found by experience to be in some measure effective against the attacks of malaria. The first settlers in the Campagna doubtless defended themselves in this way against the fevers of the country, until the increase of population and the general prevalence of agriculture rendered it no longer necessary to resort to such protection, except in unusual seasons.

[1] Brocchi, p. 237.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. book xi. 23.

[3] See chap. vi.

[4] Martial, xii. 18, 5, "sudatrix toga;" Suet. Aug. ch. 82. This is, however, mentioned by Suetonius as a proof of Augustus' delicate constitution. Comp. Tac. Ann. ii. 33, "Ne vestis serica viros fœdaret;" Sen. De Ben. vii. 9, 5, Ep. 90, 20, "Non dico nullum corpori auxilium sed nullum pudori est;" Juv. Sat. ii. 65, seq.

CHAPTER III.

ROME BEFORE THE TIME OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

LEGENDS OF THE FOUNDATION, ARISING FROM A DESIRE TO EXAGGERATE THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CITY, OR FROM A HELLENIZING SPIRIT, OR FROM RELIGIOUS FEELINGS—COMBINATION OF THE NATIONAL AND HELLENIC LEGENDS—THE MODERN THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF ROME—THE PALATINE SETTLEMENT — REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE PALATINE HILL — ETRUSCAN CEREMONY OF FOUNDATION — POMŒRIUM OF ROMULUS — ARA MAXIMA—ARA CONSI—CURIÆ VETERES—SACELLUM LARUNDÆ—CAVALIERE ROSA'S VIEWS—ROMA QUADRATA —MUGIONIAN GATE AND TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR—PORTA ROMANULA—GERMALUS—CLIVUS VICTORIÆ— PORTA JANUALIS — PORTA PANDANA — SUCCESSIVE ENLARGEMENTS — THE SEPTIMONTIUM—SO-CALLED SEVEN HILLS OF ROME — OCTOBER HORSE—SETTLEMENT ON QUIRINAL AND VIMINAL—THE COLLINI—THE SERVIAN REGIONS—THE ARGEIAN CHAPELS.

" Hæc est exiguis quæ finibus orta tetendit
In geminos axes, parvaque a sede profectas
Dispersit cum sole manus."
CLAUD. *De Cons. Stilich.* iii. 138.

SOME of the legends which profess to give an account of the first foundation of Rome may be clearly traced to a chronicler's natural wish to carry back the antiquity of the city to as remote a period as possible. Thus, Romus is said to have founded two cities on the site of the seven hills, one named Ænea, and afterwards Janiculum, and the other named Rome, both of which were afterwards replaced by the Romulean Rome. A still older Rome than these was invented by Antiochus, a Syracusan writer, in connexion with his history of the Sicels.[1] Of this class, also, is the account given by Festus of the Sacrani, who came from Reate to the Septimontium, and expelled the Ligurians and Siculi.[2] Servius takes a further step back, and says that the Sicani came before the Sacrani, and that they and the aborigines in turn expelled each other from Latium.[3]

Legends of the foundation, arising from a desire to exaggerate the antiquity of the city;

Other legends originated in a Hellenizing spirit. Thus arose the Cumæan account of settlers from Athens, Sicyon, and Thespiæ, which Festus relates. Eight different accounts are given by him from various authors, in explanation of the name Rome, all of which are plainly intended to point to a Greek origin.[4] The tale of Evander and his Arcadians was derived from a similar desire to connect the name Palatium with the Greek language. Hence, also, the fiction that Pallantium in Arcadia was

or from a Hellenizing spirit;

[1] Dionys. i. 73.
[2] Festus, p. 321 ; Virg. Æn. vii. 796.
[3] Serv. Ad Æn. xi. 317, vii. 795, viii. 328 ; Macrob. Sat. i. 5.
[4] Festus, p. 266, Müller. See also Lewis's "Credibility of Early Roman History," vol. i. ch. x. § 7 ; Mommsen, Hist. Rom. vol. i. p. 482.

the metropolis of Rome.[1] The poet Stesichorus, who was a native of Magna Græcia, first added to the legends of the destruction of Ilium the account of Æneas's voyage to the West, and settlement in Hesperia. He did this with the laudable intention of enriching the legendary stock of his country, and giving it a more dignified genealogy than had hitherto been possible.[2]

Another class of legends may be traced to the religious feeling which aspired to a divine origin. On one side of the Tiber, Saturnus, the patron of agriculture (*satio, sata*), founded a city, Saturnia, on the Capitoline; and on the other bank, Janus, the god of opening or origin (*janua, januarius*), occupied the Janiculum.[3] *or from religious feelings.*

> "Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem :
> Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen."—*Æn.* viii. 357.

The legend of Romulus and Remus, as related by Livy, is an attempt, according to Mommsen, to connect the foundation of Rome with the more ancient metropolis of Latium, and at the same time to account for the selection of so unfavourable a spot for a new settlement. If this be the case, Livy was perfectly right in his choice of this among the host of other legends, as it is at once the most national and the best adapted to explain the remarkable situation of Rome, which he must have felt to be a problem requiring some solution. Dionysius, on the other hand, undertakes to prove that the founders of Rome were Hellenes, and came from the most illustrious tribes of that nation.[4] He therefore finds most truth in the Arcadian, Pelasgian, and Herculean myths; gives the last place of all to the Trojans, whom he curiously enough reckons among the Hellenes; and entirely discards the native Italian stocks, the Opicans, Marsians, Samnites, Tyrrhenians, Umbrians, and Ligurians, whom he stigmatizes in a mass as barbarians.[5] Virgil makes the legend of Evander supplementary to that of Æneas and the Trojans; and also uses the religious traditions about Saturn and Faunus to embellish his poetical account of the early colonization of Latium. The credit of combining the national and Hellenic accounts of the origin of Rome seems to be due to the epoch of Nævius and Fabius Pictor. By this happy compromise of conflicting stories, the national chief, Romulus, retains his position as founder, but becomes the grandson of the Hellenic colonist Æneas. We strain our eyes in vain to discover any real historical facts wrapped up and concealed in the mythological fictions. The motives with which they have been fabricated are too palpable, and their incongruities and variations are too numerous, to allow us to hope that any residuum of truth can be extracted from them. The only method of obtaining any trustworthy information on the subject of the nationality of the founders of Rome is the investigation of their original language, laws, and institutions, and the careful comparison of these with the language, laws, and institutions of other nations. *Combination of the national and Hellenic legends.*

The researches of modern scholars into the origin and relations of the Greek and Latin

[1] Varro, L. L. v. 21, 53; Dionys. i. 31; Æn. viii. 51; Livy, i. 5; Serv. ad Æn. vi. 773, vii. 678; Dion. Cass. Frag. iii. (Bekker).

[2] Bernhardy, Gr. Lit. ii. § 108.

[3] Serv. ad Æn. viii. 319, 357; Varro, L. L. v. § 42; Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, § 68; Festus, p. 322.

[4] Dionys. i. 5, 32, 89; ii. 31.

[5] See Gladstone's Studies on Homer, vol. i. p. 494. Mr. Gladstone thinks that the Trojans, though a kindred people, were no more nearly related to the Hellenes than were the Italian tribes.

languages, and the comparison of ancient Latin laws and institutions with those of the Hellenic nation, tend to show that the Latin people to which the clan belonged who formed the first community of Rome was an independent branch of the great Indo-European race, and that it separated itself from the Eastern parent stock at an earlier period than the Hellenes. These researches also tend to show that to speak of any single adventurer as the founder of the city of Rome is probably incorrect. The analysis of the history of other cities leads rather to the conclusion that

The modern theory of the origin of Rome.

THE PALATINE HILL (WESTERN SIDE), WITH THE VILLA MILLS ON THE SUMMIT, AS SEEN FROM THE CAPITOLINE.

On the right is a part of the Aventine, and the Circus valley; in the distance the Thermæ of Caracalla.

Rome, like Athens and Sparta, was the result of an aggregation of neighbouring cantons or *gentes*, for the purposes of safety and defence.[1]

So far as we can penetrate the mist which hangs over the earliest form of the city of Rome, the conclusion we are led to is, that a stronghold with four gates was first established on the Palatine hill.[2] This spot was probably selected in preference to the surrounding eminences on account of its natural configuration, and its nearness to the river. In pre-historic times, as we have seen, the waters of the Tiber overflowed the valley between the Capitoline and Palatine,

The Palatine settlement.

[1] See Thucyd. i. 10 : κατὰ κώμας οἰκισθείσης Λακεδ. πόλεως. Grote, History of Greece, chap. x.

[2] Aul. Gellius, xiii. 14 ; Dionys. i. 88 : περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα τῷ λόφῳ.

and also that between the Aventine and Palatine. On two sides, therefore, the north-western part of the Palatine was surrounded by water. On the north, also, the ground was of the nature of a morass, forming a continuation of the pool called Velabrum Minus, which lay between the Capitoline and Palatine.

Reasons for choosing the Palatine hill.

The site thus chosen was not, like the Capitoline, very difficult of access. On the contrary, though on the sides towards the Capitoline and Aventine it was protected both by the steepness of the slopes and the lakes at their foot, yet from the other sides it was easily approached. This may have seemed to the community who agreed in the choice of the hill as their head-quarters to offer the double advantages of complete protection on two sides and accessibility on the others. When suddenly obliged to collect their property and cattle, and to retreat within their walls, it would be easier to gain a place of safety which was tolerably accessible from the neighbouring country, as was the Palatine, than one which, like the Capitoline or Aventine, was surrounded by steep rocks on all sides, and cut off from the adjoining district. None of the other hills would have suited a settlement partly commercial, partly agricultural, so well as such a position.

Etruscan ceremony of foundation.

The historians and poets of Imperial Rome give us a description of the solemn ceremony observed on the occasion of marking out the limits of a new settlement, and assert that the Latins followed an Etruscan custom in such cases.[1] Varro gives the following account of the ceremony :—"In Latium," he says, "they founded towns according to the Etruscan rites, which were used in many other cases. A bull and a cow were yoked together, and the cow being placed on the inner side, a furrow was made with a plough round the proposed site. This was done on a lucky day, in order to satisfy religious scruples. The furrow whence the earth was scooped out was called the foss, and the earth thrown inwards the wall. The circle thus made formed the first enclosure of the city, and, being behind the wall, was called the *post-mœrium* of the city, which forms the limit within which the urban auspices may be taken." To this description of Varro the further particulars are added by other authors that the person who, as founder of the city, guided the plough, was to wear his toga in the Gabinian fashion (*cinctu Gabino*), that the cow was to be on the left-hand side, that the ploughshare must be of bronze, that the clods must be made by an inclination of the plough to fall inwards, and that where there was to be a gate the plough should be lifted up and carried across.[2] The furrow having been thus traced, a space was marked out on both sides of it as the pomœrium, upon which it was not lawful to build, and within the outer edge of which the urban auspices might be taken.[3] This space was indicated by stones placed at intervals along its margin.

From what we know of the early religion and rites of the Roman nation, it appears probable that this Etruscan ceremony was not really used in marking out the boundary

[1] Dionys. i. 88 ; Ov. Fast. iv. 819 ; Varro, L. L. v. § 142 ; Paul. Diac. p. 236.

[2] Serv. Ad Æn. v. 755 ; Plut. Rom. ii.

[3] Livy, i. 44. The *ager effatus* was the whole space, whether within or without the pomœrium, within which auspices could be taken. It was marked out on each occasion of taking the auspices by the presiding augur. Gell. xiii. 14 ; Varro, L. L. vi. § 53 ; Serv. Ad Æn. vi. 197.

of the fort on the Palatine. Mommsen has shown that the religion of the Latins was mainly national, and that most of their borrowed rites were derived from the Greeks.[1] But, in the bookmaking times of the Empire, it was necessary to fill in the account of the foundation of Rome as completely as possible with detail, and therefore this ancient Etruscan consecrative ceremony was introduced into the histories and ascribed to Romulus.

Pomœrium of Romulus.

However this may be, the limits of the first fortification on the Palatine are described distinctly by Tacitus, and we must suppose that the tradition about them was clear in his time.[2] Starting from the Forum Boarium, at the western angle of the hill, he states that the pomœrium ran round the Ara Maxima. This was near the cattle-market, and upon it the Romans often vowed to present a tenth of their property to Hercules, the god of the homestead, for the purpose of averting disease from their stock.[3]

Ara Maxima.

The exact spot cannot now be determined, for though it is mentioned by many of the classical writers, yet no one of them gives a very definite account of its situation.[4] Servius places it behind the gates of the Circus Maximus,[5] and we may infer from this, and from mediæval notices, that it stood at some distance from the foot of the hill, at a point in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern S. Maria in Cosmedin.[6]

Ara Consi.

From the Ara Maxima the boundary proceeded to the Ara Consi, which, according to Servius and Plutarch, was within the Circus Maximus. It was covered with earth, except at the time of the horse-races, over which Consus was supposed to preside. The spot near which it probably stood is in the Via dei Cerchi, nearly opposite to the ruins on the Palatine, thought by Signor Rosa to be the foundations of the temple of Jupiter Victor.[7] Unfortunately, we cannot determine with any precision the site of the Curiæ Veteres, the next point indicated by Tacitus. In the "Notitia Romæ," a statistical account of the Roman Empire, giving a catalogue of the buildings in Rome, and supposed to belong to the time of Constantine, it is placed between the temple of Jupiter Stator and the Septizonium, which stood at the south-east corner of the Palatine hill. Such an indication is, however, much too vague to be of any service, and consequently the course of the pomœrium on the eastern portion of the Palatine is not known. We must therefore pass to the next point mentioned by Tacitus, the Sacellum Larundæ. The situation of this chapel of Larunda, which is distinguished by Varro from the chapel of the Lares, cannot be determined. The account of the pomœrium by Tacitus again fails us, for he adds nothing more than that it reached the Forum Romanum, a very vague description of its further course. Either he did not know at what exact point the pomœrium passed round the eastern angle of the hill, or he thought that the nature of the ground would sufficiently indicate its course. Since it was carried along the foot of the hill on the southern side, we must conclude that it

Curiæ Veteres.

Sacellum Larundæ.

[1] Mommsen, vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 186, Eng. trans.

[2] Tacitus, Ann. xii. 24: "Igitur a Foro Boario," &c.

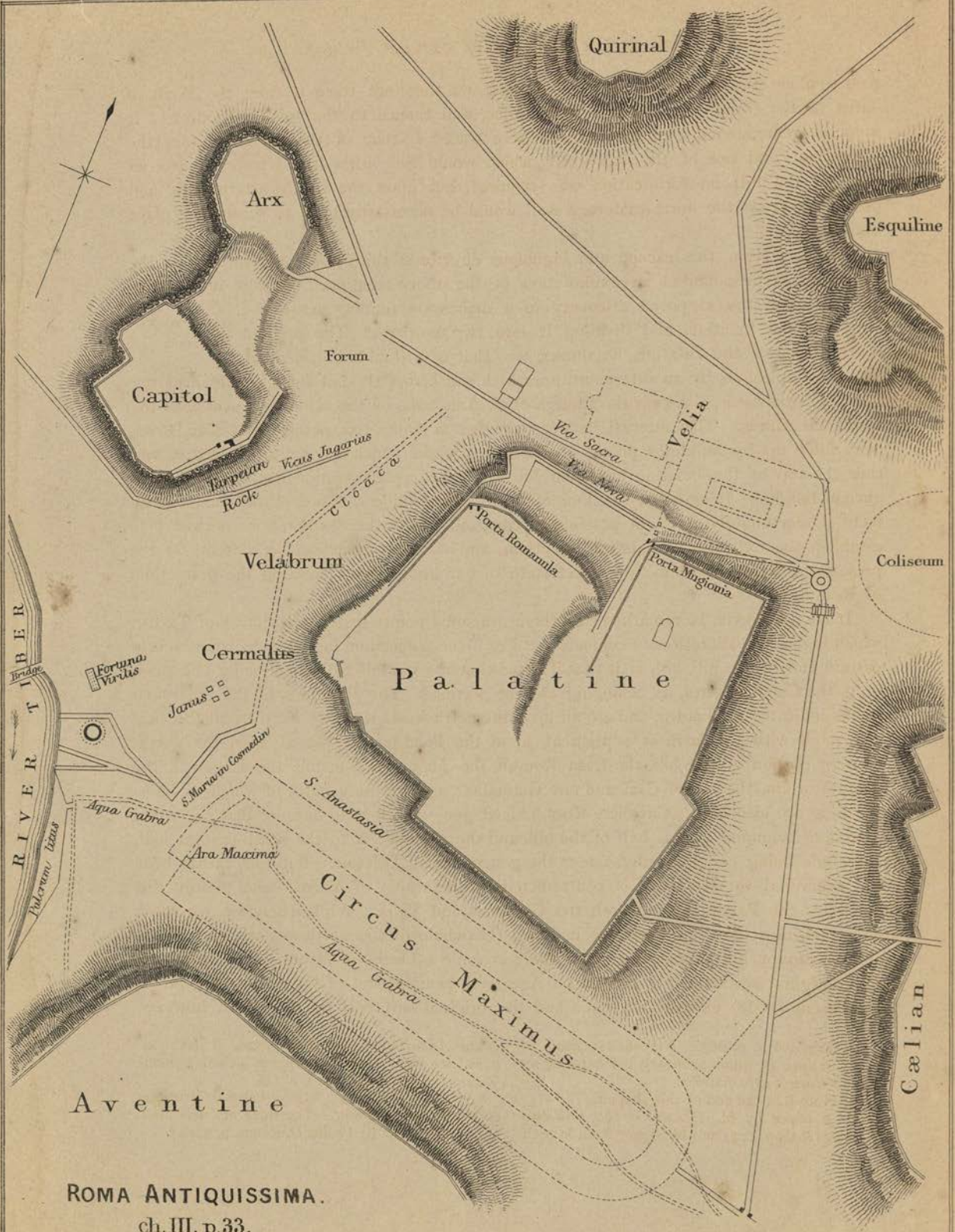
[3] Mommsen, vol. i. p. 174, Eng. trans.; Dionys. i. 40.

[4] Dionys. i. 40; Ov. Fast. i. 581; Livy, i. 7; Propert. v. ix. 67.

[5] Serv. ad Æn. viii. 271.

[6] See Note A at the end of this chapter.

[7] Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 636; Plut. Rom. 14; Varro, L. L. vi. § 20; Tertull. De Spect. 5, 8, "Ara Conso illi in circo defossa est ad primas metas sub terra. . . . . Apud metas sub terra delitescit murcias."



ROMA ANTIQUISSIMA.
ch. III. p. 33.

passed along the foot also on this side, and we therefore trace it from the Arch of Titus to the church of S. Maria Liberatrice, and thence to that of S. Teodoro.[1] It must be remembered that the line we have traced is that of the outer edge of the pomœrium, and not of the wall itself, which would lie within it. Upon the steeper sides of the hill no fortification was required, but upon the south-eastern side, and possibly also on the north-eastern, a wall would be necessarily built to secure the place from attack.[2]

Cav. Rosa's views.

Cavaliere Rosa, the learned and ingenious director of the French excavations on the Palatine, has propounded an explanation of the above-mentioned passage of Tacitus, founded upon the supposed discovery of a depression running across the centre of the Palatine, and dividing it into two portions.[3] The original configuration of the Palatine, he thinks, was that of a double hill, divided, like the Capitoline, by an intermontium, which ran across the hill from a point near the Arch of Titus to a point near the Church of S. Anastasia, on the side which overlooks the Circus Maximus. This interval between the two summits has, according to Cav. Rosa, been filled up by buildings placed on the top of those which originally occupied it, and thus the top of the Palatine has been levelled. A deep excavation has disclosed some ancient buildings lying below the floor of the Imperial edifices, at a depth of some twenty feet. Unfortunately, it is not possible to carry on the further explorations necessary to establish the existence of this intermontium, and we must therefore be content, for the present, to acquiesce in the imperfect state of our knowledge respecting the pomœrium of Romulus.

It may, however, be remarked that there are some points in the description of Tacitus which favour Cavaliere Rosa's conjecture. For if the pomœrium included the whole south-eastern end of the hill, how is it that Tacitus contents himself with mentioning one point only, the Curiæ Veteres, as belonging to that portion? The situations of the other four points indicated are known, and are all upon the north-western part. Further, all the sites connected with this earliest settlement upon the Palatine are placed upon the north-western portion of the hill, the Casa Romuli, the Tugurium Faustuli, the Lupercal, the Auguratorium, the Scalæ Caci, and the Germalus; and the only gates of which we know anything are also here. Cavaliere Rosa, indeed, goes so far as to surmise that the name Germalus belonged to this half of the hill, and the name Velia to the south-eastern half, the whole being comprehended under the general name Palatine. But this, as has been well remarked by Mr. Dyer, is contradicted by the words of Varro,[4] who plainly distinguishes the Palatium from both the Germalus and Velia. While, therefore, we reject the supposition that the Germalus included the whole of the north-western end of the hill, we cannot but acknowledge that there is some evidence in favour of the restriction of the original settlement to this part. A careful examination of the ground, so far as the present (1868) excavations have laid the original surface bare, does not, however,

[1] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 287. Niebuhr's account of the pomœrium is quite arbitrary. He takes no notice of Varro's explanations.

[2] See Note B at the end of this chapter.

[3] See a paper by M. Henzen in the *Bulletino dell' Inst.* 1862, pp. 225; and by Signor Rosa himself in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 346. I have examined the views of Rosa further in an article in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. i. p. 146.

[4] Varro, L. L. v. § 43. "Huic (Palatio) Germalum et Velias conjunxerunt." The three are also mentioned as distinct by Paulus Diaconus, p. 341.

bear out the notion that an intermontium ever existed. Considering the immense depth at which buildings originally above ground are now buried in other parts of Rome, it seems not improbable that the ancient walls discovered by Rosa, which he thinks belonged to edifices standing in the depression between the two summits, were not really much lower than those of equal age upon the rest of the hill.

Roma Quadrata.

The name of Roma Quadrata has been given to the Palatine settlement by Dionysius and Solinus,[1] from the shape of the hill, which is irregularly quadrangular. Other writers call a fictitious settlement, which preceded the one on the Palatine, Roma Quadrata;[2] and a third meaning given to this enigmatical expression is, that it referred to the pit which was dug, according to the Etruscan fashion, at the founding of a new city, in which some of the fruits of the soil and handfuls of earth, brought by the various settlers each from his own neighbourhood, were deposited and covered up, and an altar reared over them.[3] Becker thinks that he can detect this four-cornered building on the plan of the city preserved in fragments in the Capitoline Museum. For Solinus, he says, mentions that it was situated "in area Apollinis," and Festus places it "ante templum Apollinis." Now, on one of the fragments there are the letters "R.E.A. A.P.O.," and the plan of a four-cornered raised place, which probably, he thinks, is meant to represent the Roma Quadrata.[4]

The entrances to the fort on the Palatine were, according to Pliny, three in number, or at the most four.[5] The Etruscan religion required at least three gates to be placed in the walls of a new town, and these were to be dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[6] If, however, we reject the idea of Etruscan influence in the ceremony of the foundation of Rome, the statement of Pliny remains alone for our information on this point.

The names of two of these gates only are preserved, viz. the Porta Mugionis and the Porta Romanula.

Mugionian Gate and Temple of Jupiter Stator.

The first of these gates was undoubtedly near the entrance of the present road leading up to the Convent of S. Bonaventura, and close to the Sacellum Larum, at the top of the New Street, and at the point where it was connected with the Sacred Way.[7] The "ancient gate of the Palatine," mentioned by Livy as the gate to which the Romans fled when repulsed by the Sabines, is probably meant to refer to this gate.[8] Close by was the Temple of Jupiter Stator (said to have been built in commemoration of this battle),[9] and the equestrian statue of Clælia.[10] The origin of the name Mugionia is not known, and the derivations given by Varro and Paulus are very improbable.[11] The Porta Mugionis stood, therefore, near the junction of the Nova Via, which passed along the foot of the south-eastern side of

[1] Dionys. ii. 65; Solin. i. 17; Plut. Rom. 9.

[2] Dion. Cass. Frag. 4, 15 (Bekk.).

[3] Festus, p. 258. Usually called Mundus, Ov. Fast. iv. 821; Plut. Rom. ii.

[4] Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 107. If the Mundus was in the centre of the original city, as Von Reumont (Gesch. der Stadt Rom. p. 19), thinks, and its real situation has been rightly determined, then the original city must have occupied the whole Palatine, and not a part only. See below, ch. viii. on the Capitoline plan of the city. The fragment in question is figured by Canina on the margin of his map of Rome, No. xlviii.

[5] Plin. N. H. iii. 5, 9, § 66. [6] Serv. Ad Æn. i. 422.

[7] Solinus, i. 24, "Supra summam novam viam;" Dionys. ii. 50, ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ.

[8] Livy, i. 12, 41.

[9] Plut. Cic. 16; Ov. Trist. iii. 1, 31. See below, chap. viii.

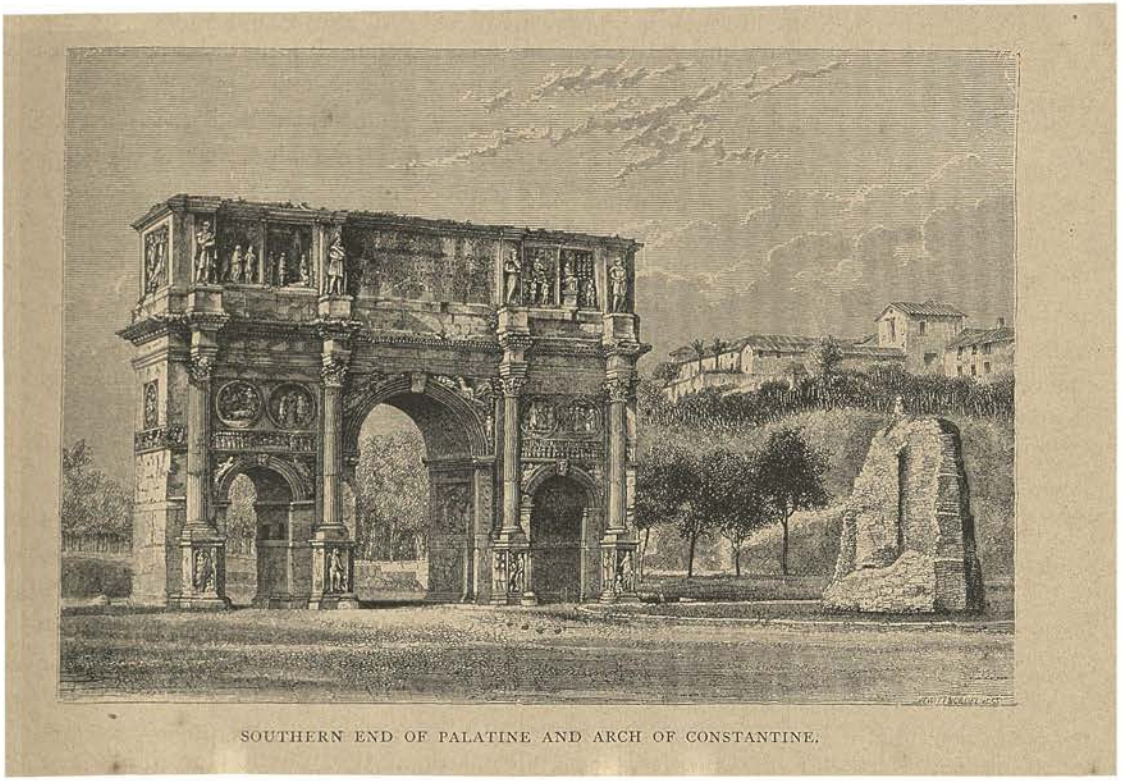
[10] Dionys. v. 35; Serv. Ad. Æn. viii. 646; Plin. xxxiv. 6, 13; Livy, ii. 13; Plut. Publ. 19.

[11] Varro, L. L. v. 164; Paul. Diac. p. 144.

the hill, with the Sacra Via, which ran down the slope towards the Forum valley. It may have been placed here in order to form an easy communication with the suburb on the Velia.

The Porta Romanula (or Romana, as it is called by Festus[1]) was at the north-western corner of the hill, and opened out into the Nova Via and Velabrum.[2] The sloping part of the Palatine which looks towards the Capitoline is usually supposed to be the Germalus; and if we consider that the Germalus was a suburb of the Palatine settlement, as seems to be indicated by the words of Festus quoted above, the Porta Romanula would form the means of communication between it and Roma Quadrata.

Porta Romanula. Germalus.



SOUTHERN END OF PALATINE AND ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

The road leading up from this gate to the Palatine was called Clivus Victoriæ.[3] Recent excavations have disinterred the gate from the accumulated rubbish, and the Clivus Victoriæ may now be ascended from the corner of the hill near S. Maria Liberatrice.

Clivus Victoriæ.

It was by this entrance, which was retained in the wing of the palace afterwards built on the corner of the hill by Caligula, that Otho is said by Tacitus to have left the palace when he went out to be proclaimed Emperor by the troops in the Forum;[4] and perhaps

[1] Festus, p. 262.
[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 164; vi. § 24.
[3] Festus, p. 262.
[4] "Per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum," Tac. Hist. i. 27. There may, however, have been a postern gate further to the west.

also Vitellius, when he fled from the victorious Flavians.[1] The gate, as now standing, consists of a high and narrow arch of travertine supporting a considerable mass of ruins, and leading to a passage underneath the lofty arches, built by Caligula to support the new buildings which he added to the palace. The bridge built by Caligula across the valley, to connect the Palatine with the Capitoline hill, was at this corner of the Palatine.

Porta Janualis.

A gate called the Porta Janualis is also mentioned by Varro, as belonging to this earliest enclosure of Rome;[2] but if this is to be identified with the Porta Janualis to which Macrobius alludes,[3] it cannot have belonged to the Roma Quadrata, for Macrobius expressly states it to have been situated under the roots of the Viminal hill. It is most probable, as Becker suggests, that Varro was misled by the common expression, the Gate of War, as applied to the Temple of Janus,[4] which stood on the north side of the Forum, under the Viminal hill, and hence assumed the existence of a gate called the Porta Janualis. It may be here mentioned, that the Porta Pandana, spoken of by Varro and Solinus,[5] is not connected with the Palatine hill, but with the Capitoline. The name was derived from the idea that it always stood open,[6] and a strange story is told by Polyœnus about it, to the effect that the Gauls, when they took Rome, agreed with the Romans that one of their gates should always stand open, and that the Romans then built the gate in an inaccessible spot, and left it open.[7] Dionysius identifies the ἄκλειστος πύλη with the Porta Carmentalis.[8] But nothing clear or satisfactory can be extracted from the fragmentary and confused evidence about this gate.

Porta Pandana.

The history of the successive enlargements of the city, between the time of the Palatine settlement and the erection by the later kings of the great wall, which included, besides the Palatine, the Capitoline, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Cœlian, and Aventine; is lost in obscurity. We can only glean a few scattered fragments of information, and conjecture their possible meaning. To begin with the Cœlian, the legend of Cœles Vibenna, an Etruscan, who is said to have settled there,[9] bears so strongly the marks of having been invented in order to account for the name of the hill, that we can hardly receive it as true, especially as another legend asserts that the population of Alba Longa were established on the Cœlian by Tullus Hostilius,[10] and a third, that Ancus Martius first enclosed the Cœlian.[11] According to Dionysius, the Capitoline and Aventine were both added by Romulus, who also annexed the Quirinal upon the junction of the Sabine and Roman nations.[12] But this statement is at variance with the well-known account of the four Servian regions by Varro, which will presently be mentioned, for the Capitoline and Aventine are excluded from those regions.

Successive enlargements.

The credit of peopling the Aventine, and building a wall round it, is also given to Ancus Martius, who settled the population of the conquered towns of Politorium, Tellenæ, and Ficana upon it and in the Murcian valley.[13] Livy does not, however, explain how it came

[1] Tac. Hist. iii. 85.
[2] Varro, v. § 165.
[3] Macrobius, Sat. i. 9; Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 288.
[4] Virg. Æn. vii. 607, i. 294; Plut. Num. 20.
[5] Varro, L. L. v. § 42; Solin. i. 13.
[6] Paul. Diac. p. 220.
[7] Polyœn. Strat. viii. 25. See Mommsen, Hist. Rom. vol. i. 115, note.
[8] Dionys. x. 14.
[9] Ibid. iii. 36.
[10] Livy, i. 30; Dionys. iii. 1.
[11] Strabo, v. 3, p. 234.
[12] Dionys. ii. 37, 50.
[13] Livy, i. 33; Dionys. iii. 43.

to pass that the Aventine was not enclosed until long afterwards, under the Icilian law in A.U.C. 298,[1] though this seems to cast some doubt on his previous statement. As to the remaining hills, the Esquiline and Viminal, the addition of these is set down by the historians to Servius Tullius.[2]

A hint of the probable extent of Rome at a time between the Palatine settlement and the erection of the Servian walls seems to be given by the term Septimontium, which was the name of an ancient festival held at seven places on the Montes of Rome. Hence the tribes who celebrated it called themselves Montani, as distinguished from the Collini, who lived on the Colles, *i.e.* the Viminal and Quirinal. Plutarch and Varro state that the Septimontium was the festival of the Montani alone, and not of the whole people.[3] Its antiquity is indicated by the tradition that the Septimontium was a town built on the site of Rome before[4] the Rome founded by Romulus, and the veneration in which it was held is shown by the fact, that the festival was kept even as late as the reign of Domitian.[5]

The Septimontium.

The names of the seven places are given by Paulus Diaconus, in his epitome of Festus, and convey some idea of the extent of the settlements of the Montani.[6] They are the Palatine, Velia, and Germalus, in one group, and the Fagutal, Oppius, and Cispius, in another, together with the Subura, a part of the valley between the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal.

So-called seven hills of Rome.

These names lead us to suppose, that at some epoch after the settlement on the Palatine, but before the reign of Servius Tullius, three fortified settlements existed on the three parts of the Esquiline, the Oppius, Cispius, and Fagutal.[7]

We may further conjecture, from the indications thus given, that the part of the Esquiline nearest to the Palatine was annexed first, and that the Roman settlement gradually extended itself to the Colles. Such an inference is supported by the apparent superiority over the Collini assumed by the Montani, as the most ancient and genuine stock of citizens. From what has been said, it will be seen that the hills afterwards commonly called the Seven Hills of Rome are entirely different from the seven original centres of worship with which the Septimontium was connected.

And in fact, during the greater part of the Republican times, and until the real meaning of the festival of the Septimontium, together with the distinction between Montani and Collini, was lost, though Rome was called the City of the Seven Hills, yet it was not so called in the sense in which we now understand the expression. Later writers, in the time of the Empire, in order to explain the term Septimontium, applied it to the Montes included in the Imperial city, leaving out the Colles. Thus the anonymous compiler of the Notitia, a catalogue of the different sites and buildings at Rome, writing in the time of Constantine, gives a catalogue of the seven Montes. He includes the Vatican and the Janiculum among them, and omits the two Colles. Servius, who lived about a century later, speaks of the

[1] Livy, iii. 31, 32.

[2] Dionys. iv. 3; Livy, i. 44; Aur. Vict., Vir. Ill. 7; Strabo, v. 3, p. 234.

[3] Plut. Quæst. Rom. 69; Varro, L. L. vi. 64.

[4] Varro, L. L. v. 41; Festus, p. 321.

[5] Suet. Dom. 4; Tertull. De Idol. 10; Ad Nat. ii. 15.

[6] Festus, p. 348; Paul. Diac. p. 341; Müller. Observe that the Cœlian is omitted. The Fagutal is also mentioned by Solinus, i. 25.

[7] *Annali dell' Inst.* 1861, p. 58. M. Detlefsen thinks that the Septimontium was a festival of the Latin pagi, as distinct from the Sabine and Etruscan pagi on the Quirinal and Cœlian.

definition of the seven hills as a matter of controversy in his time, and mentions three opinions on the subject.[1] The number seven, which, at the time of the institution of the festival of the Septimontium, accurately agreed with the number of the districts of the city, was retained from religious motives, but became no longer applicable to the real features of the locality.[2]

October horse.

To the period of this development of the city must be referred the origin of the ceremony of the sacrifice of a horse in October, on the Campus Martius, after which a struggle took place between the population of the Sacra Via and those of the Subura, for the possession of the animal's head; the latter, if victorious, fixing it upon the Mamilian tower, which was therefore in the Subura, and the former, on the royal palace on the Palatine.[3] The historical interpretation of this custom seems to be that a friendly rivalry existed between the two divisions of the city, and it points to a time when the Palatine settlement had only extended itself to the Subura and slopes of the Esquiline, and these two regions constituted the whole city.[4]

Settlement on Quirinal and Viminal.

The Quirinal and Viminal, at the time of the institution of the Septimontium, appear to have had a separate existence as a rival and equal settlement, which coalesced with the Palatine Romans before the enclosure of Servius was made. Mommsen has shown that the hypothesis of Niebuhr, who assumed that the population on the Quirinal was of Sabine race, is not supported sufficiently by Varro's derivation of the name Quirites from the Sabine town of Cures, or from the Sabine character of the divinities worshipped on the Quirinal.[5] The word Quirites, as has been already stated, is most probably derived from *quiris*, a lance; and the deities whose fanes stood on the Quirinal, Semo Sancus or Fidius, Sol, Salus, Flora, and Quirinus, were indeed Sabine, but also Latin gods.[6] There are, however, many proofs of the separate existence of a settlement on the Quirinal, the citizens of which, after the union of the districts, were called Collini, in contradistinction to the Montani of the Septimontium. This name Collini survives in the Porta Collina, the Salii Collini, and the Tribus Collina. Moreover, the name of the old Capitol which stood on the Quirinal shows that it was formerly the stronghold of a separate community; and the duplicate character of the oldest colleges of priests, the Luperci and Salii, points to the same conclusion.

The Collini.

A still further extension of the city enclosure, intermediate between the time when

[1] Cic. Ad Att. vi. 5, speaks of *ἄστυ ἑπτάλοφον*. So also Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 69. Plin. N. H. iii. 5, 9, speaks of "septem montes." So also Statius, Silv. i. 1, 64; and Claud., De Cons. Stilich. iii. 65. But the number 7 does not seem to have had any defined topographical meaning in these passages.

[2] Servius, Ad Æn. vi. 784; Georg. ii. 535. Mommsen, vol. i. p. 116, says that the catalogue of seven hills, as named in modern books, viz. Palatine, Aventine, Cœlian, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, Capitoline, is not found in any ancient author. It seems most probable that the Servian city, which was for so long the only part of Rome enclosed by walls, gave rise to this catalogue.

[3] Festus, p. 178, Müll. "October equus." See an article in Schneidewin's Philologus, vol. xxiii. 1866, page 679, in which the sacrifice of a horse is connected with the erection of the principal buildings in the two districts.

[4] Mommsen, vol. i. p. 53.

[5] Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. vol. i. pp. 232, 289, 290; Mommsen, vol. i. p. 78. The derivation from *quiris* is found in Macrobius, Sat. i. 16; Ov. Fast. ii. 475; Festus, p. 49.

[6] Niebuhr does not agree with this derivation of "Quirites," but suggests no other: vol. i. p. 290. Dyer, Hist. of Kings of Rome, pp. 85, 86. There is, however, no reason why *cures* and *quiris* should not both be derived from the same root. Newman, Regal Rome, p. 65.

the Septimontium was instituted and the building of the Servian wall, is that indicated by the twenty-four Argeian chapels mentioned by Varro.[1] The Capitoline and Aventine are excluded from the regions occupied by these chapels, but the Palatine, Esquiline, Quirinal, Viminal, and Cœlian, are embraced by them, and it seems possible that they may be referred to the time shortly preceding the Servian enclosure. If we throw aside as worthless the legends that the Capitoline was added by Romulus, and the Aventine by Ancus, we may assume that these two hills were really first enclosed within the city by the Servian walls, and that the extension marked by the institution of the Argeian chapels followed the annexation of the Quirinal and Viminal. It seems vain to inquire into the origin of these Argeian or Argive chapels, or to enumerate the theories which have been put forward by ingenious antiquarians about their connexion with Argos, and with the straw images thrown from the bridge of the Tiber.[2] But the notice of them by Varro is most valuable, as evidence of a particular period of the extension of Rome, because the rites of sanctuaries of this kind are preserved with the greatest tenacity.

The Servian regions.

The Argeian chapels.

Varro connects them with the four regions into which the city was divided at the time, and places six of them in each. The four regions were—I. The Suburan, which comprised the Cœlian Mount, the Subura, part of the Sacra Via, and the slope of the Esquiline above the Subura. The Subura, as the oldest settled portion, gives the name to this district. II. The Esquiline, including the Oppius and Cispius. III. The Viminal and Quirinal, or the Colline region. IV. The Palatine, Germalus, and Velia.[3]

These regions were intimately connected with the military organization of Servius, for each of them was required to furnish a fourth part of the State army in each of its divisions. Their populations were therefore nearly on an equality, both as regards numbers and wealth. They superseded the ancient triple division of the community, but still retained the name of *tribus*, deprived of its etymological significance.

We thus trace dimly three stages in the gradual extension of the city previous to the completion of the wall of Servius, viz. I. the original Palatine settlement, II. the Septimontium, and III. the further expansion marked out by the Argeian chapels, the first confined to the Palatine, the second extending also over the Subura and Esquiline, and the third including, in addition to these, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Cœlian. The exclusion of the Capitoline was possibly due, as Becker and others have remarked, to the consecration of the hill,[4] and the Aventine and Janiculum were not yet sufficiently peopled to assume the character of separate districts (*pagi*).

1 Varro, L. L. v. § 45. Dyer's interpretation, Dict. Ant. vol. ii. p. 733) of *reliqua urbis loca olim discreta* cannot be correct. Varro means that the rest of the city was divided into districts in very ancient times when the Argeian chapels were instituted. Livy, i. 21, ascribes these chapels as a matter of course to Numa. Ov. Fast. iii. 791; Gell. x. 15; Paul. Diac. p. 19; Becker, Handbuch, vol. iv. p. 200.

2 Bunsen, Beschr. i. p. 146; Dyer, in Smith's Dict. Ant. vol. ii. p. 734; Merkel, Ad Ov. Fast. p. 171; Klausen, Æneas und die Penaten, p. 934. See also Schneidewin's Philologus, vol. xxiii. 1866, p. 679; Grimm, Mythol. 41 seq.

3 Varro, L. L. v. §§ 41—54.

4 Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 386; *Annali dell' Inst.* 1861, p. 61.

NOTE A, p. 32.—ON THE ARA MAXIMA, FROM THE "BULLETINO DELL' INSTITUTO," 1854, p. 28.

1. Besides the round temple, now extant, near the Tiber (called the Temple of Vesta), another round temple in the Forum Boarium is mentioned as extant by archæologists of the fifteenth century. They called it the Temple of Hercules Victor. It was pulled down under Sixtus IV. The statue of Hercules in bronze now in the Capitol was found there. It was behind S. Maria in Cosmedin, and the Ara Maxima was near it (Albertino, Scriptores de Urbe Roma Prisca et Nova, p. xxxiii.). Another author, quoted by De Rossi, also places the round temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium, and the Ara Maxima near it towards the Aventine. Andrea Fulvio, Marliano, Lucio Fauno, and Gamucci, repeat the same assertion. The inscriptions relating to the worship of Hercules Victor, now in the Capitol, may be proved to have come from this place, which is thus described in a MS. of the seventh year of Sixtus IV. in the Vatican, Cod. Vat. 3616: "Apud scholam Græcam ubi erat Templum Herculis." These inscriptions are ten in number, and all commemorate their dedication by Prætores urbani to Hercules Victor. Other inscriptions were found in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also a cup dedicated to Hercules Victor; and Aldus Manutius, in 1592, speaks of an inscription found in the foundations of the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium. De Rossi found a sketch of this temple in a book of prints collected by Fulvio Orsino, and kept in the Vatican, Cod. Vat. 3439. The sketch is by Baldassare Peruzzi, in the time of Julius II., and he describes the temple as having been "al circo massimo al capo del burdeletto del Foro Boario." Peruzzi made his drawing from the ruins and fragments of the temple. A. Fulvio, and Fr. Schott in his "Itinerarium Italicum," both mention the ruins of this temple as near S. Maria in Cosmedin, or, more precisely, between that church and the Circus Maximus. The inscriptions relate to the altar, and, as they were found close to the temple, we must suppose that the altar stood close to the temple. The temple and altar were on the west side of the Circus Maximus; for besides that, as we have seen, they were near S. Maria in Cosmedin, Diodorus places them near the river. Prudentius, Cont. Symm. i. 120, places the altar near the Aventine, and it was therefore probably at the west angle of the Circus Maximus. An older sacred precinct of Hercules is alluded to in Tacitus, Ann. xv. 41, and Solinus, i. 10, Strabo v. 3, to which the round temple above mentioned succeeded. This older τέμενος was sometimes called Fanum, or Sacellum Evandreum, Gruter, Insc. xlvii. 10. There was also a Temple of Hercules built by Pompey, and alluded to in Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 7; Vitruv. iii. 3. This was also probably in the Forum Boarium. Nibby and Ritschl conjecture that the round temple was built by Mummius after the destruction of Corinth. (Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, pp. ii. 19.) But De Rossi attributes it more probably to Marcus Octavius Hersenius, following Macrobius, Sat. iii. 6, and Mamertinus, Panegyr. i. pp. 13, 63, ed. Arntzen; Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 363. This Octavius also probably was the same person who founded an altar and rites to Hercules Victor at Tibur (Macrob. Sat. iii. 12). The temple was ornamented with a picture by Pacuvius (Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxv. § 19), who lived about 160 B.C. It may very possibly have been rebuilt under the Emperors. It was burnt in the Neronian fire, Tac. Ann. xv. 41. The statue found there, which is now in the Capitol, was, according to M. Braun, an imitation made in Imperial times of the statue of Lysippus, brought by Mummius from Corinth. It was not an imitation of the statue believed to have been placed by Evander there, for that statue had its head covered (Macrob. Sat. iii. 6). The inscriptions found on the site are all posterior to the second century A.D. The earliest, according to De Rossi, is dedicated by L. Fabius Cilo, Consul in 193 A.D., and therefore Prætor-urbanus some few years before. The worship of Hercules here did not probably cease till the time of the elder Theodosius, as it is spoken of by Macrobius and Prudentius (*temp.* Honorius and Theodosius) as still existing.

II. The second altar, called that of Hercules Victor, was "ad Portam Trigeminam" (Macrob. iii. 6; Plut. Quæst. Rom. 60). Dionysius, i. 39, expressly distinguishes the two, and states that this second one was an altar dedicated by Hercules himself, after his victory over Cacus, to Jupiter Inventor, and was near the cave of Cacus. This second altar is the one mentioned by Solinus, i. 11; Ov. Fast. i. 599. Solinus expressly joins the cave of Cacus and the Trigemina Porta together. De Rossi thinks that Antoninus Pius rebuilt the temple near this altar, and that it is figured on one of his coins (Eckhel, N. D. vii. pp. 29, 47). The first builder is not known.

If the above investigation be correct, the pomœrium of Romulus must have included a large portion of the Vallis Murcia, as far as the western corner of the Circus Maximus.

NOTE B, p. 33.

Some old tufa walls, which are supposed to be relics of the walls, or rather facings, of the sides of the hill on which the Palatine settlement stood, were discovered in the Vigna Nussiner, on the north-west side of the Palatine, by excavations pursued under the orders of the Emperor of Russia.

They consist of layers of squared tufa stone, fitted closely without cement, and have been supported in front by later additions of brickwork. The tufa wall, which was apparently built against the natural soil of the steep side of the hill, had given way in parts, and required the support of brick walls. It is quite hidden by the brick walls, and doubtless in this way a great part of the Servian walls, which were aids to the natural steepness of the hills in many places, are concealed. The walls on the side of the Quirinal, in the Colonna Gardens, are hidden in the same way by brickwork supports.

Such supports were necessary. In Livy, xxxv. 21, we have an account of the fall of a part of the Capitoline hill into the Vicus Jugarius; and M. Braun, in the *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1852, p. 324, mentions another similar fall which took place not many years ago at the back of the convent of the Ara Cœli.

M. Braun thinks that the grooves and subterranean passages found in these old walls, and behind them, were intended to provide ventilation and drainage. He connects them with the favorissæ, or flavissæ (air-holes, from *flare*), mentioned by Paulus Diac. p. 88, and Gellius, ii. 10, as existing in the Capitoline hill. These, he thinks, were originally intended to be drains and ventilators, but were afterwards employed as lumber-rooms for the Capitoline temple. It is more probable that the grooves were once filled with wooden beams, intended to bind the walls together, as in old English houses, and that these timbers have rotted away, and left the grooves empty. See the woodcut on p. 30. The subterranean vaults may have been intended for various purposes, such as M. Braun mentions.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SERVIAN WALLS.

FORTIFICATIONS OF ROME BEGUN BY TARQUINIUS PRISCUS — COMPLETED BY SERVIUS — METHOD BY WHICH THE SERVIAN WALLS MAY BE TRACED — PORTIONS OF THE SERVIAN WALL ON THE AVENTINE — GATES IN THE SERVIAN WALL — PORTA FLUMENTANA — PORTA CARMENTALIS — PORTA TRIUMPHALIS — PORTA RATUMENA — PORTA FONTINALIS — RUINS OF THE WALL IN THE VILLA MASSIMI AND THE CONVENT OF S. MARIA DELLA VITTORIA — PORTA SANQUALIS — PORTA SALUTARIS — PORTA COLLINA, OR AGONALIS, OR QUIRINALIS — AGGER OF SERVIUS — PORTA VIMINALIS — PORTA QUERQUETULANA — PORTA CŒLIMONTANA — PORTA CAPENA — TEMPLES OF HONOUR AND VIRTUE, AND OF MARS — PORTA NÆVIA — PORTA RAUDUSCULA — PORTA LAVERNALIS — PORTA MINUCIA — PORTA TRIGEMINA — PORTA NAVALIS — PORTA STERCORARIA — PORTA LIBITINENSIS — PORTA FENESTELLA — PORTA FERENTINA — PORTA PIACULARIS — PORTA CATULARIA — PORTA METIA — FORTIFICATIONS OF THE WESTERN BANK OF THE TIBER.

"O Fortunati, quorum jam mœnia surgunt."—*Æn.* i. 437.

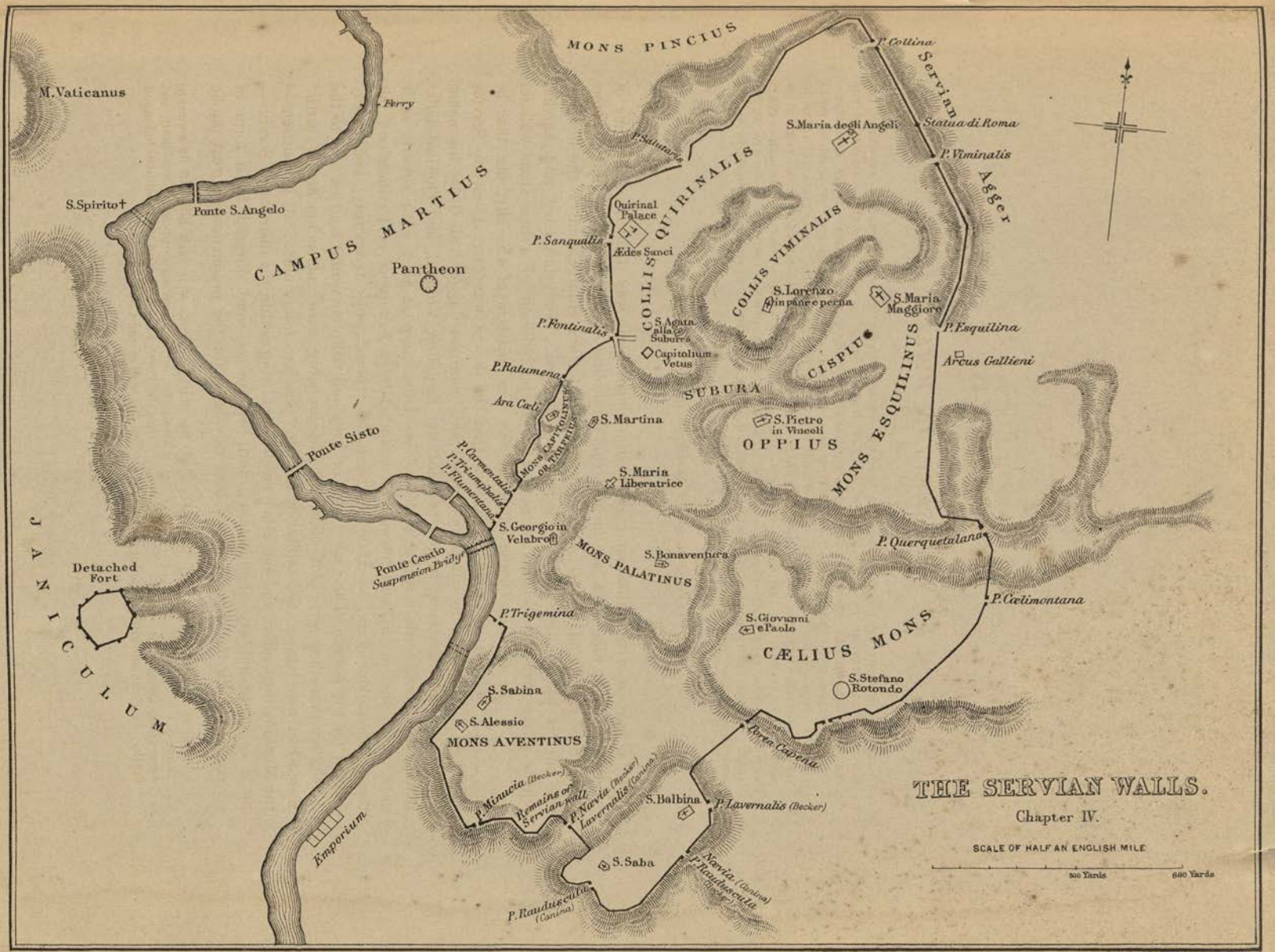
WE have seen that the four regions into which Rome was divided in the time of the later kings did not include the Capitoline or the Aventine hills. Before the end of the Regal period, however, there was a further enlargement of the limits of the city, in which these two hills were comprehended. Dionysius, Livy, and Aurelius Victor relate that Tarquinius Priscus undertook the building of a new stone wall for the defence of the whole of the new quarters of the city, but that he did not live to finish it, and that the design was carried out by Servius Tullius, who also constructed the enormous agger called by his name, still remaining at the back of the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills.[1] Before this great work was accomplished, we must suppose that each suburb, as it grew out of the original settlement, was defended by a new piece of fortification; but these fortifications were, as Dionysius describes them,[2] only temporary, and hastily erected for the nonce. The expressions of Livy and Aurelius would lead us also to the conclusion that they were not of stone, but probably were entrenchments of earth.[3] Rome had now become the capital of Latium; she had lately united all her citizens—the Montani, the Collini, and the other freeholders living within the districts of Servius—by a complete military organization; and her powers were directed by a form of government which has always proved best calculated for the production of great public

Fortifications of Rome begun by Tarquinius Priscus.

[1] Dionys. iii. 67; Livy, i. 36, 38; Aur. Vict., De Vir. Illust. 6.

[2] Αὐτοσχέδια, Dionys. loc. cit.

[3] Preller, in Schneidewin's Philologus, vol. i. p. 84, note 39, thinks that each hill had its separate walls before the Servian fortification was built, and that the Porta Ratumena and Porta Saturni belonged to the wall of the Capitoline hill.



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works. A new stone wall was accordingly planned on a vast scale, and the drainage of the low-lying parts of the city was effected about the same time by colossal sewers. The king having the whole control of the finances of the state could appropriate large sums of money for works of public utility, and could also doubtless command the labour of immense gangs of workmen. The Servian walls and the cloacæ of Rome are to be looked upon as the parallels in the history of Rome to the pyramids of Egypt, the walls of Babylon, and of Mycenæ and Tiryns.[1] They point to a time of concentrated power and unresisting obedience, when the will of one man could direct the whole resources of the community to the accomplishment of comprehensive designs.

Completed by Servius.

With the exception of a small portion which has been discovered in the depression between the north-western and south-eastern parts of the Aventine, another portion upon the Servian agger, and a few remnants on the Quirinal, in the Barberini and Colonna gardens,[2] no remnants of the Servian walls are now to be seen, and we have to infer their probable extent from the nature of the ground, the rough estimate given by Dionysius of the space which they enclosed, and the positions of the gates as described by various ancient authors. It may be safely concluded that, wherever it was possible, advantage would be taken of the sides of the hills, and the walls would be made to run along their edges.[3] Thus the course of the wall on the outer side of the Capitoline, Quirinal, Esquiline, and north-eastern part of the Aventine can be ascertained with tolerable certainty, and the agger serves as a guide along the back of the Viminal and Quirinal. The principal difficulty lies in the portions between the Capitoline and Aventine along the river bank, in the space to the south of the Cœlian, and at the hill of S. Saba and S. Balbina, where there is but little indication in the nature of the ground to guide us.

Method by which the Servian walls may be traced.

But the general accuracy of the course commonly assigned to the Servian walls may be proved by comparing it with the statement of Dionysius,[4] who says that the whole circumference was about equal to that of the walls of Athens. Now, if we suppose that the wall included the whole exterior edge of the Aventine and the hill of S. Saba and S. Balbina, that it crossed the Cœlian at the back of S. Stefano Rotondo in a north-easterly direction, and then followed the course of the slope nearly parallel to the Via Merulana, meeting the agger at S. Maria Maggiore, and then running along the edges of the Quirinal and Capitoline, we have a circumference nearly seven times the length of the agger; and the length of the agger, as given by Dionysius, is six stadia: therefore the whole circumference of the supposed wall is about forty-two stadia. Thucydides estimates the length of the circuit of the Athenian walls at forty-three stadia, so that, comparing this statement with the assertion of Dionysius, we may at least suppose that we have approximated to the true course of the Servian walls in placing them as above.[5]

[1] Arnold, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. ch. v. p. 52; Grote, Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. ch. xix.

[2] See the *Bulletino dell' Instituto Arch.* for 1855, pp. 47, 48.

[3] Cic. De Rep. ii. 6.

[4] Dionys. iv. 13; ix. 68.

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, gives the circuit of the city at 13,200 passus = 20,995 yards = nearly twelve miles. This is too great a length for the Servian walls, which were only five miles and a half in circumference. See below, page 54, note [2]; Thucyd. ii. 13.

A small portion of the circuit of the Servian city was defended by the river only, for we find no mention of a wall running along the bank, nor any remains of a wall, which would still probably have existed in such a position, where it could not be, as at other places, overlaid on both sides by the buildings of the city. The Sublician bridge led from this point to a fort on the Janiculum.[1] When Horatius Cocles, in the legend related by Livy,[2] is endeavouring to restore order and presence of mind among the Roman troops who had been driven out of the Janiculan fort, he uses the argument that, if they once gave up the bridge, there would soon be as many of the enemy on the Palatine and Capitoline as on the Janiculum. This, and the determination of Horatius to keep the bridge at any cost, shows that Livy did not suppose any wall to have then existed along the bank of the river between the Capitoline and the Aventine. Dionysius, in relating the same story, plainly says that the city was without any wall where the river protected it.[3] I cannot think that Bunsen's attempt to show that the wall ran across from the foot of the Capitoline to the Circus Maximus is successful.[4] It has been sufficiently refuted by Becker in his "Handbook of Roman Antiquities," and by Canina in the "Indicazione Topographica di Roma."[5]

In the time of Dionysius the wall was already so much covered with buildings of various kinds that he speaks of it as difficult to trace,[6] and therefore, naturally enough, we find at the present day that the whole has disappeared under heaps of rubbish.[7]

Portions of Servian wall on the Aventine.

The portion brought to light in 1855, under the south-eastern slope of the Aventine, was accidentally discovered in digging in the vineyard of the Collegio Romano, for the purpose of clearing the ground from masses of brickwork. This portion, some of which has since been covered with earth again, is 104 feet in length, 32 feet high, and 16 broad. The breadth shows the great solidity and strength of the construction. The original height was probably greater, as M. Braun remarks, and a parapet was placed upon the top.[8] Some parts of this ruin are covered with reticulated work, and on others great masses of masonry have been placed which belonged to dwelling-houses. No antiquities have been found in these excavations earlier than the Imperial times. A brick stamped with an inscription was discovered near one of the more modern arches, and dates from the reign of Trajan.[9]

At the time when these walls were built, the stone generally used for such purposes was the hard tufa, described in a previous chapter. The great part of the Cloaca Maxima and the remnants of the Servian walls are composed of this material. It is hewn into long rectangular blocks, which are placed (in builders' phrase alternately headers and stretchers) sometimes across and sometimes along the line of the wall in order to gain greater strength. No cement is used, but the stones are carefully fitted together, and very regularly shaped.

[1] Liv. i. 33.

[2] Ibid. ii. 10.

[3] Dionys. v. 23: *ἀτειχίστος οὖσα ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὸν πόταμον μερῶν.* Comp. ix. 68.

[4] Bunsen's Beschreibung, vol. i. p. 627.

[5] Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 139; Canina, Indic. p. 496.

[6] Dionys. iv. 13, *δυσεύρετον.*

[7] See *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxix. p. 64. The portion of Servius's wall on the Aventine near S. Sabina was found covered up with buildings on each side. See the woodcut on page 50.

[8] See a paper by Braun in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto Arch.* for 1855.

[9] "DE QUINTIANIS IMP. TRAJA. CAE. AUG. GER. DAC."

It must here be observed that the rectangular shape and horizontal position of the blocks in this stonework by no means disprove its high antiquity.[1] It is true that the so-called Pelasgian walls are built in a totally different style, for the stones in them are polygonal. But this difference of shape in the stones arises from a difference in the material. All the so-called Pelasgian walls in Italy are built of travertine, which naturally breaks into polygonal masses. But tufa-stone is found in the quarry in horizontal layers, and is most easily cut into a rectangular shape. The inference sometimes drawn from horizontally-laid masonry, that it indicates a more advanced state of art than polygonal, cannot be relied upon as certain.[2]

Gates in Servian wall.

The position of the gates in the Servian walls must now be investigated. I shall begin at the end of the wall which abuts on the river near the south-western end of the Capitoline hill, and point out the probable situation of the various gates which are mentioned by writers who lived before the Aurelian walls were built. At the same time I shall trace the course of the wall so far as possible from gate to gate.

Porta Flumentana.

Livy twice mentions a Porta Flumentana in connexion with the inundations of the Tiber, by which many houses near the gate were destroyed.[3] This gate must therefore have been near the river, as its name indicates, and tradition affirmed that the river had once flowed over the site of the gate until sacrifices performed to Vertumnus changed its course.[4] The corn-market, which was near the vegetable-market and just outside the wall under the Capitol, was often injured by these inundations.[5] We cannot, therefore, be far wrong in placing the Porta Flumentana in the portion of the wall between the Capitoline and the river.[6]

Porta Carmentalis.

The Porta Carmentalis certainly stood in this portion of the wall, and probably close under the south-western extremity of the Capitoline hill.[7] The altar of the nymph Carmentis, mother of Evander, was near this gate: whence its name.[8] The name was afterwards changed to Scelerata, from the story that the Fabii passed through it on their way to the fatal fight with the Veientes on the bank of the Cremera.[9]

The Vicus Jugarius[10] appears to have led from the Porta Carmentalis to the Forum along the side of the Capitoline hill.[11]

The gate called the Porta Triumphalis was also assigned by Donatus to the short

[1] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 10.

[2] Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 143; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1829, pp. 36—60; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 245; Reber, Gesch. der Baukunst. p. 385.

[3] Livy, xxxv. 9, 21.

[4] Paul. Diac. p. 89; Propert. v. 2, 7. The statue of Vertumnus stood in the Velabrum.

[5] Plut. Otho, 4; Notit. Reg. ix.

[6] An objection has been raised to this view based upon the account of the trial of Manlius in Livy, vi. 20, and Plutarch, Camillus, 36, where the Capitol is said to have been invisible from the Lucus Petelinus, which was outside the Porta Flumentana. But, as Bunsen suggests, the trees of the grove or other intervening objects may have intercepted the view. It is to be observed that the MSS. of Livy have in this place "frumentana porta" in place of "flumentana," in allusion to the corn-market outside; but the best editors have adopted the reading "flumentana."

[7] Dionys. i. 32: ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ καπιτωλίῳ παρα ταῖς καρμεντίσι πύλαις; Solin. i. 13.

[8] Virg. Æn. viii. 337.

[9] Festus, pp. 285, 335; Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 337; Ov. Fast. ii. 201; Livy, ii. 49.

[10] Livy, xxvii. 37.

[11] Mommsen (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xvi. p. 309) thinks that the ἀκλείστοι πύλαι of Dionys. x. 14 refer to one of the arches of this gate. See also Preller, in Schneidewin's Philologus, vol. i. p. 84.

portion of the wall, about 300 paces long, between the Capitoline and the river. Bunsen, however, raised a doubt on account of the difficulty of supposing that three gates could be situated so near each other, and he placed it at the western end of the Circus Maximus.[1] But if we abandon, as seems necessary, his supposition that the wall ran parallel to the Tiber at this part, we cannot accept this as the true position of the Porta Triumphalis. Another supposition with respect to this gate is that it was not a gate in the Servian wall, but a triumphal arch leading from the Campus Martius into the district called the Circus Flaminius.[2] This rests on a passage of Josephus, in which Vespasian's triumphal procession is spoken of as passing from the Porta Triumphalis through the Circus into the city.[3] But the whole of the argument turns on an expression in the Greek of Josephus, the meaning of which is doubtful. There seems to be no valid objection to the old view which represents the Porta Triumphalis as a gate which was kept shut, except on the occasion of a triumphal entry, and situated between the Flumentana and Carmentalis.

Porta Triumphalis.

Cicero and Tacitus both speak of entering by this gate as an honour only accorded under particular circumstances. "You quibble," says Cicero to Piso, "as to whether you came in at the Esquiline or Cœlimontane Gate. What do I care by which gate you entered, provided it was not by the Gate of Triumph? You are the only Proconsul of Macedonia to whom on his return from his province the Triumphal Gate has not been opened."[4] At the death of Augustus it was proposed in the Senate by Asinius that his funeral procession should pass through the Gate of Triumph (probably on its way from the palace to the mausoleum of Augustus in the Campus Martius), and that the titles of the laws he had passed and the names of the nations he had conquered should be carried in the procession.[5] There is no positive evidence for the position of this gate, except the passage of Josephus above alluded to, which shows it to have been near the Porticus Octaviæ; but it is most natural that the triumphal entries should have been made through a gate in this part of the wall leading from the Campus Martius, where the processions were marshalled. The triumphs passed from this gate through the Forum Boarium into the Circus, and thence by the Vicus Tuscus into the Forum, and along the Via Sacra up to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[6]

Along the north-western edge of the Capitoline hill the wall was probably identical with that of the Capitoline fortress, just as at Carthage the wall of the Byrsa coincided with the city wall.[7] In the short space between the Capitoline and Quirinal there were two gates. One of them, the Porta Ratumena, was so called from the name of a charioteer in the races at Veii who was unable to stop his runaway horses until they reached Rome, and threw him out at this gate under the Capitoline

Porta Ratumena.

[1] Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. i. p. 630; see above, p. 44; Urlichs, Class. Museum, vol. iii. p. 194.

[2] Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 145.

[3] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, 4. Διὰ τῶν θεάτρων may apply to the Circus Maximus. I strongly suspect that Vespasian and Titus slept in the city in the palace on the Cœlian near the Temple of Isis, and that they then went out to the Porticus Octaviæ in the morning. Ἀναχωρεῖ would then mean "returned to the city wall."

[4] Cic. in Pis. xxiii. § 55.

[5] Tac. Ann. i. 8; Suet. Oct. 100.

[6] For descriptions of triumphs, see Onuph. Panvinius, De Triumpho Rom., Venice, 1600; Vopisc. Hist. Aug. p. 220; Claudian, De Sext. Cons. Hon. 330 seqq.

[7] Orosius, iv. 22; Preller, in Schneidewin's Philologus, vol. i. p. 84, note 39.

hill.[1] The gate was, therefore, probably upon the ordinary road from Veii. In the modern Via di Marforio stands a tomb inscribed with the name of Bibulus, which must have been just outside this gate on the old Flaminian road.[2]

The name of the second gate situated in this part of the wall was the Porta Fontinalis. Livy describes it as opening upon a portico built by the Ædiles Æmilius Lepidus and L. Æmilius Paullus, in the year B.C. 193, which extended from it to the altar of Mars in the Campus.[3] The small street which now runs from S. Silvestro to the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli probably passes over the ancient site of this gate. In connexion with it there is a gravestone in the Vatican Museum commemorating a letter-carrier or commissionaire, whose station was the Porta Fontinalis.[4]

Porta Fontinalis.

The wall then followed the edge of the Quirinal from the Palazzo Colonna past the Palazzo Barberini to the Villa Barberini. The side of the hill is here encumbered with great masses of brickwork and rubble. Behind these can be seen, at two places, the remains of an ancient wall, corresponding in style and material to that commonly attributed to Servius on the edge of the Aventine. The first of these is near the Rotunda, in the Villa Massimi, and consists of large blocks of tufa, resting on the natural tufa of the hill. The other is in the garden of the Franciscan monks of S. Maria della Vittoria, not far south of the Casino Barberini. The wall, as here seen, is also constructed of horizontal blocks of tufa, and is not placed on the upper edge of the hill, but about half-way down the slope.[5]

Ruins of wall in the Villa Massimi and near S. Maria della Vittoria.

In this part of the wall stood the Porta Sanqualis, near the Temple of Sancus, from which it derived its name, and not far from the Temple of Quirinus, the patron god of the hill.[6] The Via della Dataria has been fixed upon by topographers as the probable position of this gate.

Porta Sanqualis.

The Porta Salutaris was about 500 yards beyond this, and possibly stood on the Via delle Quattro Fontane, where it ascends from the Piazza Barberini. The gate was named from the Temple of Salus, which Junius Bubulcus built here more than 200 years after the time of Servius.[7] Before the building of this temple there was an Argeian chapel on the spot, dedicated to Salus.[8] But the principal gate upon the Quirinal hill was that from which the great road to Nomentum and the Sabine territory issued. It was called the Porta Collina, or Agonalis, or Quirinalis—names which show it to have been the gate considered as peculiarly belonging to the Quirinal hill and the Colline Romans.[9] It was probably at the northern end of the Servian agger, which overlooks the upper part of the depression between the Pincian and Quirinal.[10] This was a point often attacked, as it was the most accessible part of the city walls. The Gauls, on their return from

Porta Salutaris.

Porta Collina, or Agonalis, or Quirinalis.

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 42, 65 ; Plut. Publicola, 13. Later excavations carried on by Mr. Parker have been thought to indicate a different course of the wall here, excluding the site of the Forum of Augustus from the city. But the evidence in favour of Mr. Parker's views is not sufficient to show that the wall did not run straight across the valley.

[2] See below, chap. xiii.

[3] Livy, xxxv. 10 ; xl. 45.

[4] Orelli, Inscr. No. 5,095.

[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 509.

[6] Paul. Diac. p. 345, "proxima ædi Sanci ;" Livy, viii. 20.

[7] Livy, ix. 43 ; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 4 (7).

[8] Varro, L. L. v. § 52.

[9] Paul. Diac. pp. 10, 255 ; Strabo, book v. ch. iii. ; Livy, ii. 11.

[10] Dionys., ix. 68, plainly shows the position of this gate. So also Strabo, v. 3, p. 234.

Campania, in B.C. 360, approached the city at this point. Hannibal intended to attack Rome on this side; and Sylla, in his famous march on Rome, in B.C. 88, Strabo in 86, and the Democrats and Samnites in 82, marched to this place, as the weakest in the defences of Rome.[1]

Agger of Servius.

From the Colline Gate the Servian wall, turning suddenly to the south, ran for about 1,400 yards in nearly a straight line along the agger of Servius. This enormous rampart has been described by Dionysius.[2] He says that the ditch outside was more than 100 feet broad at the narrowest part, and thirty feet deep; and that upon the edge of the ditch stood a wall, supported by the agger, of such massive strength that it could not be shaken down by battering-rams, or breached by undermining the foundations. Dionysius gives the length of the agger as seven stadia, which, taking the stadium at 202 yards, nearly corresponds to the length given above.[3] The breadth he states at fifty feet. That this ditch and wall were the work of some of the later kings there can be no doubt; but it cannot be determined what part each took in their erection. The final completion of the whole undertaking is ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus, who deepened the ditch, raised the wall, and added new towers.[4] The additions made by him can be distinguished in the portion brought to light by the modern excavations in the railway cutting. In the grounds of the Villa Negroni, through which this rampart passes, it rises at one point into a small hill, upon which is a statue of Rome, which stands about thirty-two feet above the general level of the agger, and is the highest point within the walls of Rome on the eastern bank of the Tiber. Excavations which have been made in this part of the agger, from time to time, have brought to light an enormous wall, now buried in the earth, constructed of huge blocks of peperino.[5] This is probably the wall mentioned by Dionysius, which in his time stood outside the ramparts, on the edge of the ditch. The remains of buildings of the Imperial times have been found placed upon and outside of this wall; and it is probable that the whole ditch is now filled with such remains, and the wall buried in them. The Central Railway Station stands close to the agger, and a cutting has lately been made through a part of it to make room for the station, by which new portions of the internal wall have been disinterred. All these excavations have proved the truth of Dionysius's description, the wall having been found on the outer side of the original agger, which is easily distinguishable from the rubbish in which it is buried by being composed of clean soil, unmixed with potsherds and brickbats. It is possibly this agger to which Horace alludes when, speaking of the Gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline, he says—

> "Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
> Aggere in aprico spatiari."[6]

[1] Livy, vii. 11, xxvi. 101; Juvenal, vi. 290, "Collina stantes in turre mariti;" Mommsen, Hist. Rom. vol. iii. pp. 264, 318, 340.

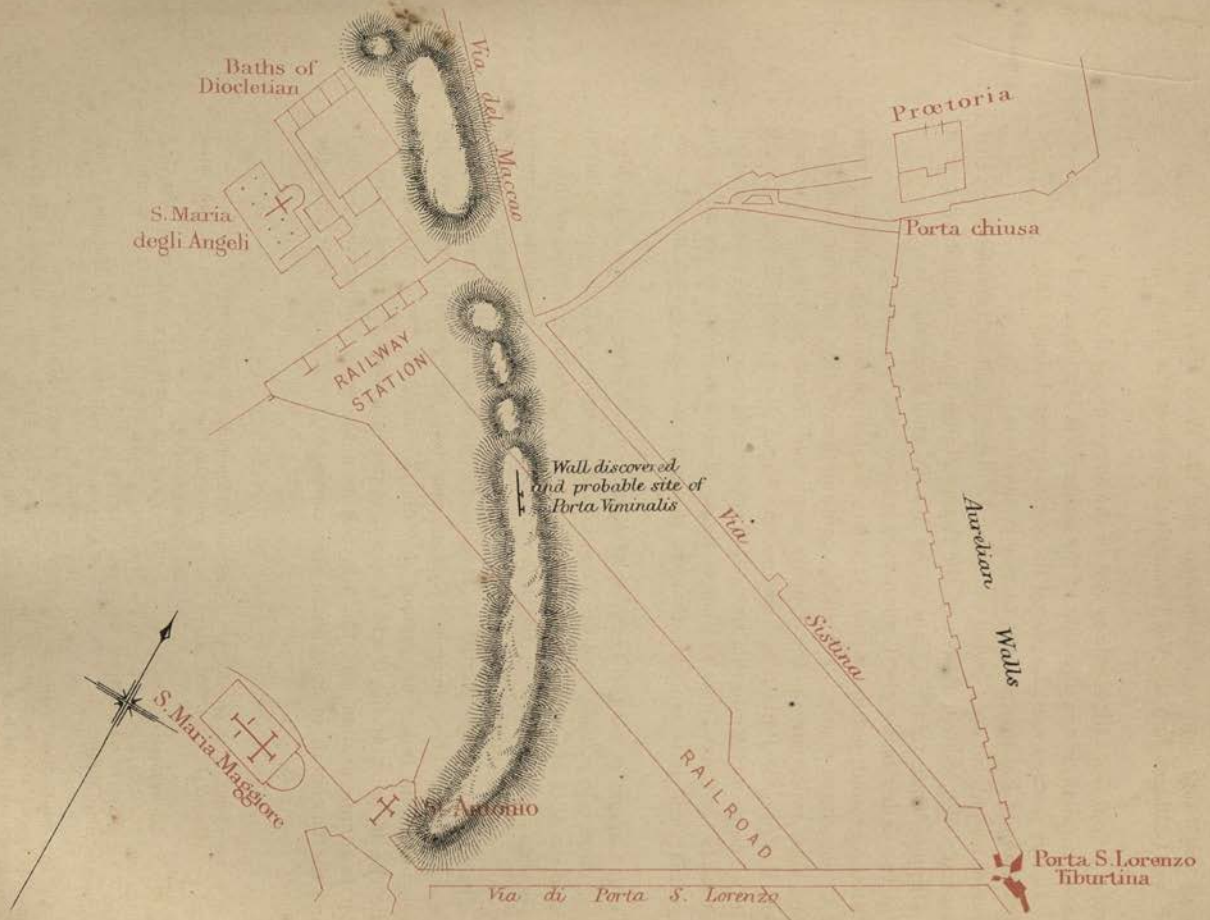
[2] Dionys. ix. 68; Cic. De Rep. ii. 6.

[3] Strabo gives the length as six stadia.

[4] Livy, i. 44; Aur. Vict., Vir. Ill. 6; Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9; Dionys. iv. 54; Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 144.

[5] Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 144; *Annali dell' Instituto Arch.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 126; Fea. Miscell. tom. i. p. 248, n. 98; Venuti, Antichita di Roma, part i. ch. v. p. 129.

[6] Hor. Sat. 1, 8, 14. See Note A at the end of this chapter.



SERVIAN AGGER AND PORTA VIMINALIS.

ch. 5. p. 49.

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In the middle of the agger was the Porta Viminalis,[1] which the late excavations have fixed at a point about 270 paces south of the statue of Rome, on the Monte di Giustitia; and at the southern end the Porta Esquilina,[2] from which the Via Labicana and the Via Prænestina ran, near the Arch of Gallienus.

Porta Viminalis.

The wall probably ran from the southern end of the agger, along the back of the Esquiline and Cœlian, in the direction of the modern Via Merulana and Via Ferratella. In this portion must be placed the Porta Querquetulana[3] and the Porta Cœlimontana;[4] but their exact situation is unknown.

Porta Querquetulana. *Porta Cœlimontana.*

The situation of no gate in the Servian walls can be determined so completely as that of the Porta Capena. We know that part of the Acqua Marcia passed over it, whence it was called the Dripping Gate (Madida Capena) by Martial and Juvenal.[5] It was, therefore, in the valley below the Cœlian hill; and we should, judging from the form of the ground, naturally place it where the hill on which S. Balbina stands approaches the Cœlian most nearly. A striking confirmation of this conjecture has been discovered. The first milestone on the Appian road was found, in 1584, in the first vineyard beyond the present Porta S. Sebastiano, the Vigna Naro; and measuring back one mile from it, we come exactly to this spot. Milestones and horse-blocks were erected on all the great roads by Caius Gracchus, before the *milliarium aureum* was put up in the Forum by Augustus; and it is probable that the distances were always measured from the gates.[6]

Porta Capena.

Near the Porta Capena stood the Temples of Honour and Virtue, dedicated by Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse,[7] and the Temple of Mars, from which the procession of knights started, on the Ides of Quintilis, to go to the Capitol, in commemoration of the aid given by the Dioscuri at the battle of the Lake Regillus.[8] A sort of cloister is mentioned by Ovid as extending outside this gate to the Temple of Mars, which may possibly be the Tecta Via alluded to by Martial in two of his epigrams.[9] The Manalis Lapis, or Rainstone, was kept near this Temple of Mars, and was brought into the city in seasons of drought.[10] An order was issued by the Council, in the year 215 B.C., that the Senate should meet at the Porta Capena, apparently with the view of being in more immediate communication with the army, then in the south, during the Second Punic War; and the custom of meeting there was continued for a whole year after the battle of Cannæ.[11]

[1] Strabo, v. 3, 7, p. 234; Paul. Diac. pp. 163, 376; Frontin. De Aquæd. 19; *Annali dell' Inst.* vol. xxxiv. p. 132.

[2] Strabo, v. 3, 9, p. 237; Dionys. ix. 68; Livy, ii. 11.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 10, 15; Festus, p. 261; Varro, L. L. v. § 49. Tac. Ann. iv. 65, identifies the Cœlian with the Querquetulan Mount.

[4] Livy, ii. 11.

[5] Frontin. De Aq. 19; Mart. iii. 47; Juv. iii. 11. The "veteres arcus" of Juvenal may perhaps refer to the old Marcian aqueduct which had been replaced by the Claudian in Nero's time.

[6] Plut. C. Gracch. 7. This milestone is now in the Piazza del Campidoglio, at the top of the steps leading up from the Piazza d'Ara Cœli on the right hand. See below, chap. vi.

[7] Livy, xxv. 40, xxvii. 25; Plut. Marc. 28; Val. Max. i. 1, 8; Cic. De Nat. Deor. ii. 23; Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 122.

[8] Livy, ix. 46; Val. Max. ii. 2, 9; Macaulay's Lays, ii.; Propert. v. 3, 71.

[9] Ov. Fast. vi. 191; Mart. iii. 5, viii. 75.

[10] Paul. Diac. pp. 2, 128; Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. note 1086.

[11] Livy, xxiii. 32; Festus, p. 347.

Almost immediately outside the Porta Capena were the tombs of Horatia, of Septimius Severus, of the Scipios, and Ennius, still extant, and of others mentioned by Cicero.[1]

From the Porta Capena to the Aventine the course of the wall was doubtful before the discovery of the fragments of the Servian wall above alluded to; but there can be little doubt now that the wall passed round the height on which the churches of S. Saba and S. Balbina stand.[2] Varro, apparently enumerating from the Aventine, mentions three gates in this portion of the wall—the Nævia, the Rauduscula, and the Lavernalis; but their sites are unknown.[3] If it be true that the remains of a gate were dug up in the Vigna dei Gesuiti, which lies on the slope of

Porta Nævia: Porta Rauduscula: Porta Lavernalis.

SERVIAN WALL ON THE AVENTINE.

the Aventine opposite to S. Saba, and then demolished, they must in all probability have belonged to the Nævia.

There must have been another gate on the Aventine, and therefore the Porta Minucia mentioned by Festus has been placed by some topographers at the south-western angle of the hill.[4]

Porta Minucia.

[1] Livy, i. 26; Spart. Geta, 7; Livy, xxxviii. 56; Hieron. ed. Ronc. p. 379; Cic. Tusc. i. 7.

[2] Traces of a part of the wall are found under the church of S. Balbina. Gells' Topography of Rome, p. 493, Appendix. See *Bulletino dell' Instituto*, 1852, p. 83.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 163. Compare Hieron. Chron. Ol. 134, t. i. p. 369, ed. Ronc., from which it is seen that Varro begins the enumeration from the Aventine; Festus, pp. 117, 274; Livy, ii. 11.

[4] Paul. Diac. pp. 122, 147.

The last gate of which the site can be determined is the Porta Trigemina, which lay between the north-western corner of the Aventine and the river. Its situation is fixed in the following way:—Frontinus mentions that the Appian aqueduct began to have its water distributed into small pipes "near the salt-stores, which are close to the Porta Trigemina;" and he also calls the same place "the bottom of the Publician Hill, near the Porta Trigemina."[1] Now Solinus identifies the salt-stores with the cave of Cacus, on the Aventine, and, as the Appian water came from the Porta Capena, we cannot suppose that it was carried far round the corner of the hill before being distributed, and the site of the gate is therefore to be fixed at the north-eastern angle of the hill. A part of the ancient wall has been (1856) discovered under the walls of the Convent of S. Sabina. This fragment shows that the wall ran along the upper edge of the hill, and not below, as Nardini supposed.[2]

Porta Trigemina.

In connexion with this part of the topography of Rome, it may be mentioned that the Porta Navalis,[3] which will be found in most maps of the Servian walls at the south-eastern angle of the Aventine, has been shown by Becker not to have been there. His argument is as follows:—The Navalia were not near the Aventine, but opposite the Prata Quinctia, in the upper bend of the Tiber.[4] Cato the younger, on his return from Cyprus, refused to land at his first approach to the city by water, but rowed past the magistrates who had come out to welcome him at the Aventine, and landed at the Navalia, higher up.[5] Livy also mentions that the ships of Perseus were laid up at the Campus Martius, probably near the Arsenal. The Porta Navalis was, therefore, most likely not a gate in the Servian wall, but belonged to the later enclosures of Rome. A considerable number of so-called gates are either merely arches within the walls or mistaken readings in the manuscripts; as the Porta Stercoraria,[6] the Porta Libitinensis,[7] the Porta Fenestella,[8] the Porta Ferentina,[9] the Piacularis,[10] the Catularia,[11] the Metia,[12] and the Collatina.[13]

Porta Navalis.

To what extent the western bank of the Tiber was fortified, in the time of the kings and the Republic, is very uncertain. Ancus Martius is said by Livy to have first fortified the Janiculum with a wall, and united it with the city by the bridge of piles[14] (Pons Sublicius). But it appears from the account in Livy of the constant occupations of the Janiculum by the Etruscans, in the war with the Veii, in 475 B.C., that there were then no walls connecting the bridge with the fort.[15] A passage of Appian, in which he relates how Marius was admitted within the gate of the Janiculum by Appius Claudius, seems to show that Appian at least thought the Janiculum

Fortifications of western bank of the Tiber.

[1] Front. De Aquæd. 5; Livy, iv. 16; xxxv. 10; Plaut. Capt. i. 1, 22; Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 3, 4. It has been supposed that the channels of this water have been discovered under S. Sabina. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* xxix. p. 72.

[2] Solinus, i. 8. Later excavations have proved that the Porta Trigemina was at the Salaria, and that the Pons Sublicius was close to it. Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 129; *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxix. p. 64.

[3] Paul. Diac. p. 179: "Navalis porta a vicinia navalium dicta."

[4] See Livy, iii. 26; Pliny, xviii. 4.

[5] Plut. Cato min. 39.

[6] Festus, p. 344.

[7] Lamprid. Commod. 16.

[8] Ov. Fast. vi. 572.

[9] Plut. Rom. 24.

[10] Festus, p. 213.

[11] Ibid., p. 45.

[12] Plaut. Cas. ii. 6, 2; Pseud. i. 3, 97, where Ritschl reads "mi etiam" for "Metiam." See Note B, at the end of the chapter.

[13] Festus, p. 37.

[14] Livy, i. 33; Dionys. iii. 45; Procop. B. G. i. 19.

[15] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 397, English translation; Livy, ii. 51, 52.

had walls.[1] But we are totally without evidence as to their extent, or when they were first built; and Appian probably transferred the notions of a late time to the time of Marius; for we find Sylla, in his march on Rome, in B.C. 88, occupying the bridge over the Tiber without, apparently, having to pass any walls.[2] Till the time of Augustus, the Janiculum was considered a part of Italy, and not a part of the city of Rome. Cicero expressly says that there was no reason why, in his time, a colony should not be planted there, just as in any other spot in Italy.[3]

Augustus made it one of his fourteen regions, under the name of the Regio Transtiberina; but, even after his time, the jurists seem to have maintained a difference between Roma and Urbs. Urbs, the circle of the city, did not include the Janiculum; while Roma, equivalent possibly to the Ager Romanus, did include it.[4]

[1] App. B. C. i. 68.
[2] Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 265.
[3] Cic. De Leg. Agr. v. 16.
[4] Marcell. Dig. L. 16, 87.

NOTE A, p. 48.—THE SERVIAN WALL ON THE AGGER, EXCAVATED DURING THE RAILWAY WORKS. FROM THE "ANNALI DELL' INSTITUTO," vol. xxxiv. p. 133.

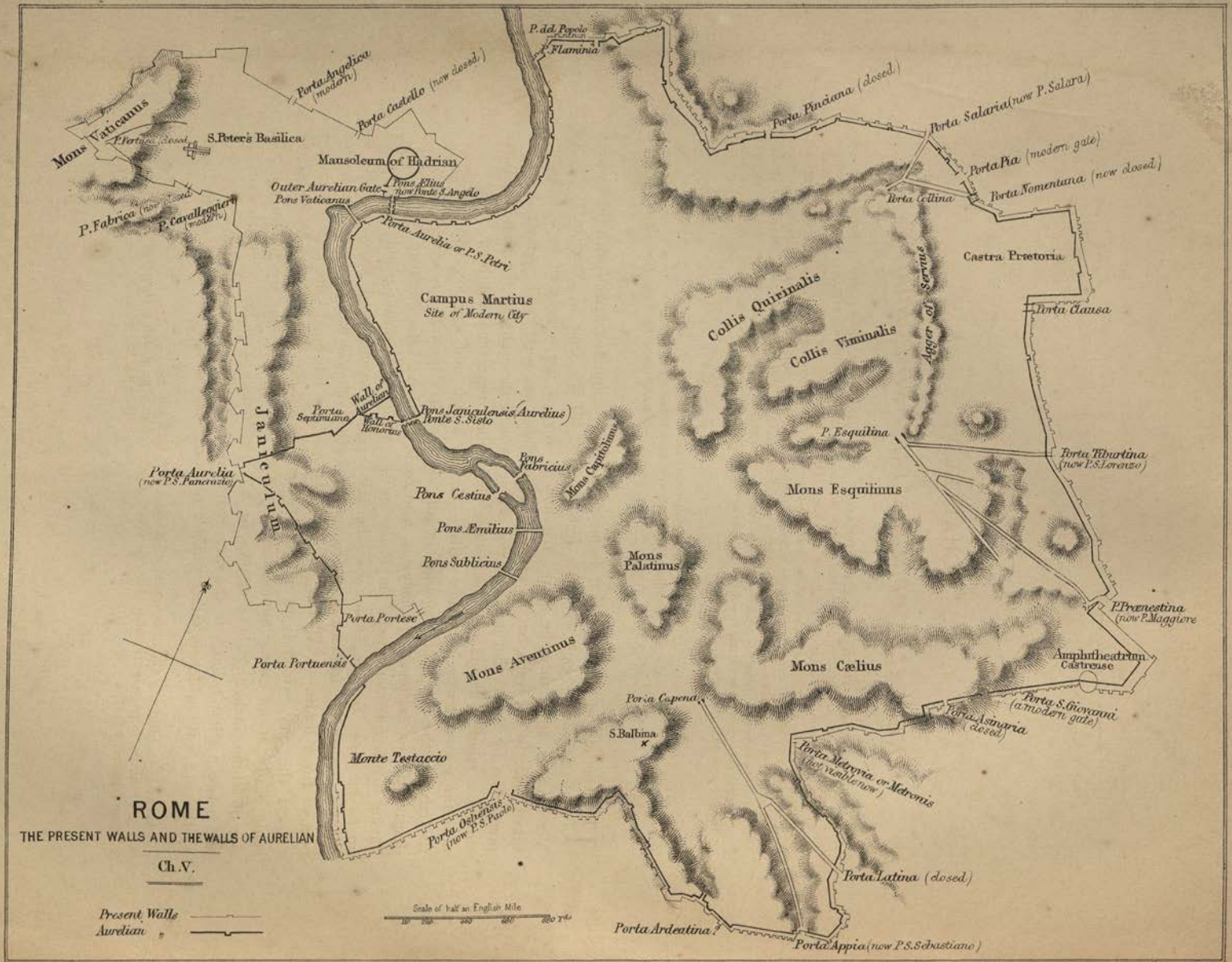
The wall is composed of cut stones of peperino (*lapis albanus*) from one to three metres in length, about one metre (39·371 inches) in breadth, and ·75 of a metre in depth. Three rows of such stones constitute the whole thickness of the wall, and are placed one upon the other without mortar or cement, or any sort of arrangement as to size, each stone having been placed as it came to hand. But although they are cut without much care, and the interstices between them are sometimes large, yet there is a certain appearance of skill in the work, and the stones of the central row are sometimes let into the outer row to ensure strength. The stability of the wall is chiefly secured by an unwieldy thickness characteristic of so remote an age, and by the huge size of the stones, rather than the accuracy of the workmanship.

NOTE B, p. 51.—THE PORTA METIA.

Fabricius, in Græv. Thes. iii. p. 471, and Onuph. Panvinius, *id.* p. 316, first imagined the existence of a Porta Metia from three passages of Plautus: Casina, ii. 6; Pseud. i. 3, 96; Mil. Glor. ii. 4, 6. They identified it with the Porta Esquilina, as the well-known place of execution and burial of paupers and criminals.

Cleostrata, however, the person mentioned in the Casina, was not a pauper or a criminal, nor does there seem to be any reason for mentioning a particular gate of the city in the passages of the Casina and Pseudulus. No name is given in the Miles Gloriosus.

Ritschl, Opusc. ii. p. 382, observes that the word is *Mētia* in the Casina, and *Mĕtia* in the Pseudulus; that all the MSS. read "mi etiam" in the passage of the Pseudulus, and vary in the passage of the Casina between "victuam," "nictuam," "nituam," and "metuam." He therefore wishes to read "mi etiam" and "mortuam" in the Pseudulus and Casina, and in the Miles Gloriosus "esse pereundum" for "esse eundum actutum," and he concludes: "Ter igitur Plautus 'extra portam' dixit simpliciter quemadmodum nos quoque *vor's Thor, vor'm Thor* etiam cum de certa urbis porta cogitamus. Potest ille ipsam Esquilinam significasse, certum est omnino extra urbem solita esse supplicia fieri, cadavera comburi, humari, maleficorum etiam projici tantum, item communi veterum more extra urbem carnifices habitasse."


P. del Popolo
Flaminia
Porta Angelica (modern)
Porta Castello (now closed)
Porta Pinciana (closed)
Porta Salaria (now P. Salara)
Mons Vaticanus
P. Fortese (closed)
S. Peter's Basilica
Mausoleum of Hadrian
Porta Pia (modern gate)
Outer Aurelian Gate
Pons Vaticanus
Pons Ælius (now Ponte S. Angelo)
Porta Collina
Porta Nomentana (now closed)
P. Fabrica (now closed)
P. Cavalleggieri (modern)
Porta Aurelia or P. S. Petri
Castra Prætoria
Campus Martius
Site of Modern City
Collis Quirinalis
Agger of Servius
Porta Clausa
Collis Viminalis
Wall of Aurelian
Porta Septimiana
Pons Janiculensis Aurelius (Ponte S. Sisto)
Wall of Honorius
P. Esquilina
Porta Tiburtina (now P. S. Lorenzo)
Pons Fabricius
Mons Capitolinus
Porta Aurelia (now P. S. Pancrazio)
Janiculum
Pons Cestius
Mons Esquilinus
Pons Æmilius
Pons Sublicius
Mons Palatinus
P. Prænestina (now P. Maggiore)
Porta Portese
Porta Portuensis
Mons Aventinus
Mons Cælius
Amphitheatrum Castrense
Porta Capena
Porta S. Giovanni (a modern gate)
Porta Asinaria (closed)
S. Balbina
Porta Metronia or Metronis (not visible now)
Monte Testaccio
Porta Ostiensis (now P. S. Paolo)
Porta Latina (closed)
Scale of half an English Mile
Porta Ardeatina
Porta Appia (now P. S. Sebastiano)
ROME
THE PRESENT WALLS AND THE WALLS OF AURELIAN
Ch. V.
Present Walls
Aurelian "
Edwd. Weller, lith.
Cambridge. Deighton, Bell & Co.

CHAPTER V.

THE WALLS OF AURELIAN AND HONORIUS.

LONG INTERVAL DURING WHICH NO NEW FORTIFICATIONS WERE MADE AT ROME—EXTENT OF ROME—REASONS FOR NEGLECT OF WALLS — THE AURELIAN WALLS BUILT FOR FEAR OF THE BARBARIANS OF THE NORTH—REBUILT BY HONORIUS—GATES IN THE AURELIAN WALLS—THE COURSE OF THE AURELIAN WALLS—PORTA AURELIA NOVA—PORTA FLAMINIA—MURO TORTO—PORTA PINCIANA—PORTA SALARIA—PORTA NOMENTANA—CASTRA PRÆTORIANA — PORTA CHIUSA — PORTA TIBURTINA CORRESPONDS TO PORTA S. LORENZO — PORTA PRÆNESTINA TO PORTA MAGGIORE — VIVARIUM — AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE — PORTA ASINARIA — PORTA METROVIA — PORTA LATINA — PORTA APPIA — PORTA OSTIENSIS — COURSE OF AURELIAN WALLS IN THE TRASTEVERE—PORTA PORTUENSIS—PORTA AURELIA VETUS—PORTA SEPTIMIANA—NOTE ON THE PORTA VIMINALIS AND VIA TIBURTINA.

"Addebant pulchrum nova mœnia vultum,
Audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum."

CLAUDIAN, *VI. Cons. Honor.* 531.

IT seems almost incredible that Rome should have contented herself with the Servian walls for nearly eight centuries, from 507 B.C. till the time of Aurelian, A.D. 270. Yet such is apparently the fact. We find in Livy a few notices of repairs having taken place in the walls, but no account of any fresh enclosure.[1] The extension of the pomœrium by Sylla[2] had no connexion whatever with the walls, as the pomœrium was simply a religious boundary, which since the earliest times had not been necessarily co-extensive with the walls.[3] In the attack and storming of the city by the troops of Vespasian in A.D. 69 the Servian walls are evidently still in existence.[4] Dionysius, who could not have been mistaken, having lived for many years at Rome in the time of Augustus, plainly states that up to his time Servius Tullius was the last person who increased the circuit of the walls, and that the fortifications were, on account of religious scruples, never extended beyond these limits. "All the ground built upon and inhabited," he goes on to say, "round the city, which is of immense extent, is without walls and undefended, and could easily, if an enemy approached, be taken. Should any one try to estimate the size of Rome, including these suburbs, he will find himself at a loss where to draw the line between what belongs to the city and what to the country. But, if it is measured by the old wall, which is rather difficult to trace, because it is so much covered with

Long interval without new fortifications.

[1] Livy, vi. 32, after the Gallic conquest of Rome, B.C. 375; vii. 20, repairs were made 350 B.C.; xxv. 7, again repaired B.C. 212.

[2] Gell. xiii. 14.

[3] Vopisc. Aur. p. 216 C. chap. xxi.

[4] Tac. Hist. iii. 82.

buildings, but can still be traced in many places, the circumference of Rome will be found to be not much larger than that of Athens."[1]

Extent of Rome.

In the time of Vespasian, Pliny the elder gives some measurements of the extent of Rome, which, however difficult they may be to interpret, can hardly be understood to imply the existence of any new wall since the Servian.[2] He says: "The buildings of Rome in the reign of Vespasian and Titus, in the eight hundred and twenty-seventh year from the foundation of the city, are nearly twelve miles in circumference. The city embraces seven hills, and is divided into fourteen regions and two hundred and sixty-five parishes (*compita Larum*). The distances from the milestone which stands at the top of the Forum to each of the thirty-seven gates, counting 'the twelve gates' as one, and leaving out seven of the old ones, which are disused, when added together in a straight line, amount to 29$\frac{1}{7}$ miles. But the distance from the same milestone to the extreme limit of the houses, passing through all the streets which lead to roads, is a little more than 66$\frac{1}{3}$ miles."

The walls of the modern city are between twelve and thirteen miles in circumference, so that the regions of Augustus, the circumference of which is probably that given by Pliny's first measurement, occupied pretty nearly the same extent of ground as that afterwards enclosed by the Aurelian walls, which correspond to those of the modern city. It must be remembered that nearly one-half of the space enclosed by the walls is now uninhabited.[3]

The second measurement given by Pliny plainly extends to the gates of the Servian wall only, which had been largely multiplied, and is intended to be contrasted with the third, and to give the size of the old city within the walls as compared with the whole extent of the buildings of Rome in Vespasian's time. It appears also from Pliny's statement that the walls of Servius had been pierced, as we should naturally expect, with a great number of gates in order to give free access to the outer city.

Reasons for neglect of walls.

Becker considers that Strabo's remark,[4] in describing the policy of the Romans, to the effect that they defended their walls by their men, and not their men by their walls, is somewhat beside the truth, for it was not till after the Punic Wars that the walls of Rome were neglected. But Strabo's words may be interpreted to mean that Rome, even before the Punic Wars, depended not on the strength of her walls, but upon the firm and compact confederation of allies who surrounded her.

[1] Dionys. iv. 13. This passage of Dionysius seems to me completely to negative Mr. J. H. Parker's supposition that there was an agger or outer line of defence previously existing on the line of the Aurelian walls. See *Archæol. Journal*, xxiv. p. 346.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9. I understand *mœnia* to denote the buildings of the city as distinguished from *muri*, walls. So in Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. 26, 30, the *muri* of Babylon are distinguished from the *mœnia*; and so in Virg. Æn. vi. 549: "Mœnia lata videt triplici circumdata muro." Pliny's "duodecim portæ" may have been a gateway with twelve arches, possibly belonging to some aqueduct. Gibbon (ch. ii.) wrongly supposes that the wall of Servius was meant by Pliny in speaking of the "Mœnia Romæ." He thinks that the wall included pasture-land. But this is plainly impossible. See a note in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte Roms, p. 10. J. H. Parker (*Archæol. Journal*, xxiv. p. 345) thinks that the walls of Aurelian and Honorius were carried along the top of an agger, which was originally the outer agger of the Servian enclosure (?) and that this agger was used as a fortification in the time of the Republic (?). But see note [1].

[3] Preller, Regionen, s. 76, remarks that the line of the Aurelian walls did not exactly correspond with the boundaries of the fourteen regions of Augustus. On the side of the Porta Appia the first region extended beyond the gate, and on the opposite side at the Porta Flaminia the regions did not extend so far as the wall of Aurelian.

[4] Strabo, v. 3, p. 234.

Carthage was indebted to the strength of her walls for safety on several occasions, but Rome made her position against foreign attacks so secure by a policy of moderation and graduated concession of privileges, securing the allegiance of the less privileged by means of those who had superior rights, that she was, as it were, surrounded by an impassable barrier of subject allies. The social war was only caused by the gradual loss of position which the Latins suffered in course of time, and the feeling that they had by degrees been reduced to the level of subjects. But during the great shocks which Rome endured, her confederacy stood firm, and broke the violence of the invaders. The dashing attacks of Pyrrhus were repulsed by it; and though Hannibal carried the southern outworks of their defences by main force, yet he looked in vain for the loosening and breaking up of the compact structure of the central allies—the Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans. Even Cannæ could not shake their allegiance.[1] Each small country town closed its gates against the conqueror, and their united opposition broke the force of the blow he would have inflicted on Rome had she stood alone.

It is true that in the time of the civil wars, after the death of Drusus, the walls of Rome were nominally put in a state of defence against the Southern Italian insurrection, but still no reliance was placed upon them. After the battle of Tolenus, B.C. 90, the Romans seem to have despaired of holding the city, and actually made great concessions to the Italians.[2] And again, when the Samnites and Democrats attacked Rome in B.C. 82, the walls would have afforded but little protection had not Sylla brought speedy relief to the city. Sylla himself, in his celebrated march on Rome in B.C. 88, seems not to have anticipated any defence of the actual walls as possible. They were then probably half in ruins; at all events, he entered without difficulty.[3] Considerable fear was entertained at Rome lest Spartacus, in B.C. 70, should make a sudden swoop upon Rome. No fear need have been entertained had Rome been fortified at the time.[4]

Previous to the Punic Wars, no extension of the Servian walls was necessary. All the surplus population of Rome was draughted off into her colonies, nor is there any reason to suppose that her population was too large to be contained on an emergency within the old walls. During the gradual subjection of Latium, Campania, Etruria, Samnium, and the South, military colonies, each containing from two to four thousand men, were constantly being planted in the conquered territory. In one case, that of Venusia, the number of colonists was said to have been twenty thousand; and, although this must be an exaggeration, it shows at least that the Roman colonization was on a large scale.[5]

Besides this drain upon the population of Rome, the supplies of men required for the constant wars in which Rome was engaged must have been very considerable until the final overthrow of Carthage. The fearful losses of life are indicated by a decrease of 17,000 in the burgess roll of the city between 281 and 275 B.C.;[6] and in 211 B.C. Rome had twenty-three legions in the field engaged in constant fighting. Three

[1] See Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 335; vol. iii. pp. 236, 239, 243, 246, 340.
[2] Orosius, v. 18; Ov. Fast. vi. 565.
[3] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 264.
[4] Merivale, Hist. of Romans, vol. i. ch. i. p. 46.
[5] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 392; vol. ii. 352.
[6] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 418, 436; vol. ii. p. 52.

hundred thousand Italians are said to have been killed in the Second Punic War; and, though the Third Punic War was probably not so destructive, yet an enormous number of Roman citizens must have been lost in it.[1]

Settlement at Rome was discouraged for the express purpose of extending the Empire, and, even so late as B.C. 126, all non-burgesses were dismissed from the capital.[2] Centralization was not any part of the Roman policy during the Republican government. The public money at a time when the Roman state was most wealthy—viz. from 180 to 122 B.C.—was chiefly employed, not in buildings at Rome, but on distant works, such as military roads, aqueducts, and drainage. After 122 B.C. these works were stopped, partly in consequence of the saving policy of the oligarchy, and partly because the exchequer was drained by largesses to the mob.[3] It may be added that great public works are generally undertaken by a despotic government, which can concentrate the whole force of the nation upon one point, and provide the necessary supplies of men and money with certainty. The annual magistracies of the Roman Republican constitution did not afford those who held office time enough to originate or to carry out great and comprehensive schemes, except in very few instances; and that jealous animosity with which the proposer of any great public measure was regarded at Rome proved sufficient to deter the ablest men from attempting improvements on a large scale, and drove them to throw their whole energy into the foreign wars of the state, where a better prospect of gaining both wealth and renown was open to them. At the time of Sylla's re-organization of the state, all Italy south of the Rubicon and Arno was considered as a home province, inhabited by Roman citizens, and subject to the ordinary authorities at Rome, and no military force was ever stationed in it. The passage of the Rubicon by Cæsar was a declaration of war, because it infringed this rule, which had become a fundamental maxim of Roman state law.[4]

Subsequently, when the Empire was firmly established, all fear of an invasion of Italy by a foreign enemy was at an end, and the energies of the Emperors were rather devoted to the erection of buildings for the amusement and entertainment of the people than for defence.

The writers from whom we obtain the scanty information which can be gleaned with respect to the walls which Aurelian built round the city of Rome, are full of strange exaggerations and legends.[5] Their histories are the most meagre compendia of events, spiced with strange and incredible statements, intended to make them interesting to readers who wished for excitement regardless of truth. Vopiscus, in his biography of Aurelian, states that the walls of Rome were so enlarged by Aurelian as to have a circumference of nearly fifty thousand paces.[6] It has been charitably suggested by Piale, in order to save Vopiscus's character for truth, that he meant fifty thousand feet instead of fifty thousand double paces of five feet. But we may as well set down the statement at once as a mere exaggeration into which Vopiscus was

The Aurelian walls.

[1] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 172, 392, 192.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 333; vol. iii. p. 106.
[3] Ibid., vol. iii p. 406.
[4] Ibid., vol. iii. pp. 367, 375.
[5] Aur. Vict. Cæs. 35, 7; Eutrop. ix. 15 Zosimus, i. 37, 49; Orosius, vii. 23; Hieron. t. i. p. 481, ed. Ronc.; Cassiod. Chron. t. ii. p. 214, ed. Ronc.
[6] Vopiscus, Aur. 39; Hist. Aug. p. 222. A passus, or double step, was reckoned from the place at which either one of the feet left the ground to the place at which it again reached the ground in walking. It was = 5 Roman feet.

led by his wish to exalt the hero of his tale. The impossibility of such an extent of the walls is plain, for it is inconceivable that they or the parts of the town they enclosed should so completely have disappeared, or that some further notice of so enormous a work should not have been preserved than the few casual notices we have left to us. Besides this, the Prætorian camp plainly formed a part of the Aurelian walls, for when Constantine abolished the Prætorian guards and destroyed their quarters, he would certainly have pulled down the three sides still remaining had they not formed a part of the city walls. The Aurelian walls did not therefore reach beyond the Prætorian camp on the north-eastern side of Rome. "The regions of Augustus corresponded, with a few exceptions which can be explained by the nature of the ground, to the present circuit of the walls, which we find also to be built on old foundations, and to contain considerable remains of older walls. ' An extent of fifty miles if given to the walls would far outstep these limits, which separated between town and country folk, and stretch to a great distance into the Campagna." [1]

Another apparent exaggeration is to be found in Olympiodorus, who says that the walls of Rome, as measured by Ammon the Geometer at the time of the first attack of the Goths, A.D. 408, contained a circuit of twenty-one miles.[2] This has been satisfactorily explained by Becker as a confusion between the Roman double pace of five feet and the ordinary single pace of two feet and a half. For if we halve the distance it nearly corresponds to the actual circumference of the walls.

Built for fear of the barbarians of the North.

Aurelian, says Vopiscus,[3] feared lest what had happened in the time of Gallienus, when the Alemanni appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome and threatened the city, might happen again. For the first time since the Second Punic War a foreign foe had been seen near Rome. For four hundred and fifty years the soil of Italy had remained inviolate. But all the North of Europe was now in commotion; the tribes were breaking up and forming new combinations, and a wide-spread tempest was at hand. The Emperor Aurelian, who had passed his boyhood and youth in the North of Italy, and in the Roman camps, and had filled every post, from the centurionship to that of commander-in-chief of the cavalry, well knew that the swift and impulsive movements of the barbarian hordes might bear them in an instant from the frontier to the defenceless palaces of Rome. He also foresaw that the need of employing the restless legions in distant wars, no less than his own adventurous and military character, would constantly keep him, with the flower of the army, at a distance from Italy, and would leave Rome at the mercy of the warlike Germans. He therefore commenced the indispensable but melancholy task of providing against such a disaster. His own short reign of five years was not sufficient to complete the fortifications contemplated, and they were finished by his successor Probus.[4] The danger apprehended from the Northern nations was, however, deferred for a time by the warlike character of the next succeeding Emperors, and the walls of Rome fell again into decay.

[1] Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. i. p. 647.

[2] Olymp. in Phot. Bibl. 80, p. 63, Bekk. In the passage of Martin. Polonus, Introd. p. 74, quoted by Nibby, p. 280, the Leipsic MSS. read "miliaria xii." for "miliaria xxii."

[3] Vopiscus, Aur. 21; Hist. Aug. p. 216, C.; Gibbon, chap. x.

[4] Zosimus, i. 49.

When Honorius, 125 years afterwards, undertook to rebuild them in dread of an invasion by the Goths, he found them in ruins. An inscription now extant over the Porta S. Lorenzo records this restoration, and similar inscriptions remained over the Porta Maggiore and the Porta S. Paolo, till they were removed by Urban VIII.[1] None of the gates of Aurelian are now left, as the style of architecture plainly shows, and the above-mentioned inscriptions do not at all prove that the gates upon which they stood were the identical gates erected by Honorius, for the inscriptions may have been transferred from older gates. A hundred years after Honorius's time, Totila destroyed a considerable portion of his walls, but it is generally supposed by topographers that Belisarius, who renewed them, built them on the same foundations, and that the modern wall corresponds nearly to the line of Aurelian's fortifications.[2] Pope Leo IV. first enclosed St. Peter's and the Vatican with a line of fortifications, and also restored a considerable part of the walls on the eastern bank.[3] Even including this part of the city, which is called the Borgo or Città Leonina, the area enclosed by the Aurelian walls is only two-fifths of the area of Paris, and would, at a moderate computation, only hold about 550,000 inhabitants.[4]

Rebuilt by Honorius.

The gates in the Aurelian walls are enumerated by an anonymous writer, whose manuscript has been preserved in the Library of the Convent of Einsiedlen in Schwyz, and also by Procopius.[5] The former of these is supposed to have visited Rome in the ninth century, and Procopius wrote about 540 A.D. Both of them agree that the number of gates was fourteen, besides some postern gates.[6] The anonymous writer gives with great precision the number of towers, battlements, loopholes, and postern gates between each of the principal gates, so that we can calculate approximately the distance between the gates. His list of gates is as follows:—P. S. Petri, P. Flaminia, P. Pinciana, P. Salaria, P. Numentana, P. Tiburtina, P. Prænestina, P. Asinaria, P. Metrovia, P. Latina, P. Appia, P. Ostiensis, P. Portensis, P. Aurelia. The last two are the only gates on the western bank of the Tiber.

Gates in the Aurelian walls.

The course of the Aurelian walls differed from that of the Servian principally in taking a wider range round the whole city, including, as has been seen, the outer line of the Augustan regions. Instead of following the edges of the hills as the Servian did, it disregarded the help afforded by the nature of the ground and crossed the level ground at the back of the Esquiline and on the south side of the city, where its course was plainly determined by the artificial limit imposed by the extent of the houses. On the eastern bank of the Tiber it followed as nearly as possible the line of the present walls along the slope of the Pincian at the back of the Servian agger and Esquiline, and also at the back of the Cœlian and Aventine. But upon the western bank the line of the Aurelian wall was totally different from that of the present enclosure, and embraced a much smaller space.[7] It seems also that the Romans of Aurelius's time did not consider the Tiber a sufficient

The course of the Aurelian walls compared with the present walls.

[1] "Egestis immensis ruderibus," are the words of the inscription on the Porta S. Lorenzo.

[2] Procop. Bell. Goth. iii. 22, 24.

[3] Nibby, Mura di Roma, p. 254.

[4] See Friedländer, Sittengesch. Roms, vol. i. p. 24, and *Quarterly Review*, 1856, p. 445, ff.

[5] The enumeration of the Anon. Eins. is given in Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 192.

[6] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 19.

[7] See the Map of the Aurelian walls.

defence in itself, for they continued their fortifications along its bank, from the points where the wall touched the river on the eastern bank to the points where the Transtiberine wall reached the opposite bank.[1] These portions of the Aurelian walls have almost disappeared at the present day. The Transtiberine wall of Aurelian began from the Pons Janiculensis, now the Ponte S. Sisto,[2] and passed nearly parallel to the Via di Ponte S. Sisto and the Via delle Fornaci to the Porta S. Pancrazio, which was then called the Porta Aurelia. After passing this gate it turned at an angle less than a right angle and descended the hill again, crossing the modern wall nearly at right angles. It then bent itself to the south-east, and reached the bank of the Tiber at a spot about five hundred yards outside the present Porta Portese.

In describing the course of the Aurelian wall, I shall follow the same direction as in the case of the Servian walls, proceeding from the northern point, at which it reached the river, round to the southern. In that section of the wall which lay along the eastern bank of the river from the Pons Janiculensis to the Porta Flaminia, there was a gate near the mausoleum of Hadrian, called by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen the Gate of St. Peter.[3] Procopius gives it also the name of the Porta Aurelia, probably because the new Aurelian road passed out through it. The old Aurelian road passed out through the Porta S. Pancrazio, which was also sometimes called the Porta Aurelia. In the time of Belisarius, and during the Gothic wars, the mausoleum of Hadrian had already been turned into a fortress for the protection of the neighbouring gate. Two parallel walls united it with the fortifications of the city, but the gate itself is strangely enough spoken of as if it stood upon the eastern bank of the river, so that we must suppose that there was another gate on the western bank to afford an exit from the walls. This gate on the western bank was probably also considered a part of the Porta Aurelia, and the two gates being so close together are reckoned as one. Therefore, when Procopius speaks of the mausoleum and the Aurelian gate having been attacked, he is speaking of the outer part of the Aurelian gate alone.[4]

Porta Aurelia Nova.

The old Flaminian gate was a little nearer the slope of the Pincian than the present Porta del Popolo; for Procopius speaks of it as placed in a steep place, and not easily approached or attacked.[5] The present gate was built by Pius IV., in 1561, and named from the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, close by; but the position must have been altered long before, as we find the gate so near the river as to have been injured by the inundations of the Tiber, in the times of Gregory II. and Hadrian I. (715—792).[6]

Porta Flaminia.

Beyond this gate, on the edge of the Pincian Hill, there is a very ancient piece of wall, faced with a casing of *opus reticulatum*.[7] This is supposed to have formed a part of the

[1] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 19, 22; ii. 9.

[2] The expressions of Procopius, i. 19, *ξυνάπτειν τὸ τεῖχος τῇ γεφύρᾳ*, and *ἡ πρὸς τῷ περιβόλῳ γεφύρα* are very strongly in favour of the hypothesis that the bridge and wall met.

[3] Called also Cornelia, Blan. Anast. ii. p. 141; and Colliana (plainly a confusion), Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 283.

[4] Procop. i. 22, p. 106; Dindorf; Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. note 300.

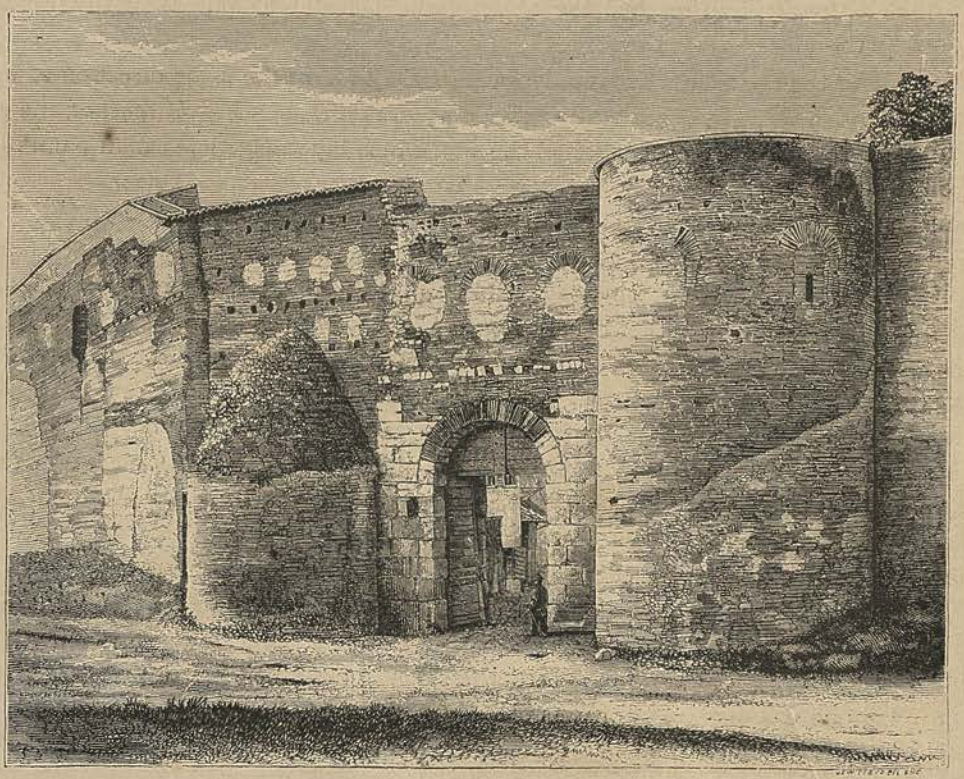
[5] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 23: *εὖ χώρῳ κρημνώδει.*

[6] Anastas. Vit. Greg. pp. 165, 271. Blanch.

[7] "Opus reticulatum" is made of small diamond-shaped blocks of tufa set in the surface of a mass of concrete. These blocks were driven into the concrete before the lime had dried and set. The Muro Torto is sometimes spoken of as having been a part of the house of Sylla, but I do not know upon what authority. A more probable conjecture is that it was a part of the tomb of the Domitii, mentioned by Suet. Dom. 2. See Guattani, Monumenti, tom. i. p. 20, anno 1784; and Venuti's Roma Antica.

substructure of some of the private buildings on the Pincian previous to the time of Aurelian, who incorporated it in his wall. Near the angle of the wall, where it turns sharply to the south, is a point at which the brickwork leans in great masses considerably out of the perpendicular, whence it has the name of Muro Torto. Procopius speaks of this as having been in the same state long before his time, and calls it the "broken wall."[1] The reason of the neglect to repair it seems to have been a super-

Muro Torto.



PORTA SALARIA.

stitious idea that it was under the protection of the Apostle St. Peter, and was therefore impregnable; but whether St. Peter's powers were ever put to the test does not appear.[2]

Portæ Pinciana, Salaria, Nomentana.

There is no difficulty in fixing the sites and names of the three next gates—the Pinciana, the Salaria, and the Nomentana.[3] The Pinciana is now walled up, the Porta Salaria is still extant under the name Salara, and the Porta Pia has now taken the place of the Nomentana, and stands a little to the north of it.[4]

[1] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 23, *περίβολον διερρωγότα.*

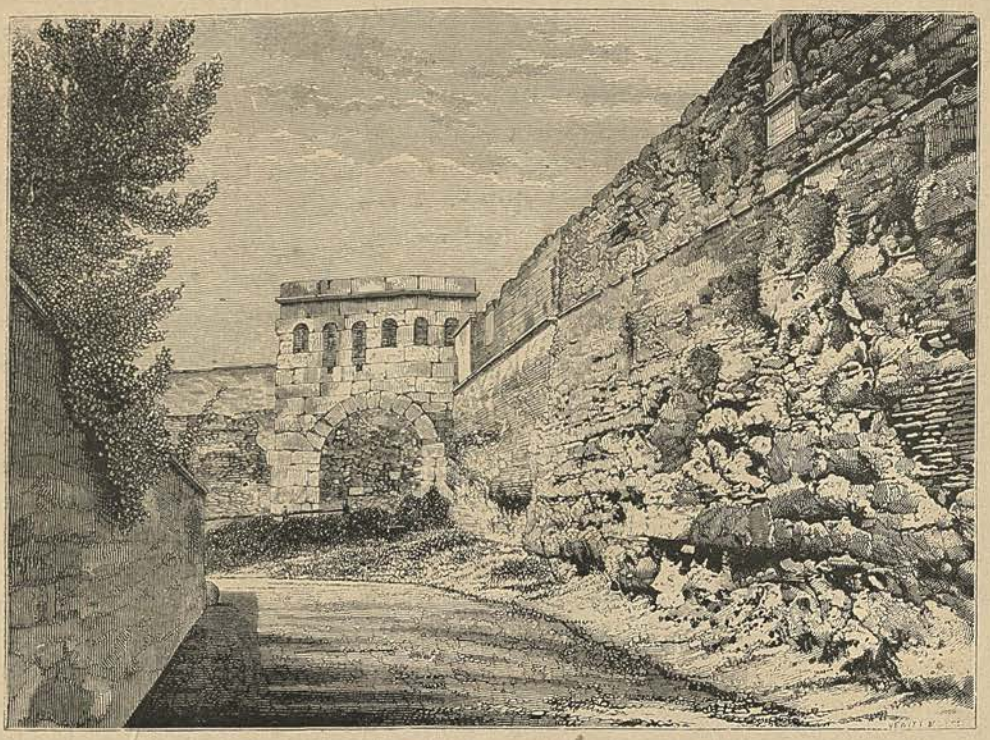
[2] See Note A at the end of the chapter.

[3] Urlichs, in Class. Museum, vol. iii. Urlichs has shown that Procopius calls the Pinciana a *πύλη* oftener than a *πυλίς*. But see note [3] on page 62; also notes B, C, and D at the end of the chapter.

[4] The Porta Belisaria of Procop. i. 18, 22, is rejected both by Becker, Handbuch, p. 198, and Urlichs, Class. Museum, vol. iii. p. 196.

Near this gate the square of the Castra Prætoriana projects from the walls. Aurelian had made use of the three outer walls of this camp as a part of his fortification, and therefore Constantine, when he abolished the Prætorian guard, pulled down the side towards the city only.[1] The Porta Decumana of this camp is still to be seen, though it is now walled up, and also the Porta Principalis dextra; but the Porta Principalis sinistra has disappeared, or perhaps never existed. The camp was enclosed by a wall at least as early as the time of Pertinax and Julian;[2] for here

Castra Prætoriana.



PORTA CHIUSA.

occurred that memorable and most melancholy scene in Roman history when the Prætorians shut themselves within their camp, after the murder of the reforming Emperor Pertinax, and put up the throne to auction.[3] Julian and Sulpicianus were the bidders. The soldiers let down a ladder, and allowed Julian to get up on the wall, says Herodian; for they would not open the gates before they heard how much would be offered. Sulpicianus was not allowed to mount the wall. They then bid one against the other; and at last they ran up the price, little by little, to five thousand drachmas to each soldier. Julian then impatiently outbid his rival by offering at once six thousand two hundred and fifty, and

[1] Zosimus, ii. 17.

[2] Possibly at a much earlier date. See Tac. Hist. iii. 84.

[3] Herodian, ii. 6; Spart. Julian i. Dion. Cass 73, chap. ii.

the Empire was knocked down to him. This was not by any means the first or only time that the fate of the Empire had been decided here. The chief power in the Roman state had lain within these walls of the Prætorian camp since the time when Tiberius consented to allow their designing colonel, Sejanus, to establish the Prætorians in permanent quarters; and the readers of the historians of the Empire will recall the many vivid pictures of their rapacity and violence. To go to the Prætorian camp, and promise a largess to the guards, was the first duty of a Roman Emperor.[1]

The eastern side of the camp, which is probably the only one now retaining its original form, measures 500 yards, and the southern 400 yards. The latter seems to have been partly pulled down, and possibly the northern side has also been altered. Aurelian's wall did not exactly meet the two angles of the camp towards the city; but its course was here determined by the houses and buildings in the vicinity which it was desirable to protect. The walls of the camp were, according to Bunsen, at first only fourteen feet high; but were raised by Aurelian, and fortified with towers. Some parts of the walls, doubtless, consist of the original brickwork of Aurelian's time, as the masonry bears the marks of great age, and is of a most regular and solid style.[2] A few of the soldiers' quarters are still left, consisting of rows of small, low, vaulted rooms, similar to those on the Palatine, and at Hadrian's villa, near Tivoli.

In the angle formed by the projecting wall of the Prætorian camp and the Aurelian wall there is a gate, now walled up, and called simply by the name of the Porta Chiusa.

Porta Chiusa.

This gate is one of the mysteries of Roman topography. It is not mentioned by Procopius, or by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen, yet it seems too large and important to have been altogether omitted. That a gate would be required here in Aurelian's wall—at least before Constantine's reign, while the camp was still occupied—seems probable. No passage would be allowed to the public through the camp; and besides the Porta Nomentana, another gate would be wanted for the convenience of persons resorting to the camp from the country with supplies of provisions, or on business of various kinds, or for the shopkeepers, who would naturally live within the walls near the camp. It may have been closed when the camp was abolished by Constantine, and that part of the city became comparatively empty; and it would thus, in the time of Procopius, or the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen, have been long blocked up and forgotten, or perhaps concealed by other buildings. This may account for their silence.[3]

The difficulty as to its purpose has been solved by Niebuhr and Bunsen in another way. They suppose that the road to Tibur passed out by this gate, and that the next gate, the Porta S. Lorenzo, was the exit for the Prænestine road, and is that called the Prænestina by Procopius. To the third gate in this part of the wall, the Porta Maggiore, they assign the road to Labicum. Their arguments are not, however, sufficiently strong to counterbalance the universal tradition that the Porta Tiburtina corresponded to the modern Porta S. Lorenzo;[4] and there are some indications

Porta Tiburtina.

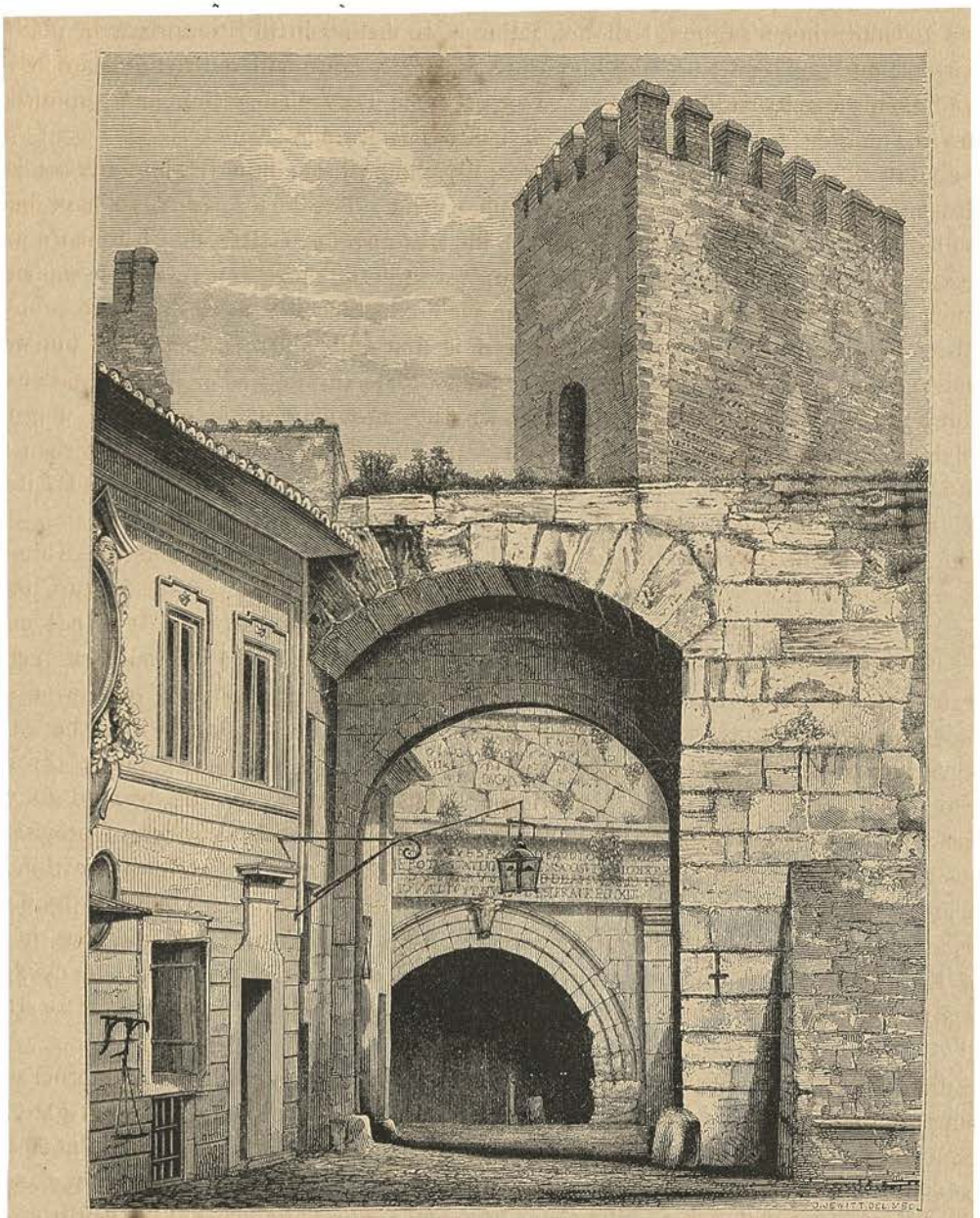
[1] Tac. Ann. iv. 1; Hist. i. 40, ii. 94; Suet. Tib. 37.

[2] Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. iii. 2, p. 359.

[3] Procop. i. 19. There is no guard-house connected with the Porta Chiusa so far as can be seen, as in the case of the principal πύλαι. Yet it is certainly larger than an ordinary πυλίς.

[4] See the Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ; Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 283.

of the same in ancient writers. Ovid, speaking of the return of the flute-players from Tibur, after they had left Rome in consequence of the attempt of the censors to curtail



PORTA S. LORENZO.

their privileges, says that they were brought back to the Forum, in a state of intoxication, in waggons, and entered Rome through the Esquiliæ, an expression which it is most natural to interpret of the Esquiline gate.[1] The waggons would probably take the shortest

[1] Livy, ix. 39; Ov. Fast. vi. 677.

route from the Tiburtine road to the Forum, and, if they approached the city by this road, at the point where the Porta Chiusa afterwards stood, they would pass through the Viminal and not through the Esquiline gate.

It has generally been supposed that the Porta Viminalis, in the Servian agger, stood exactly opposite to the Porta Chiusa, and that the one corresponded to the other in the old and new walls; and this has been assumed as a confirmation of Niebuhr's hypothesis, that the Via Tiburtina ran through the Porta Chiusa.[1] For, it is argued, Servius would not have made a gate in the middle of his agger, unless some important road had absolutely demanded an exit there, and this road must have been the Via Tiburtina. But the road which led through the Viminal gate must have been the same as that which went through the Porta Chiusa; therefore it is inferred that the Via Tiburtina passed through the Porta Chiusa.

Recent excavations have, however, rendered it doubtful whether the Porta Viminalis was situated directly opposite to the Porta Chiusa.[2] The supposed remains of a gate have been found nearer to the southern end of the agger, and in a place much more nearly corresponding to the centre of the agger, where the gate is placed by Strabo, than the opening near the baths of Diocletian, through which the modern road passes.[3] This latter opening in the agger was probably made when the Prætorian camp was first established by Tiberius, in order to afford ready access to it from the city.

The idea that the Via Tiburtina passed through the Porta Viminalis and the Porta Chiusa was possibly suggested by the position of the modern city, from which it would certainly be the most direct route towards Tibur. But a glance at a good map of the Roman roads will show that this was not the case with the ancient city, and that the most direct line from the greater part of the city to the Via Tiburtina would, in ancient times, have naturally passed through the Esquiline gate and the gate of S. Lorenzo.

When a person wished to go to Tibur, the gate by which he left the city depended upon the point in the city from which he started, and that gate would become the chief starting-point for the Tiburtine road which was most convenient for the greater number of persons. Now in the Imperial times the south-eastern part of the city was most thickly inhabited, and the Porta S. Lorenzo would be most convenient for travellers to Tibur from that part. And, therefore, there seems a presumption, from its situation, in favour of the Porta S. Lorenzo having been called the Porta Tiburtina after the erection of the walls of Aurelian.

We have no means of determining positively what was the purpose of the Porta Chiusa. It may possibly never have been a gate of the outer city wall, but may have been used for communication with some building which formerly existed in the angle between the Castra Prætoria and the city wall. Some of the older topographers place the Vivarium here, and make the Porta Chiusa the entrance to it. It was also possible that the absence of the Porta Principalis sinistra in the camp may be in some way connected with the existence of this gate.

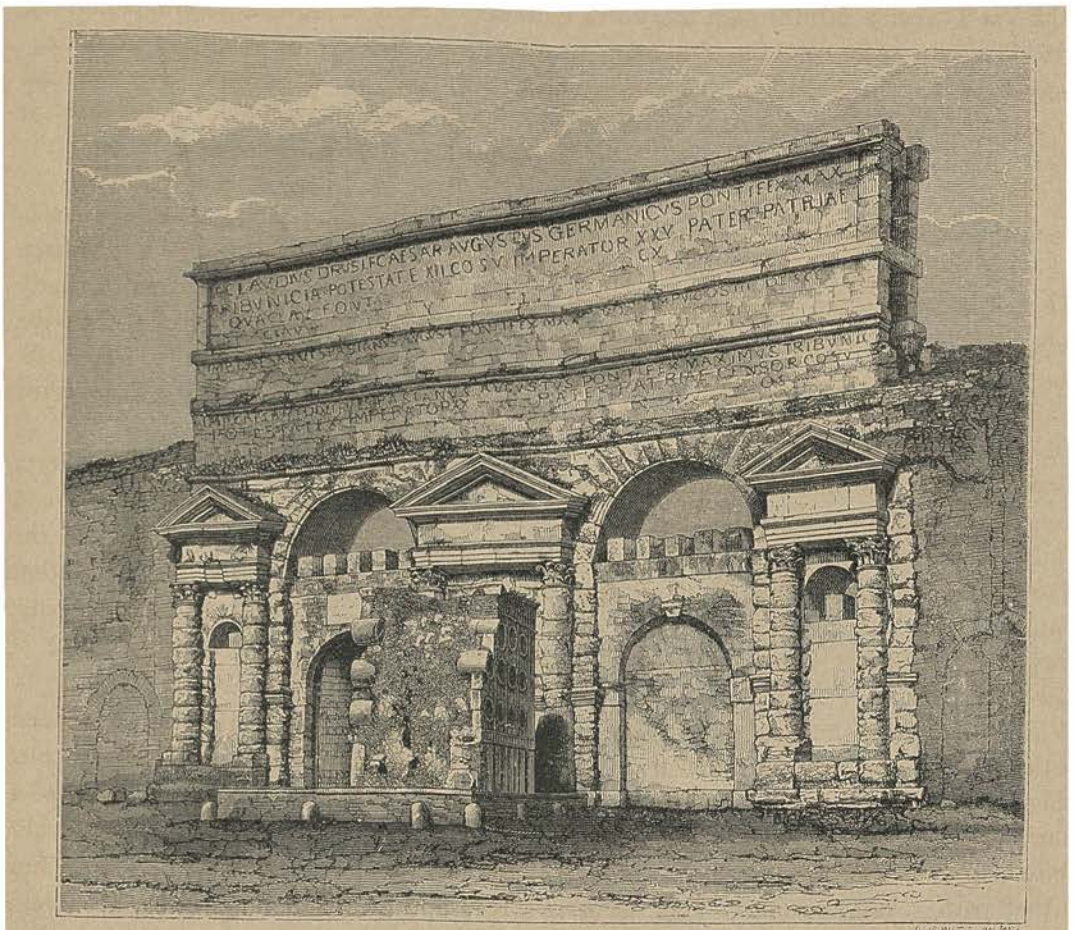
The Porta S. Lorenzo, which we therefore believe to correspond to the ancient Porta

[1] Urlichs, in Class. Museum, vol. iii. p. 197.

[2] See the extract from the *Annali dell' Inst.* vol. xxxiv. p. 130, at the end of this chapter, and the plan of the Servian agger.

[3] Strabo, v. 3, p. 234.

Tiburtina, is built close to the side of a monumental arch, recording the successive restorations of three aqueducts, the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian. The lowest of the three specus belongs to the Marcian (B.C. 162), the middle one to the Tepulan (B.C. 127), and the highest to the Julian (B.C. 35).[1] The arch over which the aqueducts pass is necessarily much lower than the more modern gate, as it is accommodated to their level.


TI CLAVDIVS DRVSI F CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS PONTIFEX MAX
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PORTA MAGGIORE, TOMB OF EURYSACES, AND THE SPECUS OF THE AQUA CLAUDIA AND OF THE ANIO NOVUS.

An inscription stands upon this gate to the effect that the statues of Arcadius and Honorius were placed here in honour of their labours in the restoration of the walls, and the same inscription also stands upon the Porta Maggiore and Porta Ostiensis. The Porta Portuensis bore the same words before its destruction by Urban VIII.[2]

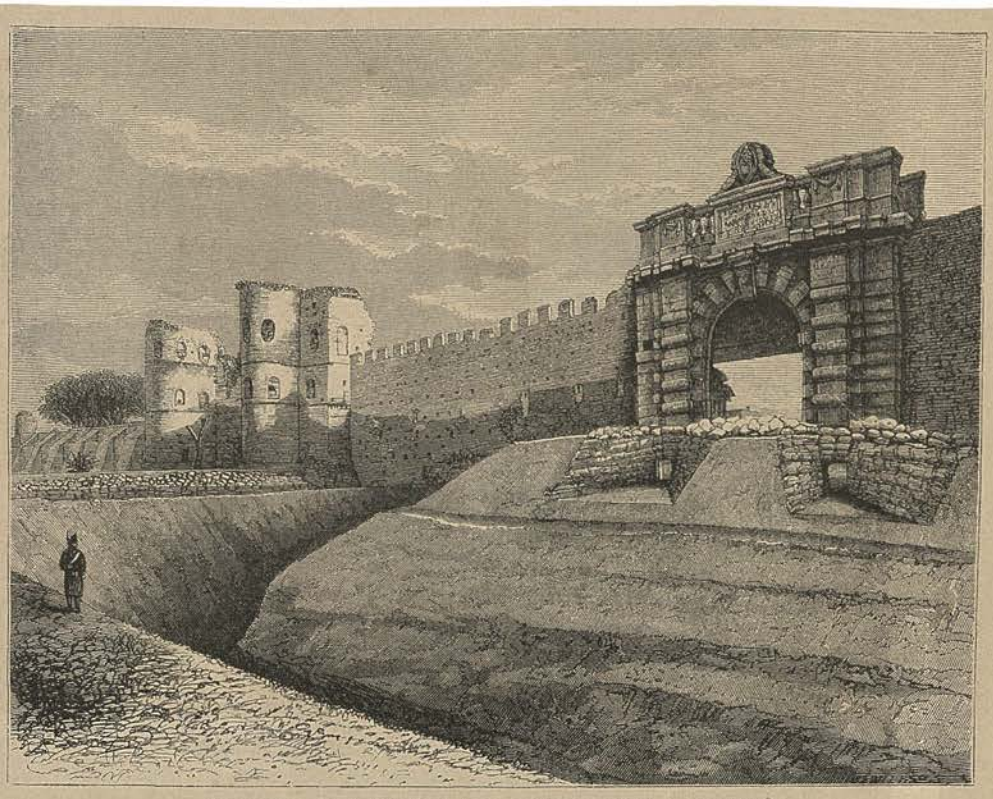
The Porta Maggiore, which is identified by the previous argument with the Porta Prænestina, is partly formed by a monumental arch commemorating the first building and subsequent restorations of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus. The gate built by

[1] See Frontinus, De Aquæd. 7. 19.

[2] See Note F at the end of this chapter.

Honorius, and bearing a dedication to him, was removed by Gregory XVI., and now stands on the left side of this monumental arch.[1] The tomb of the bread contractor Eurysaces was found by its side some years ago on pulling down a mediæval tomb.[2] After the name Prænestina had been lost, this gate obtained the name of Sessoriana, from the neighbouring building, called the Sessorium, the real name and purpose of which is not known,[3] and subsequently of Porta Labicana

Porta Prænestina.



ANCIENT PORTA ASINARIA AND MODERN PORTA S. GIOVANNI.

from the road to Labicum,[4] and of Porta Major and Porta della Donna, from the neighbouring basilica of S. Maria Maggiore.[5]

The Vivarium mentioned by Procopius was near this gate,[6] and not, as a mediæval tradition affirmed, near the Castra Prætoria. This tradition probably originated from the mistaken idea that the Prætorian camp itself was the Vivarium. The neighbourhood of the Amphitheatrum Castrense would also lead us to place the Vivarium here.

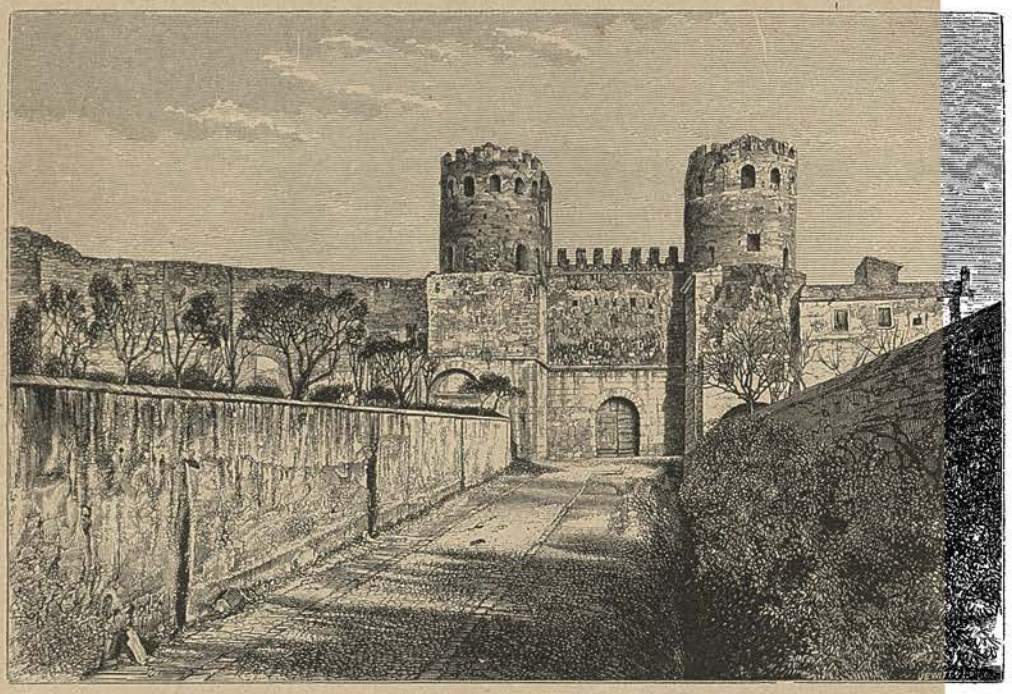
Vivarium.

From the Porta Maggiore the wall of Aurelian follows the line of the Claudian aqueduct for a short distance, and then turns off at a right angle, and after again turning to the west

[1] See Note G at the end of this chapter.
[2] Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 208.
[3] Schol. on Hor. Ep. v. 100, Sat. i. 8, 11; Anast. Vit. Silv. p. 45. Blanch.
[4] Mart. Pol. Chron. i. 4, 5; De Mir. Rom. Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 283.
[5] William of Malmesbury; Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxiv. 981.
[6] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 22, 23.

passes the Amphitheatrum Castrense,[1] which, like the Castra Prætoria, is built into and made a portion of the wall. These two buildings were doubtless made to project from the wall for purposes of defence; for, though the length of wall to be defended was thus increased, yet the projecting angles gave an advantage to the besieged. A part of the lower tier only of this amphitheatre is left, consisting of a few half-columns of the Corinthian order, the whole of which, even to the

Amphitheatrum Castrense.



PORTA S. SEBASTIANO.

ornamental parts of the capitals, is of brick. The brickwork is of the best kind, and probably belongs to the first century. A few fragments of the second story remain, and some slight ruins of the substructure of the arena, which measured 340 by 260 feet. A little way further on in the Aurelian wall at the back of the Cœlian, stood the Porta Asinaria, which was replaced in the year 1574 by the present gate of S. John. The old gate is now unfortunately hidden by some buildings in front of it.[2] The origin of the name is not known, but Festus mentions the Via Asinaria, which probably led from it.[3]

Porta Asinaria.

In the corner of the wall, where it runs inwards between the Cœlian and the hills behind the Aventine, was the Porta Metronis or Metrovia. Its situation is

Porta Metrovia.

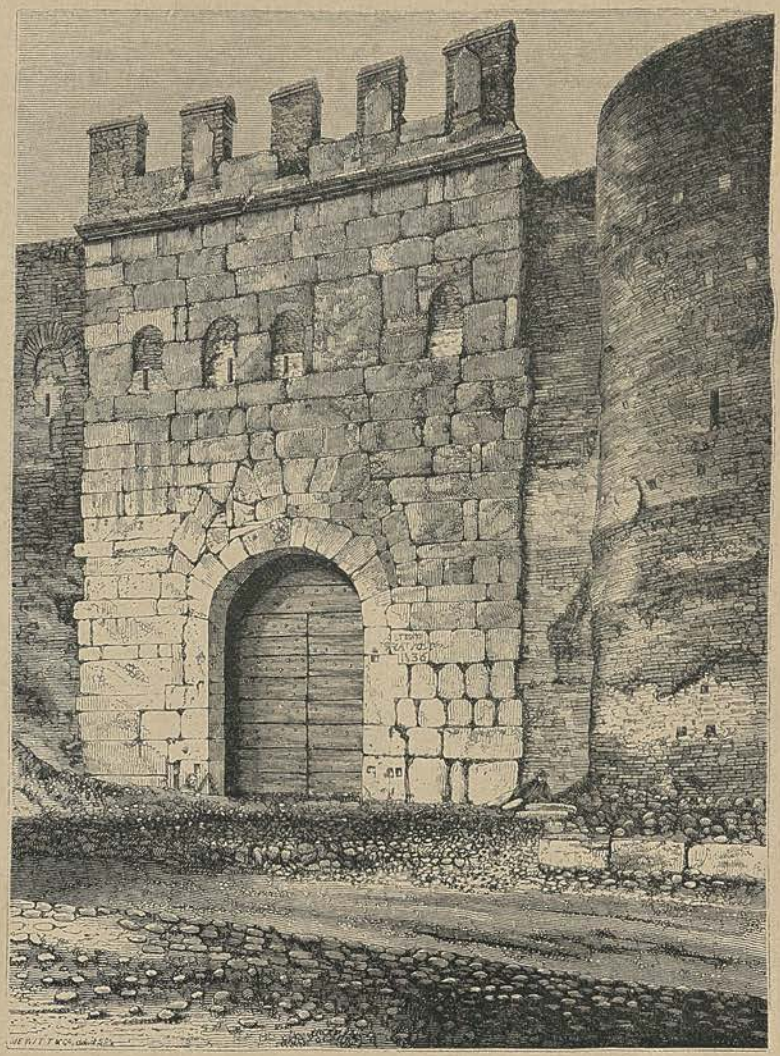
[1] Curiosum Reg. v. This amphitheatre was probably built at the same time with the Prætorian camp. The Roman gladiatorial combats were encouraged by the Emperors, as a kind of diversion peculiarly suited to keep up a military spirit among the troops, as well as to furnish them with strong excitement.

[2] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 14; iii. 20.

[3] Festus, p. 282.

determined by Martinus Polonus, who places it near the spot where the Aqua Crabra enters the city.[1]

Two gates follow which corresponded to the old Porta Capena of the Servian wall, as the Salaria and Nomentana corresponded to the Collina, and the Tiburtina and Prænes-



PORTA LATINA.

tina to the Esquilina. The first of these, a gateway of Honorius, restored by Belisarius, and now closed, is the Porta Latina, out of which the Via Latina passed; and the second, the Porta Appia, from which the Appian road commenced. The Latin road to Tusculum and Frascati now passes through a modern gate, the Porta S. Giovanni, and the Porta Appia has lost its old name, and taken that of S. Sebastiano, from the basilica which lies on the road outside it. There are Greek

Porta Latina and Porta Appia.

[1] Mart. Pol. Chron. i. 4, 5. It is also mentioned by the Anon. Einsiedl. and Gregory the Great, Ep. ix. 69.

inscriptions upon the masonry of the Porta S. Sebastiano, showing it to be of the Byzantine period.

The arch of beautiful old brickwork, which is to be seen about 600 yards further on before reaching the Bastione di Sangallo, is supposed by Nibby to have been the gate from which the Via Ardeatina led,[1] corresponding to the Randusculana in the Servian wall. It must have been closed at an early period, since neither Procopius nor the early topographers mention it.

Porta Ostiensis.

The last gate on this side of the Tiber which has to be mentioned is the Porta Ostiensis, whence ran the road to Ostia. This name is given to it by Ammianus Marcellinus, in relating the arrival at Rome of the great obelisk which Constantine brought from Heliopolis.[2] But as early as the sixth century, it obtained the name of the Porta S. Paolo,[3] by which it is now known. The present gate was built by Honorius. Close to it stands the pyramidal monument of Cestius.[4]

From the Ostian Gate the walls of Aurelian enclosed the flat space on which Monte Testaccio now stands, and ran down to the river-bank, along which they were carried for about half a mile to a point opposite to that which the fortifications reached on the opposite side. A few ruinous fragments are now all that is left of the wall which ran along the river-bank.

Course of Aurelian walls in the Trastevere.

Porta Portuensis.

Porta Aurelia Vetus.

Porta Septimiana.

In the Transtiberine district the walls of Aurelian were far less extensive than the present walls. They reached the river at a point 500 yards lower down than the present walls, and at a little distance from the river stood the Porta Portuensis, which was pulled down by Urban VIII., the Barberini Pope, infamous for his depredations on the Pantheon.[5] The traces of the wall can be followed from hence to the Porta Aurelia, which stood on the site of the modern Porta S. Pancrazio, from which ran the Via Aurelia Vetus. The name of Pancratian is as old as the time of Procopius, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century.[6] From hence the ruins can be traced to the river-bank in the Farnese Gardens. But the lowest part of the ruins belong, as Becker has shown,[7] to an older wall, which possibly formed part of the enclosure of the public baths erected here by Septimius Severus.

Becker seems to mean, though he does not express himself clearly, that Aurelian made use of the entrance to these baths of Septimius (which probably consisted of a large archway) to form the gate of his walls, and that upon the restoration of the walls by Honorius, or by Belisarius afterwards, the direction of the wall was altered so as to run close down to the bridge.

All we know is that a Porta Septimiana is mentioned by the early writers on Roman topography,[8] and implied by the words of Spartianus,[9] but that the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS. and Procopius do not take any notice of it. Alexander VI. pulled down the old gate, and erected what is now called the Porta Septimiana.

[1] Nibby, Mura di Roma, p. 201; Festus, p. 282. Nibby thinks that this gate was built in the tenth century, but Mr. J. H. Parker refers it to the time of Trajan. (Parker's Lecture before the Soc. of Arch. at Rome, p. 18.)

[2] Amm. Marc. xvii. 4.

[3] Procop. Bell. Goth. iii. 36.

[4] See ch. ix.

[5] The well-known iambic line was made about him: "Quod non fecere Barbari fecere Barberini."

[6] Procop. i. 18, 23.

[7] Handbuch, vol. i. p. 212.

[8] Marliano, i. 8; Lucio Fauno, ch. xxi.; Fulvio, p. 45.

[9] Spart. Sept. Sev. 19.

NOTE A, p. 60.—THE MURO TORTO.

Reber (Ruinen Roms, p. 517) thinks that the Muro Torto belonged to the substructions of the Collis Hortorum anterior to the time of Aurelius and Honorius, and that the portion of the wall adjoining it, also cased with *opus reticulatum*, and containing niches with vaulted conical tops, was a part of the same. The wall between this corner and the Porta Pinciana is probably the work of the sixth century, and was possibly built by Belisarius.

NOTE B, p. 60.—THE PORTA PINCIANA.

The πύλις of Procopius may, as Reber suggests, have been enlarged in the time of the Exarchate. The fable of Belisarius sitting as a blind beggar and asking alms, "Date obolum Belisario," is sometimes attached to this gate. (See Gibbon, ch. xliii.)

NOTE C, p. 60.—THE PORTA SALARIA.

The name is derived from the habit of carrying salt along this road to the Sabine uplands. (Varro, R. R., i. 14, 3.) Only the lower part, of squared stones, belongs to the age of Honorius. The upper part is of brick, and may have been erected after the storming of Rome by Alaric, in 409. (Gibbon, ch. xxxi.)

NOTE D, p. 60.—THE PORTA NOMENTANA.

The street Alta Semita ran from this gate along the top of the Quirinal, nearly parallel to the present Strada di Porta Pia.

NOTE E, p. 64.—THE PORTA VIMINALIS AND VIA TIBURTINA. FROM THE "ANNALI DELL' INSTITUTO," vol. xxxiv. p. 132.

"La prima scoperta fece vedere il fine di un muro grossissimo, dalla statua di Roma sul monte della Giustizia lontano circa 270 passi verso S. Antonio, al quale addossavano costruzioni di lavoro basso appartenenti ai tempi posteriori dell' impero. Siffatta interruzione del muro, che non sembrava essere fortuita fece supporre al Sig. Pietro Rosa che in questo stesso punto dovesse collocassi la Porta Viminale, supposizione certamente di grande probabilità, tanto piu che quel punto corrisponde bene alla citata notizia di Strabone (lib. v. 3, p. 234), mentre comodamente può credersi uscita da qui la Via Tiburtina, che dalla Viminale partivasi, visto che le stesse case moderne situate tra esso punto e la porta odierna di S. Lorenzo cadono nella linea più retta che passa fra esse idearsi. L'altro taglio al quale finora si stabiliva la Porta Viminale vicino del monte di Giustizia verso le terme di Diocleziano, essendo lo stesso monte costruito, come pare, di terra scavata dal taglio, sembra esser fatto in un tempo posteriore alla prima fortificazione della città, e siccome la direzione della strada che passa per quel taglio, conduce nel Castro Pretorio, così apparterrà forse al tempo della costruzione di quello la suddetta traforazione dell' aggere."

NOTE F, p. 65.—THE PORTA S. LORENZO.

The gate, as seen from the exterior, is an arch of travertine, surmounted by five round windows. Above these is a cornice, and the inscription commemorating the erection of the gate by Honorius and Arcadius, as follows:—"S.P.Q.R. Imp. Cæss. D.D. N.N. invictissimis principibus Arcadio et Honorio victorib. ac triumphatorib. semp. Augg. ob instauratos urbi æternæ muros portas ac turres egestis immensis ruderibus ex suggestione U.C. et inlustris com. et mag. utriusque militiæ Stilichonis ad perpetuitatem nominis eorum simulacra constituit curante Fl. Macrobio Longiniano U.C. præf. urb. D.N.M.Q. eorum."

Inside this gate of Honorius we find two other archways, the innermost of which seems to be of much the same date as the gateway, while the central archway is plainly of a much earlier date. It is built of blocks of travertine, and displays in the construction and joints of the masonry proofs of belonging to the best period of Roman architecture. It is apparently covered with rubbish to a considerable height, but was never a very lofty arch, the height having been limited by the level of the aqueduct which it carries. On the keystone the head of an ox is carved, whence it was called sometimes Porta Taurina (De Mirabil., Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 283); and on each side are Doric pilasters. The architrave and frieze above the gate have been flattened to receive an inscription commemorating its restoration. Over these was formerly a pediment, traces of which are still to be seen. It has now been removed to make room for an inscription. Still higher is the attica, with the original inscription.

The lowest inscription is as follows:—"Imp. Titus Cæsar Divi F. Vespasianus Aug. Pontif. Max. tribuniciæ potest. IX. Imp. XV. Cens. Cos. VII. Design. VIII. rivum aquæ Marciæ vetustate dilapsum refecit et aquam quæ in usu esse desierat reduxit."

The middle inscription, in the place of the pediment, is:—"Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Aug. Parth. Maxim. Brit. Max. Pont. Max. aquam Marciam variis casibus impeditam purgato fonte excisis et perforatis montibus restituta forma adquisito etiam fonte novo Antoniniano in sacram urbem suam perducendam curavit."

The highest is:—"Imp. Cæsar Divi Juli Augustus Pont. Max. Cos. XII. tribunic. potest. XIX. Imp. XIIII. rivos aquarum omnium refecit."

This last commemorates the restoration, by Augustus, of all the aqueducts existing in his time, *i.e.* the Appia, the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, the Tepula, the Julia, the Alsietina, and the Virgo. The other inscriptions record successive restorations of the Aqua Marcia by Titus and Antoninus Caracalla.

Three channels, one above the other, are visible over the archway. One of these, it is plain, must have been the Marcia, and, as Frontinus states that the Tepula and Julia entered the city upon the same arches as the Marcia ("Hæ tres a piscinis in eosdem arcus recipiuntur. Summus in his est Julia, inferior Tepula, deinde Marcia," Frontin. De Aquæd. 19), we conclude that the highest is the Julia, the next the Tepula, and the lowest the Marcia. The Marcian water, B.C. 162, came from a spot three miles to the right of the thirty-sixth milestone on the Via Valeria (Strada di Arsoli). It was carried underground for the greater part of its course from Tivoli, till it came within seven miles of Rome, where it was raised on arches, some of which are still remaining. The Tepula (the name of which is supposed to allude to the temperature of its water *quasi tepida*) was brought, in the year 127 B.C., from the tenth milestone on the Latin way, and carried above the Marcian. The Julia was brought by Agrippa, B.C. 35, from the twelfth milestone on the same road. It was united with the Tepula for some distance, but separated again at the seventh milestone. Augustus improved the Marcian by adding a new spring, the Aqua Augusta, to it, and it was possibly on this occasion that the commemorative arch we have before us was rebuilt and decorated.

At the distance of a mile and a half from Rome a branch aqueduct was built by Caracalla from the main channels of these three, in order to supply his Thermæ with water. Thus a great part of

their water was taken away; and Diocletian afterwards diverted most of the rest of it to his Thermæ, under the name Aqua Jovia. (Anon. Einsiedl.) Vitiges destroyed the two upper aqueducts in 537 (Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 15); but the Marcia appears again in the time of Hadrian I. (Anast. Vit. Had. I., p. 113.) The Marcian water now flows into the Anio near Arsoli, but is to be brought into Rome again by an English company (1868). The Tepula and Julia run into the Marrana near Grotta Ferrata. The course of these three aqueducts lies along the inner side of the wall, between the Porta S. Lorenzo and the Porta Maggiore, and leaves the city near the latter gate, where the triple specus may be seen. None of the arches near the city are now standing, but a large number are still to be seen in the Campagna at the Porta Furba, on the Frascati road, three miles from the Porta S. Giovanni, where they are crossed by the more lofty Claudian aqueduct.

The Aqua Felice of Sixtus V. enters the city at the Porta S. Lorenzo, and traverses the arches which are to be seen on the left of the Via di Porta S. Lorenzo. Most of the water of this aqueduct is conveyed to the Fontana della Piazza dei Termini, but it also supplies numerous other fountains. The aqueduct of Alexander Severus also passes from the Porta S. Lorenzo to the building called the Trophies of Marius, which is in reality an ancient nymphæum or fountain. (See chap. ix.)

NOTE G, p. 66.— PORTA MAGGIORE.

The gateway of Honorius, which corresponded to that still remaining at the Porta S. Lorenzo, was removed from the Porta Maggiore by Gregory XVI., as the inscription on the present gate records, and placed near the goods station of the railway on the outside of the gate.

The removal of the old gateway disclosed the tomb of Eurysaces, the bread contractor to the Apparetores, a very fantastic monument, constructed of stone mortars used for kneading dough, and ornamented with some curious bas-reliefs, of a good period of art, representing the operations of baking. The inscriptions upon it are as follow:—"Est hoc monimentum Marcei Vergilei Eurysacis pistoris ac redemptoris Apparetorum." "Fuit Atistia uxor mihei, femina optima veixsit quojus corporis reliquiæ quod superant sunt in hoc panario." The latter of these inscriptions, however, probably belongs to some other tomb, the remains of several having been found here, which lead to the supposition that this was a spot especially devoted to the burial of bakers.

The present gateway is formed by two monumental arches of the Claudian aqueduct, which runs along the course of the walls from this point to the corner near the Amphitheatrum Castrense. The arches are built of rusticated travertine blocks, and each of the piers is pierced with a smaller arch, decorated with Corinthian half-columns of rustic work, and pediments in the usual Græco-Roman style of a triumphal arch. This gateway is one of the most characteristic creations of Roman architecture. It conveys, more than any other building I know,—except, perhaps, the rusticated archways of the amphitheatre at Verona,—the impression of rough force and solidity. Over the arches are three atticas, upon which the following inscriptions are cut:—

"Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pontif. Maxim. tribunicia potestate XII. Cos. V. Imperator XXVII. Pater Patriæ aquas Claudiam ex fontibus qui vocabantur Cæruleus et Curtius a milliario xxxxv. item Anienem novam a milliario lxii. sua impensa in urbem perducendas curavit."

"Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus August. Pontif. Max. trib. pot. II. Imp. VI. Cos. III. Desig. III. p. p. aquas Curtiam et Cæruleam perductas a Divo Claudio et postea intermissas dilapsasque per annos novem sua impensa urbi restituit."

"Imp. T. Cæsar Divi F. Vespasianus Augustus Pont. Max. tribunic. potest. X. Imp. XVII. p. p. Cens. Cos. VIII. aquas Curtiam et Cæruleam perductas a Divo Claudio et postea a Divo Vespasiano

patre suo urbi restitutas cum a capite aquarum a solo vetustate dilapsæ essent nova forma reducendas sua impensa curavit."

The Claudian aqueduct was begun by Caligula (Frontin. 13; Suet. Cal. 21; Claud. 20), and finished by Claudius, as here recorded. Its arches are the most conspicuous, both outside the city, near the Porta Furba, on the road to Frascati, and also inside the walls, where the branch Claudian aqueduct, built by Nero, diverges from the main course inside the Porta Maggiore, and runs across the Cœlian to the Arch of Dolabella, and then to the Palatine hill. The Anio Novus or Nova, the highest and longest of all the Roman aqueducts, was carried on the Claudian arches, as the inscriptions record. The specus of both is to be seen here. The arches were used by Sixtus V. to carry the Aqua Felice across the Campagna, from a point beyond the Porta Furba, to the walls of the city. The Aqua Felice then follows the Marcian aqueduct to the Piazza dei Termini.

The Claudian arches were originally built of travertine. The restorations here recorded, by Vespasian and Titus, were of brick, and may be seen at intervals in the arches outside the city. Trajan also repaired the Claudian aqueduct and lengthened the Anio Nova (Frontin. 93). It must be observed that the inscriptions place the sources of the Anio Nova at the sixty-second milestone from Rome, and the Claudian at the forty-fifth, while Frontinus mentions the forty-second milestone and the thirty-eighth as respectively the distances of their sources. The first measurements may, perhaps, be those of the whole courses of the aqueducts, and the second those of the actual milestones along the Via Sublacensis. Frontinus, however (chap. 15), states, that the whole length of the Anio Nova (or Novus, as he writes) was 58 miles and 700 passus; so that this interpretation of the discrepancy is not very satisfactory.

From the old Esquiline Gate of the Servian walls, as we have seen, three roads issued; the Tiburtina, the Prænestina, and the Labicana. Of these, the Tiburtina passed through the Porta S. Lorenzo, and the Prænestina and Labicana through the Porta Maggiore. The fact that two roads passed out of this gate explains the peculiar trapezoidal shape of the tomb of Eurysaces, and also the double archway. Niebuhr and Becker, however, think that a passage of Strabo makes this doubtful (Beschreib. iii. 570; Handbuch, i. p. 201). Strabo says of the course of the Via Labicana, Ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠσκυλίνης πύλης ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστίνη ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀφεῖσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον το Ἠσκυλῖνον. Hence it is assumed that the two roads separated widely immediately after passing the Esquiline gate. This assumption, however, depends entirely upon the extent assigned to the πεδίον Ἠσκυλῖνον, which may, as Nibby remarks (Mura di Roma, p. 161, note 220), very well have extended beyond the present Aurelian walls.

Before the time of Procopius, the right-hand archway, through which the Via Labicana passed, was probably walled up, and the Porta Prænestina alone remained, which was sometimes called Labicana by a confusion with the other arch, and because the Via Labicana became in the Middle Ages better known as the road to the Church of St. Helena than the Via Prænestina. (Becker, Handbuch, i. p. 205.)

CHAPTER VI.

PART I.

THE FORUM ROMANUM BEFORE JULIUS CÆSAR.

SITE OF FORUM ROMANUM — EXTENT OF FORUM ROMANUM—DISTRICTS ADJOINING THE FORUM ROMANUM, SACRA VIA, NOVA VIA, ARGILETUM, SUBURA—TURRIS MAMILIA—LAUTUMIÆ—CARCER—SCALÆ GEMONIÆ—COMITIUM —CURIA—GRÆCOSTASIS—SENACULUM — VULCANAL — ROSTRA—TRIBUNALIA—PUTEALIA—TEMPLUM JANI—BASILICA PORCIA—BASILICA FULVIA ET ÆMILIA—BASILICA PAULLI—BASILICA OPIMIA—VENUS CLOACINA—COLUMNA MŒNIA — COLUMNA DUILIA — NOVÆ TABERNÆ — VETERES TABERNÆ — MÆNIANA — TEMPLUM CONCORDIÆ — TEMPLUM SATURNI—SCHOLA XANTHA—DII CONSENTES—PORTA STERCORARIA—TABULARIUM—VICUS JUGARIUS —VICUS TUSCUS—BASILICA SEMPRONIA — LACUS SERVILIUS — LACUS CURTIUS — TEMPLUM CASTORIS — ÆDES VESTÆ—REGIA—SACRARIUM—ARCH OF FABIUS—PILA HORATIA—STATUES—JANI—CANALIS—SOLARIA.

"Quacunque ingredimur in aliqua historia vestigium ponimus."

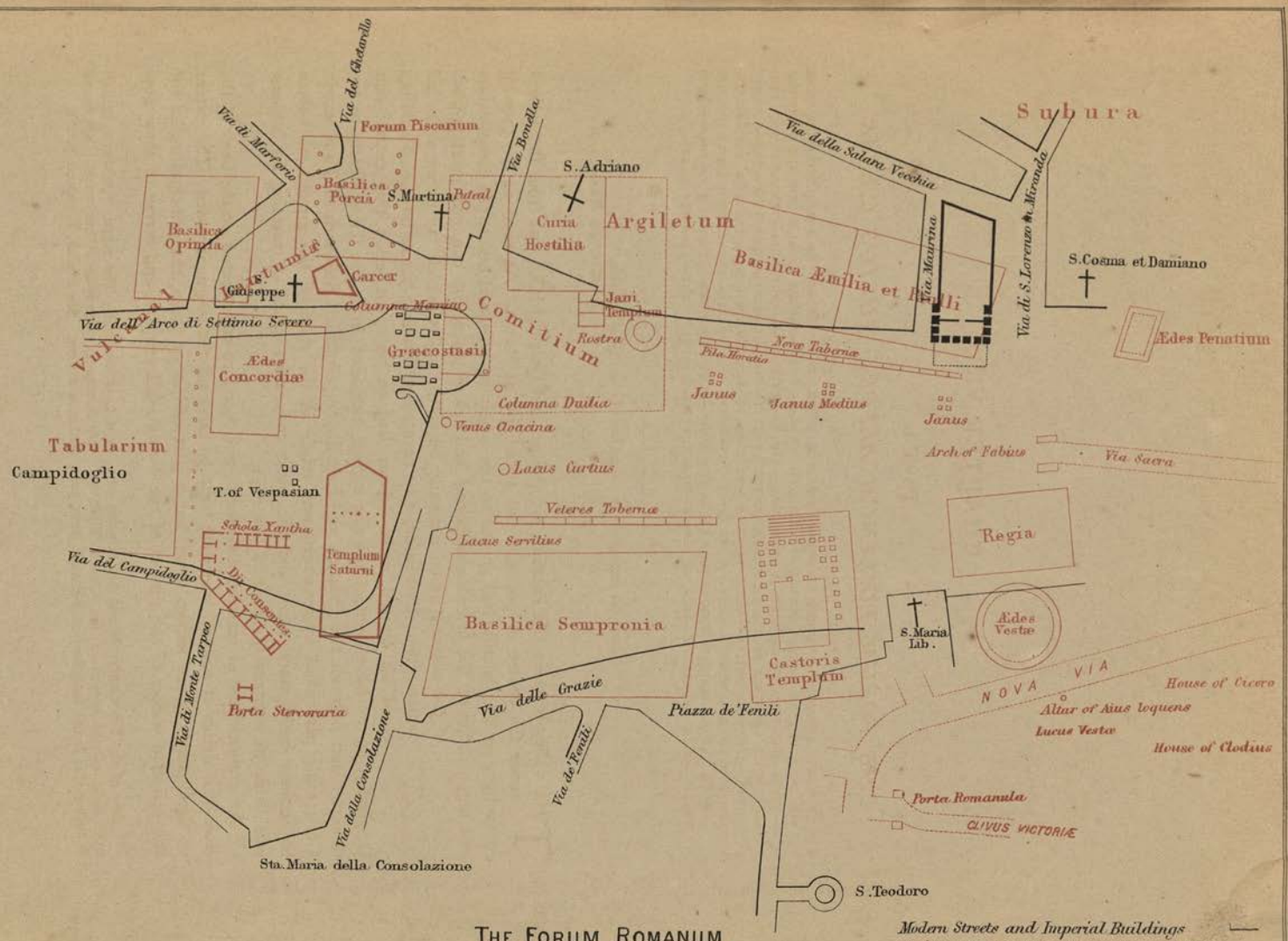
CIC. *De Finibus*, v. 2.

THE valley between the Palatine, Capitoline, and Quirinal hills was from the earliest times the centre of political and social life at Rome. As soon as the growing community on the Palatine had spread to the adjoining hills, and before the consolidation and organization of the later Regal period had taken place, the common meeting-place of the citizens would naturally be in the valley which lay between the hill communities. But before any permanent dwelling-places or public buildings could be erected, much labour had to be spent upon this central site. Originally, as we have seen, a marshy lagoon extended from the Tiber nearly to the rising ground between the Palatine and Esquiline upon which the Arch of Titus stands. Until some permanent improvement was made in the state of the ground, no human habitations could stand there, and the most convenient place of meeting for business was liable to constant floods from the river.

Site of Forum Romanum.

An embankment of massive stonework[1] was therefore constructed on the bank of the river, and drains of colossal size were built to carry off the stagnant water. The extent of these drains is not known to us, but a part of one of them, the principal outlet for the collected waters of the district of the Forum, still remains, and serves to show how

[1] Part of the Tiber embankment still remains on each side of the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima. Whether this is the καλὴ ἀκτή of Plutarch, Rom. 20, or not, is doubtful. The name, "pulchrum littus," now commonly given to the embankment, is not found in Latin writers. See Preller, Regionen, p. 181.



THE FORUM ROMANUM

BEFORE THE TIME OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

Ch VI. Part 1.

Modern Streets and Imperial Buildings ——

Streets and Buildings before the Imperial Era ——

Edwd Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

considerable must have been the inconvenience to remedy which such extraordinary pains were taken. The fragment of the Cloaca Maxima now remaining is in the district of the Velabrum, and formed the lower part of the drainage.[1] A more detailed description of it will be given in the chapter relating to that part of the city,[2] and it is only necessary now to remark that the system of drainage with which it was connected was a necessary preliminary to the permanent occupation of the Forum valley. Before the end of the Second Punic War a small portion only of the space between the Palatine, the north-eastern end of the Capitoline, and the Quirinal, was occupied as a Forum or public place of meeting. It does not appear that even in the populous times of the later Republic the open space of the Forum was ever enlarged, but overcrowding was in some measure prevented by the building of open basilicæ on the sites of the old shops or behind them. Thus the Basilica Porcia was built in B.C. 184, and the Fulvia et Æmilia behind the new silversmiths' shops in B.C. 179,[3] and in B.C. 169 the Basilica Sempronia, on the site of some of the old shops on the south-western side towards the Velabrum.[4] The overcrowded state of the city was, however, felt as early as the First Punic War; for it is said that Claudia, a Roman lady of high rank, whose brother P. Claudius had in B.C. 249, by his bad management as Admiral, occasioned great loss of life in the Roman fleets at Drepana, complained that there was no elbow-room in the Forum, and that her brother ought to be again placed in command of the fleet in order to relieve Rome of its superfluous population.[5] As one province after another became subject to direct Roman control, and the custom of appealing in all important suits to the central authority at Rome became more general, the courts of law and public buildings must have become more and more inadequate for the speedy transaction of business, and constant additions must have been needful.

Julius Cæsar and the Emperors Augustus, Nerva, and Trajan, successively enlarged the public buildings so much as to include nearly the whole breadth of the valley between the Quirinal and Palatine, as well as that between the Capitoline and Quirinal.

Extent of Forum Romanum.

The older Forum, or Forum Romanum, as it was called, to distinguish it from the later Fora, which were named after their respective builders, was an open space of an oblong shape, which extended in a south-easterly direction from near the depression or intermontium between the two summits of the Capitoline hill to a point opposite the still extant Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The north-western boundary was formed by the slope of the Capitoline hill, and the south-eastern by the Sacra Via, between the Arch of Fabius and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The longer sides of this piazza measured about two hundred yards, and the north-western end, which was somewhat larger than the south-eastern, about seventy yards. Round this confined space were grouped the most important buildings of Republican Rome, the temples of the most ancient and venerated gods, the Senate-house, the Comitium, and the Rostra; upon it stood the statues of a legion of national heroes, and above it rose on one side the glittering Temple of Capitoline Jove and the inviolate citadel, and on the other sides the mansions of Imperial senators, or in later times the palaces of Emperors.

[1] The cloacæ extended to the Subura. Juv. v. 106: "Solitus mediæ cryptam penetrare Suburæ."

[2] See below, chap. xii.

[3] Livy, xl. 51.

[4] Ibid. xliv. 16.

[5] Livy, Epit. xix.; Diod. xxiv. 1.

Dionysius and Livy in their first mention of the Forum speak of it as situated between the Palatine and Capitoline,[1] and therefore Nardini, Nibby, and others of the older topographers held that the Forum extended from the Arch of Septimius to the Church of S. Maria della Consolazione, and that its longer axis lay in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction. But since the discovery of the Basilica Julia, which bounded the Forum on the south-west, this supposition with regard to the extent of the Forum has been relinquished, and it is now generally agreed that the limits are those previously

SITE OF THE FORUM ROMANUM, FROM THE SLOPE OF THE CAPITOLINE HILL.

Excavations on the site of the Basilica Julia.

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. *Temple of Castor.*

Temple of Saturn.

described. For on Nardini's supposition there would be no space left between the Forum and Velabrum for the Vicus Tuscus, which we know intervened, running along the south-eastern side of the Julian Basilica nearly in the direction of the modern Via di S. Teodoro.[2] It appears also quite possible that Dionysius and Livy accommodated their language to the supposed extent of Rome at the time of which they spoke. The district of the Subura and the Quirinal hill were then unoccupied and nameless, so that the two hills were the only landmarks to which they could refer.

[1] Dionys. ii. 50, 66; Livy, i. 12.

[2] Livy, xxvii. 37; xxxiii. 26.

Excavations on the site of the Forum Romanum have shown that it was, at least in the latest times, by no means a regular parallelogram in shape, and that it had streets passing along the north-eastern and south-western edges, which were paved with basaltic lava, while the central area was paved with travertine. The pavement of the streets bounding the north-east side has been discovered by several excavations between the Arch of Septimius and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.[1] On the opposite side the pavement of basaltic lava bounding the Forum has been traced in front of the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor, and was apparently continued in a straight line in front of the Temple of Vesta to the Arch of Fabius, where it joined the Sacra Via. The extent of the Forum towards the south-east has also been ascertained by excavations. Opposite to the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano the foundations and ruins of so large a number of private buildings were found in some excavations made in the time of Alexander VII. as to prove sufficiently that the open area of the Forum did not extend beyond the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.[2]

Of the districts and streets which lay round the Forum the most important was the Sacra Via. The historians of Rome derive the name from the sacred league entered into by Romulus and Tatius on the spot where the union took place between the Sabine and Roman communities.[3] The limits of the street called the Sacred Way are laid down by Varro and Festus.[4] There were two portions of it, one extending from the Chapel of Strenia to the Arch of Titus, where the top of the rising ground was called the summit of the Sacred Way, and the other from the Arch of Titus to the Citadel on the Capitoline. The Chapel of Strenia stood in the district called Ceroliensis, which was a part of the Carinæ, and, as will be seen hereafter, lay on the part of the Esquiline nearest to the Coliseum.[5] The fourth region of Augustus was called by the name of the Sacra Via ; and since both the Temple of Venus and Rome and the Colossus of Nero, the situations of which are known from the remains of their foundations, were included in this region, the Sacra Via probably passed to the south of them. Otherwise they would have been included in the Palatine region.

Sacra Via.

At the highest part of the Sacred Way (Summa Sacra Via), the pavement of which under the Arch of Titus is fifty-three feet above that of the Forum, were a number of toy-shops[6] and apple-stalls.[7] The Sacellum Larum stood close by, on the Palatine side of the street, and also the Temple of Jupiter Stator.[8] The house of the Pontifex Maximus,

[1] Bunsen's Le Forum expliqué, p. 7 ; Ficoroni, Vestigie di Roma Antica, p. 75.

[2] Memorie di S. Bartoli, p. 244, in Fea, *Miscel.* p. 234. Mommsen, however, thinks that the Forum was enlarged so as to reach the Arch of Titus in the time of Julius Cæsar, and that the Rostra were removed for that very reason. (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xvi. p. 290, note.)

[3] Festus, p. 290 ; Appian, Frag. Basil. p. 14, 20 ; Bekker : Συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν καλουμένην ὁδόν. So also Dionys. ii. 46. But Plut. Rom. 19 places the meeting on the Comitium.

[4] Festus, loc. cit. ; Varro, L. L. v. § 47. The common order of the words is "Sacra Via," though in a good many passages we find "Via Sacra." See Schneidewin's Philologus, 1853, p. 713.

[5] Varro, L. L. v. § 47. Strenia was the goddess of new year's gifts, hence Fr. Etrennes. Aug. Civ. Dei, iv. 16. Nissen, Das Templum, p. 85, thinks that the city was laid out strictly according to the Disciplina gromatica, and that the Sacra Via corresponded to the Decumanus maximus, and the street between the Cœlian and Palatine to the Cardo maximus. He makes the Porta Carmentalis the Decumana, and the Capena the Principalis dextra. He confesses, however, that "Die Ganz unregelmässige Gestalt der Stadt entfernt sich allerdings sehr weit von der gromatischen Grundform."

[6] Propert. iii. 17, 14 (ii. 24, 11) ; Ov. Am. i. 8, 99.

[7] Varro, R. R. i. 2 ; Ov. Art. Am. ii. 265.

[8] Ov. Fast. vi. 791 ; Livy, i. 47.

who succeeded to the priestly functions of the king and to his official residence, was a little further along the Sacred Way. It probably stood on the south of the Sacra Via, close to the Arch of Fabius, and was called the Regia, the Atrium Regium, or the Atrium Vestæ.[1] It is clearly proved that this Regia was the house of the Pontifex Maximus, from the fact that the sacred spears of the god Mars, which Gellius affirms to have been kept in the Regia, were kept there, and that Cicero speaks of the Regia as the residence of Julius Cæsar, when Pontifex Maximus.[2] Whether the house of the Rex Sacrificulus, another priestly office at Rome, was identical with the Regia or not, is difficult to determine. Some authors seem to separate the two, others to speak of them as identical.[3] At all events the two buildings were not far from each other; and as the Regia stood close to the Temple of Vesta, we may assume that the house of the Rex Sacrificulus was nearer to the Summa Sacra Via than the Regia. The house of the Kings, or a part of it at least, seems to have previously occupied the same site as the Regia.[4]

The Temple of Vesta lay at the back of the Regia, and rather nearer to the south-western corner of the Forum. Hence Horace walking along the Sacred Way from the Summa Sacra Via towards the Forum, when he arrives at the buildings of Vesta, by which the Regia as well as the Temple of Vesta is meant, hopes to leave his troublesome friend behind, as they had then arrived at the Forum, and their roads might possibly diverge.[5]

It was to this part of the Sacred Way, between the Summa Sacra Via and the Forum, that the name of Sacer Clivus was applied by Horace, because the ground slopes down from the Summa Sacra Via to the Forum, and at this point the triumphal processions first came into view of the Forum and descended into it.[6] The Velia is supposed to have been the oldest name of this high ground over which the Sacra Via passed. The only proof, however, which can be given of this is that the Ædes Penatium was on the Velia, and that the Ædes Penatium is identical with the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano.[7]

The Arch of Fabius also stood over the Sacra Via at the foot of this sloping portion of it. Cicero, in his speech for Plancius, mentions it as if at some distance from the Summa Sacra Via. "When I am jostled in a crowd, as often happens," he says, "I do not blame the man who is at the top of the Sacred Way while I am being pushed along near the Fabian Arch, but the person who actually runs against me and pushes me."[8] The narrow part of the Sacred Way between the Arch of Fabius and the top of the slope would naturally become crowded when a number of people were either entering or leaving the open space of the Forum.

The exact course of the Sacra Via through the Forum has not been determined, but it seems probable that before the time of the Emperors it ran straight from the Fabian Arch along the south-western side of the Forum. Becker supposes that it formed the boundary of the fourth region of Augustus, and he therefore traces it along the north-east side of the Forum. In the time of the Emperors it probably went through the Arch of Severus, and then turning to the left passed between the Temple of Saturn

[1] Fasti, vi. 263; Tristia, iii. 1, 30; Plut. Num. 14; Serv. Ad. Æn. viii. 363. It existed in Trajan's time. Plin. Ep. iv. 11.

[2] Dion. Cass. xliv. 17; Gell. iv. 6; Cic. Ad Att. x. 3.

[3] Dion. Cass. liv. 27; Festus, p. 290; Serv. Ad. Æn. viii. 363.

[4] Solin. i. 23; Livy, i. 41.

[5] Hor. Sat. i. 9, 1, 35; Dionys. ii. 66.

[6] Hor. Epod. vii. 7, Od. iv. 2, 33; Mart. i. 70, 5.

[7] See further in the chapter on the Palatine Hill.

[8] Cic. Pro Plancio, 7, § 17; De Orat. ii. 66; Schol. ad Cic. Verr. Act. i. 7.

and that of Vespasian, after which it turned to the right and ascended the Intermontium. This part of the Sacra Via was called the Clivus Capitolinus.

Along the south-western side of the Forum Valley and immediately under the Palatine hill ran the Nova Via. It has been ingeniously suggested by Cav. Rosa[1] that this street was called Nova from an alteration of its direction after the occupation of the central part of the Palatine by the regal residences, and the drainage of the Velabrum. Hence he thinks Ovid speaks of it as *now* passing parallel to the side of the Forum, whereas it formerly passed over the Palatine Hill.[2] It probably parted from the Sacred Way at the Arch of Titus, and was there called the Summa Nova Via.[3] The Nova Via ran at the back of the Regia and Temple of Vesta, and separated the latter from the Grove of Vesta, near which stood the altar of Aius Loquens.[4] This altar was at the foot of the sloping part of the New Street (Infima Nova Via).[5] The street then turned round the northern angle of the Palatine, passing the Porta Romanula, and led into the Velabrum.

Nova Via.

The district behind the buildings on the north-eastern side of the Forum was called Argiletum. Between this district and the Forum stood the Temple of Janus,[6] and at a later time the Forum of Nerva and the Temple of Peace occupied a part of it. Some of the booksellers' shops seem to have been situated in it, and Martial recommends his friends to go there to purchase his new poems.[7] Books from the booksellers' stalls in this neighbourhood were used by the mob to help in burning the Curia over the dead body of Clodius in the riot which followed his murder by Milo.[8] At the back part of this district, near the passage from it to the Subura, there were some cobblers' shops,[9] and a place called Lautulæ, from a warm spring and baths which once existed there.[10] The name Argiletum was popularly derived from a person named Argus, who was said to have entertained designs against the life of Evander while his guest, but was detected and killed on this spot.[11] Varro, however, gives a different derivation of the name, from *argilla*, and states that clay for the manufacture of pottery was found there, an assertion which is confirmed by Brocchi in his work on the geology of Rome.[12]

Argiletum.

At the back of the Argiletum, and between the converging points of the Quirinal and Esquiline hills, lay the Subura, a district of ill fame, much abused by the poets and historians of Imperial times.[13] It was one of the most ancient district communities (*pagi*) of Rome, and gave name to one of the four most ancient regions.[14] Nor was it entirely occupied by the lowest class of people, as might be inferred from the notices of it in Martial and Horace. Julius Cæsar is said to have

Subura.

[1] *Annali dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 348.

[2] Fasti, vi. 395: "Qua Nova Romano *nunc* via juncta foro est." It is more likely that Ovid refers to some much more modern alteration in the course of the Nova Via than that suggested by Rosa.

[3] Solinus, i. 24.

[4] Cic. De Div. i. 45, ii. 32; Livy, v. 32.

[5] Gell. xvi. 17.

[6] Livy, i. 19.

[7] Mart. i. 3, 1; i. 117, 8; i. 2, 5. This last epigram was probably inserted in the first book after the completion of the Forum Transitorium. Class. Mus. vol. v. 241.

[8] Ascon. Argum. ad Cic. Mil. § 3.

[9] Mart. ii. 17, 1.

[10] Varro, L. L. v. 32; Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 361.

[11] Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 345.

[12] Varro, L. L. v. 157; Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 95.

[13] Hor. Epod. v. 58; Mart. vi. 66; Pers. v. 32; Juv. iii. 5.

[14] See chap. iii. p. 39. The name is derived from the *pagus succusanus* by Varro, L. L. v. § 48; Festus, p. 309; Quintil. Ins. Or. i. 7.

lived in a small house here,[1] and in Martial's time L. Arruntius Stella, the friend of Statius.[2] The Subura seems to have extended completely across the valley between the Esquiline and Quirinal, for on the slope of the Quirinal the Church of S. Agata is still called S. Agata alla Subura, and on the other side a piazza near the end of the modern Via di S. Lucia in Selce retains the same name. The Clivus Suburanus of Martial was the ascent to the Quirinal from the Subura,[3] and the Suburan road of Appian probably the ascent from it to the Esquiline, near S. Pietro in Vincoli.[4] The Subura was a noisy,[5] bustling[6] part of Rome, full of small shops,[7] and disreputable places of various kinds.[8] The Turris Mamilia, to which the head of the October or December sacrificial horse was nailed, when the population of the Subura won the annual contest in the Campus before alluded to (chap. iii. p. 38), was in the Subura, but of its exact position we have no hint given.[9] On account of the situation of the Subura in a valley, it was probably necessary to have some fortified place to which the inhabitants of the district could retreat in case of danger.

Turris Mamilia.

Beyond the Argiletum, at the extreme north-western corner of the Forum, in the neighbourhood of the Church of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami, there was a district called the Lautumiæ. We cannot determine its extent with any accuracy, but we know that the Basilica Porcia stood in it; for Livy mentions that Cato the Censor, in the year B.C. 183, bought two courts in this district and four shops as a site for the basilica.[10] A fire which took place in B.C. 210, originating in several places at once, is said to have burnt the shops of the Forum, the Lautumiæ, the fish-market, and the Atrium regium.[11] One of the state prisons was in this district, and the name "Lautumiæ" may have been derived, as Varro suggests,[12] from the Lautumiæ at Syracuse, for it is not likely that there was ever any quarry on the spot. If the name was borrowed from the Syracusan stone-quarries, which were made use of as prisons,[13] it affords, as Mommsen has remarked, an evidence of the early communication of the Romans with Sicily, which may be supported by other similar facts. The converse appearance of the Latin *carcer* in the Sicilian Greek κάρκαρον is singular enough.[14]

Lautumiæ.

That this prison was not the same as the older prison in the same neighbourhood, the Mamertine prison, is plain from the narrative of Democritus and his brother, who, with forty-one other Ætolian men of consequence, were confined there.[15] The old prison was totally inadequate to the reception of such a number of prisoners, and was appropriated to the reception of criminals condemned to death. That there were two is also clearly shown by a passage of Seneca, in which Julius Sabinus is said to have asked to be removed from the Carcer to the Lautumiæ.[16] With

Carcer.

[1] Suet. Jul. Cæs. § 46.
[2] Mart. xii. 3, 9, vi. 21; Stat. Silv. i. 2.
[3] Mart. v. 22, 5.
[4] App. B. C. i. 58.
[5] *Clamosa*, Mart. xii. 18, 2.
[6] *Fervens*, Juv. xi. 51, 141; Juv. iii. 5.
[7] Mart. vii. 31, x. 94.
[8] Mart. vi. 66, xi. 66; Pers. v. 32; Hor. Epod. v. 58.
[9] Festus, p. 178; Paul. Diac. p. 131; Plut. Quæst. Rom. 97.
[10] Livy, xxxix. 44.
[11] Ibid. xxvi. 27.
[12] Varro, L. L. v. § 151. Varro does not assert the identity of the Carcer with the Lautumiæ, but mentions the two prisons together, and gives the derivation of the names of both.
[13] Thucyd. vii. 86, 87.
[14] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 167, Eng. trans.
[15] Livy, xxxvii. 3.
[16] Seneca, Controv. ix. 3: "Rogavit Julius Sabinus ut in Lautumias transferretur. Non est inquit, quod quenquam vestrum decipiat nomen ipsum, Lautumiæ illæ minime lauta res est."

respect to the old prison, an error appears to have arisen from the attempt to explain the name Tullianum. As the original erection of the Carcer was attributed to Ancus Martius,[1] so it was conjectured by the etymologists Varro and Festus that the name Tullianum must have been derived from Servius Tullius, and this error was propagated by subsequent historians.[2] The Tullianum was, however, in reality, as its name denotes,[3] the old well-house at the foot of the Capitol, and was only in later times made use of as part of the prison, when a prisoner was doomed to be killed by cold and starvation.

Lentulus was strangled here by the orders of Cicero, and the story of Jugurtha is well known, who, stripped of his clothes by the greedy executioners, and thrust into this dungeon, exclaimed, "Hercules! how cold your bath is!"[4] His exclamation refers to the spring of cold water which issues from the ground here, and has been connected by mediæval miracle-mongers with the ministry of St. Peter at Rome. The whole of the chamber was in ancient times filled with water, and the opening at the top used for drawing it out. The style of construction of this well-house is very old, and points to a date at which the arch was not used in Roman architecture, and is, therefore, possibly antecedent to the time of construction of the Cloaca Maxima. It was roofed by layers of peperino stone, so placed that each overlaps the layers beneath, and it was closed at the top by a broad stone cover. This mode of building is similar to that found in the old treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenos, and also in the oldest tombs of Etruria. The top of the ancient conical vault is now truncated, and closed by a number of stones fastened together by cramps of iron, which form the floor of the upper chamber.[5] The name Mamertinus, usually applied to the Carcer, is not classical, but mediæval.[6] Close to the Carcer, and between it and the Temple of Concord, were the Scalæ Gemoniæ, where the bodies of criminals were exposed after execution.[7]

Scalæ Gemoniæ.

The most important spot in the Forum itself was the Comitium or meeting-place of the primitive assembly of the Roman burgesses.[8] In the early times of the Republic this assembly exercised an oligarchical power in the state, and the Comitium was then aristocratic ground. The speakers in the Rostra, which stood upon the Comitium,[9] then turned themselves towards the privileged class assembled within its consecrated limits. But in the later days of the Republic, though the Comitium still remained the most important spot in the Forum, yet it was from a different cause. The real power then resided in the Senate, and the great object of every political man was to get a seat in that body by holding the great offices of state. Harangues (*conciones*) addressed by candidates for office or by political agitators to the Roman people then became frequent, and the speakers, turning their backs on the Comitium, addressed themselves to the rabble in the Forum.[10] The

North-eastern side of the Forum Romanum.

Comitium.

[1] Livy, i. 33. [2] Varro, L. L. v. § 151; Festus, p. 356.

[3] "Tullios alii dixerunt rivos alii vehementes projectiones sanguinis."—*Ennius.* "Sanguine tepido tullii efflantes volant."—*Festus*, p. 353.

[4] Sall. Cat. 55; Plutarch, Marius, ch. xii.

[5] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 243; Gell. Rome and Vicinity, p. 495, Appendix; Lübke, Gesch. der Arch. p. 156.

[6] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. p. 118; Vita Anastas. p. 62.

[7] Dion Cass. lviii. 5, of Sejanus; Val. Max. vi. 9, 13, of Cæpio; Tac. Hist. iii. 74, of Sabinus.

[8] Varro, L. L. v. § 155; Plut. Rom. 19.

[9] Asc. in Cic. pro Mil. v. § 12, p. 43; Orelli.

[10] C. Licinius Crassus was first guilty of this in

exact spot in the Forum where the Comitium lay is so hard to determine that it has become one of the most controverted points of Roman topography. Some writers have placed it on the south-western side of the Forum, near the Temple of Castor, others at the south-eastern end, near the Regia, and others at the north-western corner. The strongest evidence certainly appears to point to the north-western part of the Forum.[1]

That the Comitium was close to the Curia Hostilia there can be no doubt, for the statue of Attus Navius, the augur, stood in the Comitium on the steps to the left of the Curia, and the Curia and Comitium are placed together by Livy and Cicero.[2] Now the Curia was on the north side of the Forum, for Pliny distinctly says that the hour of noon was proclaimed by the Consul's marshal when, standing in front of the Curia, he could see the sun between the Græcostasis and Rostra; and this is hardly possible except from the north-eastern side of the Forum or the north-western end.[3] We are, therefore, certain that the Comitium, since it was close to the Curia, was also on the north-eastern side or at the north-western end.

It is also mentioned that the Comitium was under the Vulcanal or Area Vulcani,[4] which was, in fact, the oldest place of meeting.[5] Now some part of the Vulcanal was so near the Forum Julium that the roots of a tree which stood upon it in Pliny's time penetrated to that Forum,[6] the situation of which to the north of the Forum Romanum is tolerably ascertained. We, therefore, have strong reasons for placing the Comitium at the northern corner of the Forum near the Via Bonella.

Further, it is stated by the Scholiast on Horace, that the tribunal and rostra were removed by Julius Cæsar from their old places at the Comitium, and placed at the south-eastern end of the Forum, showing that they did not stand there originally.[7]

The Comitium was a regularly consecrated templum, or space open to the air, and not a covered building, for we read of drops of blood and milk falling upon it from the sky,[8] and of troops passing over it on their way through the Forum.[9] The Ficus Navia, confused by the later Romans with the Ruminal fig-tree which sheltered Romulus and Remus in their infancy, grew upon it.[10] The harangues delivered from the Rostra, which stood between the Comitium and Forum, were delivered to open-air assemblies of the people.[11]

In different parts of the Comitium stood the statues of several celebrated persons, of Hermodorus the Ephesian, interpreter and secretary to the Commission of Ten who drew

B.C. 145, Cic. Læl. 25. Plutarch says the same of C. Gracchus, but probably without authority. Plut. C. Gracch. 5.

[1] The fairest discussion of this question, and review of all the passages bearing upon it, will be found in *Annali dell' Inst.* vol. xxxii. p. 138, written by M. Detlefsen.

[2] Livy, i. 36; Plin. xxxiv. 5; Cic. Rep. ii. 17; Dionys. iii. 71.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 60.

[4] Livy, ix. 46, compared with Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 6; Festus, p. 290.

[5] Dionys. ii. 50; Plut. Rom. 20.

[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 26.

[7] Porphyr. ad Hor. Ep. i. 19; Schol. ad Sat. ii. 6, 35. See also Dion Cass. xliii. 49. Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 74, speaks of the removal in B.C. 145 of the place of assembly of the burgesses from the Comitium to the Forum, but he gives no authority for this statement.

[8] Müller, Etrusc. ii. 132 ff.; Livy, xxxiv. 45; Julius Obseq. 83, 103.

[9] Livy, v. 55.

[10] Tac. Ann. xiii. 58; Festus, p. 169; Dionys. ii. 71, 79. By some trick of the augur Navius this tree had been moved from the Lupercal: Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 18, 20.

[11] Livy, iii. 11; viii. 33.

up the Laws of the Twelve Tables, of three Sibyls, of Attus Navius the augur, Horatius Cocles, and some others.[1] The pavement was of stone, for one of the stones in the pavement, from its funereal blackness, was called the tombstone of Romulus or Faustulus. A stone lion also stood upon it near the Rostra, and was commonly said to have been erected on the spot where Faustulus was killed.[2] At the corners stood the statues of Alcibiades and Pythagoras.[3]

There is no evidence to show that the area was enclosed or separated by a barrier from the Forum, but Cicero seems to imply that it was so,[4] and the Forum is often mentioned as distinct from the Comitium.[5] If the Comitium is to be considered as separated from the Forum by an enclosure of any kind, we must suppose that it was so arranged as not to interfere with a free passage through the Forum along the road called Sub Novis.

The Curia Hostilia was originally built by Tullus Hostilius for the accommodation of the Comitia Curiata, who had previously met in the open air upon the Comitium.[6] We may conclude, therefore, that it stood upon the Comitium, and that it was slightly raised above it, and approached by steps. Tarquinius threw Servius down these steps;[7] and, as has been already mentioned, the statue of Attus Navius the augur stood upon them. *Curia Hostilia.*

Upon the side wall of the Curia Hostilia was a famous picture, executed by the order of M. Valerius Messalla, in honour of his victory at Messana over the Carthaginians and Hiero, in B.C. 264, which decided the fate of the Carthaginian Empire in Sicily, and made Hiero the firm ally of Rome.[8] This picture was probably on that side of the Curia which adjoined the Basilica Porcia, for Cicero speaks of the neighbourhood of the Valerian picture as a place of business;[9] and the Basilica Porcia was occupied by bankers' offices, and used for financial transactions.[10] Cicero represents Vatinius, the creature of Cæsar, as seizing Bibulus the Consul near the Valerian picture, when he was leaving the Curia at the northern side, to escape the rabble in the Forum on the southern. In order to convey Bibulus into the Forum, which was occupied by Clodius's partisans, Clodius forms a sort of bridge with the wooden tribunals on the Comitium from the Rostra down to the Forum, and so carries off his victim.[11]

The Curia Hostilia was rebuilt by Sylla, when dictator, as an emblem of aristocratical power. At the same time he removed the statues of Alcibiades and Pythagoras, the representatives of Hellenic democracy.[12] Sylla's building was burnt in B.C. 54, at the time of the riots excited by the death of Clodius. The words of Cicero on this occasion, in his speech in defence of Milo, plainly show that the Curia was regarded by the Romans of his day as a symbol of aristocratical influence. He calls it the temple of

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 11, 12; Livy, ii. 10; Gell. iv. 5.

[2] Dionys. i. 87; Schol. ad Hor. Epod. xvi. 12.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 12.

[4] Cic. De Rep. ii. 17.

[5] Cic. Pro Sestio, 35, in Verr. i. 22, and in numerous other passages; Tac. Agric. 2.

[6] Livy, i. 30; Cic. De Rep. ii. 17; Varro, L. L. v. § 155; Aur. Vict., Vir. Ill. 4.

[7] Livy, i. 48; Dionys. iv. 38; Zonaras, vii. 9.

[8] Plin. xxxv. 7; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 35, 36, book iii. ch. 2.

[9] Cic. ad Div. xiv. 2.

[10] In the Notitia it is called "Argentaria," Reg. viii.; Marini, Atti, p. 248; Plaut. Curc. iv. 1, 11; Mommsen, *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xvi. p. 297.

[11] Cic. in Vat. ix. 21.

[12] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 6, 12. Cic. De Fin. v. i. refers to this restoration by Sylla the dictator, and not, as most commentators think, to the restoration by Faustus Sylla.

sanctity, rank, and intelligence, the shrine of national wisdom, the head of the city, the sanctuary of the allies, the harbour of refuge for all nations, the place which the whole Roman world has appropriated to one class of its citizens.[1] Sylla's son Faustus restored the Curia, but his building was again pulled down by Julius Cæsar, under pretence of a wish to build a temple to Felicitas, but really in order to abolish the memory of Sylla and the old senatorial party.[2] On another occasion the Curia was dismantled and the roof pulled off by the senatorial party themselves. When Saturninus had been forced to surrender in the Capitol, Marius, who was consul, placed him and his partisans in the Curia, thinking that he would be most secure there from the violence of the senatorial party, who would consider his being placed there an appeal to their forbearance, and would hesitate to attack a building which was considered as the sanctum of nobility. Marius was mistaken, for the Curia was attacked at once, and the wretched Saturninus and his adherents pelted to death with the stones of the roof.[3]

Græcostasis.

To the right of the Senate-house stood the Græcostasis, a stone platform open to the air, raised above the Comitium,[4] and so called because it was originally the place appropriated to the Greek envoys of Marseilles by the Roman people, and afterwards to the envoys of other foreign nations, at the public spectacles anciently held in the Forum. The Massiliots were privileged in this way on account of the kindly feeling shown by them to the Roman state after the capture of the city by the Gauls in B.C. 390.[5] The brazen shrine of Concord, erected by Cn. Flavius, Curule Ædile in 303 B.C., in commemoration of his attempt to assert the rights and liberties of the Plebs, is said by Pliny to have been placed on the Græcostasis. Pliny also mentions the removal of the Græcostasis to a different site by some one of the Emperors, and the name seems to have been given to a reception-hall in the Imperial times.[6]

Senaculum.

The Senaculum was the designation of a place at which the Senate met in the early times of Rome, just as the Curiæ met in the Comitium.[7] It was situated, according to Varro,[8] above the Græcostasis, and therefore at the side of the Comitium on the right of the Curia, and not far from the Temple of Concord. The name was afterwards used as the designation of other meeting-places of the Senate. Festus mentions two others, one at the Capenatian Gate, also mentioned by Livy,[9] and another at the Temple of Bellona, near the Circus.[10] In the year 174 B.C. a portico, or cloister, was built, reaching from the Temple of Saturn to the Senaculum, and thence to the Curia. This portico probably occupied the northern side of the Sacra Via, and must have passed in front of the Temple of Concord.[11]

The Vulcanal, or, as it is called by Livy, the Area Vulcani, must have been close to the

[1] Cic. Pro Mil. 33; Phil. vi. 4; Dion Cass. xl. 49.
[2] Dion Cass. xl. 50; xliv. 5; xlvii. 19; li. 22.
[3] Appian, B. C. i. 32; Merivale, Fall of the Roman Republic, ch. 2; Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 215.
[4] Varro, L. L. v. 155; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1, 6; Julius Obseq. 24, 28, 31.
[5] Justin, xliii. 5; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. book ii. ch. 7, pp. 430, 467.
[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1, 6.
[7] Val. Max. ii. 2, 6.
[8] Varro, L. L. v. 156.
[9] Festus, p. 347; Livy, xxiii. 32.
[10] Ov. Fast. vi. 203.
[11] Livy, xli. 27. The reading of this passage is uncertain. It would make a more intelligible sense to read "in Capitolio." Mommsen lays too much stress upon the word *super*, which I take to mean little more than *beyond*. (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xvi. p. 292.) Detlefsen, in *Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxii. p. 154, thinks that this refers to the Curia Calabra, but such a supposition is unnecessary.

Senaculum, on the slope of the Capitol.[1] It seems to have been originally an open space of some extent, used for public meetings, especially those of the Comitia Tributa,[2] and dedicated to Vulcan. Sacrifices of small fish were offered to Vulcan here, and a temple dedicated to that god stood also here in the earliest times, but it was afterwards, on the enlargement of the pomœrium beyond the Palatine, removed for religious reasons to the Circus Flaminius, and the Vulcanal became simply a consecrated area.[3] *Vulcanal.*

The Temple of Concord was built upon a part of this area, and it was hence called Area Concordiæ.[4] Romulus is said to have dedicated a brazen group of statuary representing a four-horse chariot there, and to have planted the lotus tree, the roots of which reached to the Forum Julium. The statues of Horatius Cocles and of a gladiator who had been struck by lightning were placed upon it by the advice of the Etruscan augurs.[5]

The Rostra, before the time of Julius Cæsar, stood somewhere near the middle of the Forum.[6] Julius Cæsar built new Rostra at the eastern end. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the old Rostra were exactly in the middle of the open area of the Forum, but only that they were nearly in the centre of one of the four sides of the Forum. This is shown by the statement of Appian, that Marius's head was placed by Sylla in the middle of the Forum before the Rostra.[7] The shows of gladiators could be best surveyed from thence, and therefore the place must have commanded a view of the widest part of the Forum.[8] Further, an orator speaking from them could turn either to the Comitium or to the Forum as he chose, and they were therefore placed between the two, as has been already remarked, and not far from the Curia Hostilia. *Rostra.*

The origin of their name is well known. At the end of the great Latin war in B.C. 338 the power of the Latin League was completely destroyed, and their fleet at Antium, which town had taken the lead in the war, fell into the hands of the Romans, who appropriated some of the ships, and burnt others, and decorated the orators' platform with their beaks (*rostra*).[9]

Upon the Arch of Constantine there is still extant a bas-relief, which represents an orator addressing the people from the Rostra, and a rude picture of them is also given upon a denarius of the Gens Lollia.[10] These representations refer to the later or Julian Rostra, but it is probable that the shape of the old Rostra was similar. Hence it appears that they consisted of a curved platform raised on arches, with a surrounding parapet, and that they somewhat resembled the ambones, or reading-desks, still to be seen in ancient churches, as in S. Clemente and S. Lorenzo at Rome and elsewhere.

A great number of statues were placed near the Rostra. Among these are mentioned by name those of the three Sibyls, the earliest bronze statues at Rome, of Camillus and

[1] Livy, xxxix. 46; Festus, p. 290.
[2] Dionys. vi. 67; vii. 17; xi. 39; ii. 50.
[3] Plut. Rom. Quæst. 47; Cal. Cap. x. Kal. Sept.
[4] Livy, xxxix. 56; xl. 19; ix. 46.
[5] Plut. Rom. 24; Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 44. See above, p. 83. Gell, iv. 5; Festus, p. 290.
[6] Dion Cass. xliii. 49: ἐν μέσῳ που τῆς ἀγορᾶς.
[7] App. B. C. i. 94.
[8] Cic. Phil. ix. 7.
[9] Livy, viii. 14; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 11; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. pp. 368, 464.
[10] See Smith's Dict. Ant. *s.v.* Rostra; Spanheim, De Usu Numism. ii. p. 191.

Mænius, of four ambassadors who were killed by the Fidenates in the discharge of their duty, of Cnæus Octavius, who lost his life as ambassador to King Antiochus,[1] and of Pompey and Sylla.[2] The Fœdus Latinum and the Duodecim Tabulæ were also placed there on a brazen column.[3] The curved ridge of brickwork near the Arch of Septimius was, when first found, supposed to be the old Rostra, but it is probably of a later date. Becker thinks that it may prove to be the substructure of the Temple of the Genius of the Roman people mentioned by Dion Cassius.[4]

Tribunalia.

On the Comitium, at least in the early times of the Republic, stood the Prætor's Tribunal.[5] This must not be conceived of as a fixed building, but as a moveable wooden platform and chair. A dictator or consul sometimes also placed his chair of judgment on the Comitium, as at the trial of M. Manlius,[6] and the petition of the Locrensian envoys.[7] The phrase "to ascend the tribunal" shows that it was a raised dais on which the magistrate's chair was placed;[8] and Cicero speaks of the steps of the Aurelian tribunal, which perhaps was a tribunal erected by Aurelius Cotta, Consul in B.C. 74.[9] A great variety of lawsuits were tried in the Forum, and there were several tribunals in different parts in the time of Cicero. He speaks of a bridge made by Vatinius from the Rostra to the Forum, by piling up the wooden platforms and benches and chairs of the numerous tribunals, along which Vatinius carried off the unfortunate Consul Bibulus, and also mentions the violent ejection by the same demagogue of the magistrates from their tribunals.[10] The body of Clodius was burnt on a pile made partly of these wooden tribunals, and in the remarkable scene described by Suetonius, at the funeral of Cæsar, among other combustibles which the mob collected in order to burn his body in the Forum were the wooden tribunals and benches.[11]

Putealia.

There were apparently two Putealia or well-mouths in the Forum. One was opposite to the Curia Hostilia, and on the Comitium, near the statue of the augur Attus Navius,[12] and the other, the Puteal of Libo, was near the Arch of Fabius at the eastern end.[13] Originally the enclosure of a well, *puteal* came afterwards to signify any enclosure in the shape of a well-mouth, enclosing a spot held to be sacred according to the augural superstitions. Several ancient putealia are preserved in the Italian museums.

The most celebrated Temple of Janus, for there were several others in Rome, stood in front of the Curia.[14] It was probably a very small, old-fashioned temple, and did not

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 11; Cic. Phil. ix. 2. Procop. i. 25 mentions τὰ τρία φᾶρα, which may mean the Sibyls; and Anastasius, Vit. Honor. i. p. 121, and Vit. Hadrian. i. p. 254, speaks of the churches of S. Adriano, S. Cosma e Damiano, and S. Martina, as "in tribus fatis." Part of the Forum was afterwards, in the eighth century, called "tria fata." See Bunsen's Beschreibung, iii. 2, 124; also Cyprian, Epist. xxi. 3, "ad tria fata *ascendisse*."

[2] Dion Cass. xlii. 18, xliii. 49; Suet. Cæs. 75; App. B. C. i. 97.

[3] Diod. Sic. xii. 26; Cic. Pro Balb. xxiii. 53.

[4] Dion Cass. xlvii. 2.

[5] Gell. xx. 1, §§ 11, 47: "Ad prætorem in comitium."

[6] Livy, vi. 15.

[7] Ibid. xxix. 16.

[8] Cic. in Vat. § 34; Livy, xxviii. 26; Mart. xi. 98, 17.

[9] Cic. Pro Cluent. § 93. See also Pro Flacco, § 66; Pro Sestio, § 34.

[10] Cic. in Vat. ix. § 21; ch. xiv. § 34.

[11] Suet. Jul. Cæs. 84; Dion Cass. xl. 49; Asc. Arg. in Mil. 34.

[12] Cic. De Div. i. 17; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 11; Livy, i. 36; Dionys. iii. 71.

[13] Hor. Ep. i. 19, 18; Sat. ii. 6, 35; Pers. iv. 49.

[14] Dion Cass. lxxiii. 13, 14; Ov. Fast. i. 257; Procop. Goth. i. 25; Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 292.

occupy much space. The double head of this god's image was significant of his peculiar province as god of opening, the most ancient gateways being constructed with two arches and a chamber between them, and the shape of his temple was probably that of a gateway chamber open at both ends. Hence the word *janus* was applied generally in Latin to all archways, and therefore Horace speaks of the highest, central, and lowest *jani* in the Forum, offices under archways, at which the financial business of the day was carried on.[1] Over some of these archways were chambers occupied by merchants and men of business. The well-known custom of keeping the doors of Janus's Temple open during war, and shut during peace, was usually explained by the story of a repulse inflicted on the Sabines by the god's interference.[2] A deeper meaning may be found in the idea that Janus was the power who presided over the beginning of every act, and who gave his blessing to the troops marching out through the city gate to war. This ceremony of opening the Temple of Janus is recorded for the last time when Gordian III. marched against the Persian army which had invaded Syria.[3]

Temple of Janus.

During the later times of the Republican government at Rome, in the second century before the Christian era, after the drain upon the population caused by the great wars had ceased, and wealth and commerce had begun to increase rapidly,[4] the want of more commodious public buildings for the transaction of business must have been felt, and we find Cato the Censor, in B.C. 184, applying some of the public funds in purchasing the courts of two private houses belonging to Mænius and Titus, situated in the district of the Lautumiæ, and also four shops adjoining. Upon this site he built the Basilica Porcia.[5] The north side of the Forum was perhaps selected in accordance with the opinion mentioned by Vitruvius,[6] that a basilica should be in the warmest situation for the convenience of merchants in cold weather. As many of them were open buildings, without side walls or central roof, this caution was not without considerable meaning. The name of these buildings indicates that their design came from Greece,[7] and it is plain from Cicero's letters that some of the celebrated architects in the sixth and seventh centuries of the city were Greeks. The shape of a basilica may be best learnt from the churches which were built upon the model of basilicæ, of which many remain at Rome and Ravenna.[8] A central nave divided by pillars from two side aisles, over which galleries were built, constituted the main part of these public buildings. At one or both ends was a circular apse used for legal trials. The central nave was sometimes covered with a roof, and sometimes open to the air. They were frequented by loiterers as well as by business men, and to take a turn in the basilica with any one to whom you might wish to show a little attention was considered at Rome equivalent to a morning call.[9] Cato's Basilica was placed near the Curia Hostilia, and close to the edge of the Forum, as is shown by the express statement of Plutarch, and also by the fact men-

Basilica Porcia.

[1] Hor. Ep. i. 1, 54; Sat. ii. 3, 19; Cic. De Offic. ii. 25; Phil. vi. 5. [2] Ov. Fast. i. 269.

[3] Gibbon, ch. vii.; Jul. Capit. in Gord. iii.; Aur. Vict. Cæs. xxvii.; Oros. vii. 19.

[4] On the enormous increase in wealth at this time, see Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 382.

[5] Livy, xxxix. 44.

[6] Vitruv. v. 1.

[7] *βασιλικὴ στοή*. See the description of Constantine's Basilica in chap. viii.

[8] The Basilicas of S. Lorenzo and S. Agnese at Rome, and S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, are perhaps the best examples.

[9] Cic. Pro Muræna, ch. xxxiv. 70.

tioned by the Scholiast on Cicero, who says that Mænius, when his house was removed to make room for the basilica, reserved to himself the right of erecting a balcony over one of the columns, from whence he might view the gladiatorial combats in the Forum.[1] In the riot over Clodius's corpse, in which the Curia was burnt, the Basilica Porcia, which was close by, also suffered much damage, and seems never to have been restored under the same name.[2]

Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia.

On the same side of the Forum with the Basilica Porcia stood the Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia. It was first built in the year B.C. 179, by M. Fulvius Nobilior the Censor, and was placed behind the new silversmiths' shops on the north side of the Forum.[3] The colleague of Fulvius in the Censorship was M. Æmilius Lepidus, and a descendant of his a century afterwards, when Consul, decorated the basilica with the busts or profiles in relief of his ancestors represented on circular shields, a mode of commemoration often adopted at Rome.[4] These were probably placed, like the portraits of the Popes in S. Paolo Fuori le Mura, along the entablature between the upper and lower columns of the sides of the building. A restoration of this basilica took place in B.C. 54, when L. Æmilius Paullus was Ædile. He was anxious to gain popularity in order to secure his election to the prætorship and consulship, and among other public works he undertook to beautify and restore the basilica built by his ancestors. At the same time, as appears from a letter of Cicero, he laid out a still larger sum of money upon another basilica, the name of which is not known, but which may have been distinguished from the Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia as the Basilica Paulli.[5] The words of Cicero seem to indicate that the old Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia was in the middle of the north-eastern side of the Forum; between the Church of S. Adriano and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The new Basilica Paulli was possibly an addition to the old one on the south-eastern side. When it was burnt in B.C. 14, the fire endangered the Temple of Vesta, and it was therefore not far from the south-eastern end of the Forum, otherwise the distance from the Temple of Vesta would be too great to justify the language used by Dion Cassius about the conflagration.[6] Again in A.D. 22 this building was restored and decorated by another Paullus Æmilius Lepidus,[7] and its magnificence is afterwards spoken of by Pliny, who

Basilica Paulli.

[1] Plut. Cat. Maj. 19; Cat. Min. 5; Asc. ad Cic. Div. in Cæc. 16, Pro Mil. Arg. 3. Plaut. Capt. iv. 2, 23 (815), Curculio, iv. 1, 11 (472), mentions the fish-market as behind a basilica. But both these passages are interpolations of a later date than Plautus, who died in B.C. 183 (Cic. Brutus, xv. § 60), the year after Cato's censorship, and Livy says (xxvi. 27) that there were no basilicæ before Cato's time. The interpolated lines may therefore refer to one of the other basilicæ subsequently built.

[2] Ascon. Introd. ad Cic. pro Mil. § 3.

[3] Livy, xl. 51; Varro, L. L. vi. § 4; Cic. Acad. ii. 22. § 70; Stat. Silv. i. 30.

[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 3, 4. A shield of silver, with a picture or profile of Hasdrubal Barca, was taken in Spain from the Carthaginians, and deposited in the Capitol. (Livy, xxv. 39. See also Tac. Ann. ii. 83; Sil. Ital. xvii. 398.)

[5] Cic. ad Att. iv. 16, § 14. Four great public works are here alluded to by Cicero. (1) The Basilica Æmilia et Fulvia in the Forum. (2) The Basilica Paulli. (3) The enlargement of the Forum towards the Quirinal. (4) The Septa Julia. Becker is mistaken in supposing that the money given to Paullus by Cæsar as a bribe is alluded to by Cicero, for Cicero's letter was written three years before the consulship of Paullus, during which he received the bribe. (Plut. C. Cæs. 29; App. B. C. ii. 26.) Cicero is speaking of Paullus as at this time an enemy of Cæsar. It was said that Paullus afterwards, when Consul, spent a sum received from Cæsar as the price of reconciliation on the Basilica Paulli. "Ingenti mercede," says Suet. Jul. 29. Cic. ad Att. vi. 3, 2.

[6] Dion Cass. liv. 24.

[7] Tac. Ann. iii. 72.

especially mentions its columns of Phrygian marble, and classes it with the Circus Maximus, the Forum of Augustus, and the Temple of Peace, as one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.[1]

Another basilica is mentioned by Varro as having stood above the Græcostasis.[2] He calls it the Basilica Opimia, and connects it with the celebrated Temple of Concord, built by L. Opimius B.C. 121, after the death of C. Gracchus and the triumph of the aristocratical party.[3] This basilica therefore stood near the still remaining foundations of the Temple of Concord, and probably on the north side of them, where the present street ascends to the Ara Cœli.

Basilica Opimia.

In the same part of the Forum, but nearer to the Comitium, stood the statue or shrine of Venus Cloacina, mentioned by Pliny as situated on the spot where the Romans and Sabines were reconciled.[4] Plautus speaks of the shrine of Cloacina as a well-known place in the Forum, and in the story of Virginia in Livy it is placed near the New Shops on the north side of the Forum.[5] In Becker's "Handbook of Roman Antiquities" a coin is figured which is supposed to represent this shrine.[6]

Venus Cloacina.

A column, called the Mænian Column, in honour of C. Mænius the Dictator, who in B.C. 338 had finally put an end to the Latin league by his victories, stood at this end of the Forum.[7] It was when the sun had passed this column and was sinking towards the Carcer Mamertinus, that the crier in ancient times used to proclaim the last hour of the day, when business was supposed to close. This proclamation was made in the Comitium,[8] and therefore the column stood on the western side of the Comitium. It was also apparently a place of meeting for persons engaged in lawsuits, who wished to secure the aid of counsel.[9]

Columna Mænia.

Near the Arch of Severus was found the base of the famous column adorned with the beaks of some Carthaginian ships taken by Duilius, at Mylæ, in B.C. 260. The inscription on it, and a restoration of the column itself by Michael Angelo, is still to be seen in the court of the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol.[10] As this column was certainly near the Rostra and Comitium,[11] the discovery of its pedestal near the Arch of Severus confirms the opinion that they were situated in this part of the Forum.

Columna Duilia.

Along the north-eastern side of the Forum ran a row of shops called the New Shops. They were in the early times occupied by butchers and schoolmasters, as the story of Virginia shows, but afterwards by silversmiths.[12] They stood in front of the Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia when it was first built, but were removed

Novæ Tabernæ.

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 24; Varro, L. L. vi. § 4.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 156; Marini atti dei Frat. Arv. p. 212; Cic. Pro Sest. 67.

[3] App. B. C. i. 26; Plut. C. Gracch. 17; Aug. De Civ. Dei, iii. 25. Becker thinks it possible that the line in Plaut. Curc. iv. 1, 24, "Dites damnosos maritos apud Leucadiam Oppiam," may be amended, "apud Concordiam Opimiam."

[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 29, 36, § 119.

[5] Livy, iii. 48.

[6] Becker, Rom. Alt., Theil i. Tab. 5, No. 4.

[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 5, 11; Livy, viii. 13; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 368. Livy speaks of an equestrian statue, and not of a column.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 60; Varro, L. L. vi. § 5.

[9] Cic. Div. in Cæc. 16; Pro Sest. 58.

[10] Canina, For. Rom. p. 301, note.

[11] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxix. 5, 11; Sil. Ital. vi. 663, *nivea moles*, of white marble. Quint. Inst. Or. i. 7, "in Rostris." Serv. Ad Georg. iii. 29.

[12] See the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1857, pp. 215—223; Varro, ap. Non. p. 532; Livy, iii. 44, 48.

in Livy's time. On high festival days the gilded shields which had been taken from the Samnites were exhibited in these shops.[1] A similar row of shops, called the Old Shops, bordered the south-western side of the Forum area.[2] They were under arcades, somewhat similar to those of Bologna, Turin, many of the modern Italian towns, and the Rows at Chester. Over the arcades were open balconies, called Mæniana, projecting beyond the pillars of the arcades, from which the games and gladiatorial spectacles could be conveniently viewed; and these balconies were painted with various devices.[3] The whole of the balconies on the south-west were painted by Serapion, a famous scene-painter,[4] and a story seems to have been current at Rome about Crassus, the celebrated advocate, who was one day cross-examining a witness at one of the tribunals in the Forum, near the Old Shops. The witness became impatient, and exclaimed, "What you do take me for, sir?" and Crassus, pointing to the picture, on the wall of the Old Shops, of an idiotic-looking Gaul with his tongue lolling out, replied, "I take you for just such a fellow as that."[5] Cicero relates a similar joke of his own upon an opponent, and adds that the picture he pointed to was that of a Gaul with a hideously-distorted expression, flabby cheeks, and a protruded tongue, painted upon a shield, hung up by Marius after his Cimbric campaign.[6] The modern counterparts of these pictures are to be seen on the walls in some of the towns of the Southern Tyrol and Italy, but they now generally take the form of saints and angels instead of conquerors and captives. Some incendiary fires caused by petty spite are recorded by Livy as having, in B.C. 210, burnt down parts of the Forum called the Seven Shops, afterwards called the Five Shops, the silversmiths' shops, afterwards called the New Shops, some private houses, part of the Lautumian district, the fish-market, and the Royal Court. The Royal Court (*Atrium Regium*) stood in front of the Temple of Vesta, which was saved from this fire with difficulty by the courage of thirteen slaves.[7] The restoration of the shops by the Censors, at the public expense, is recorded in B.C. 209, and it may hence be concluded that the shops were State property.[8]

Veteres Tabernæ.

Mæniana.

At the upper or north-western end of the Forum, besides the Basilica Opimia, which has been already mentioned, and which stood back behind the area called the Senaculum, there were built before the time of Julius Cæsar two of the most celebrated temples in Rome—the Temple of Concord and the Temple of Saturn. The situation of the former is described by Plutarch as overlooking the Forum and Comitium, by Festus as between the Capitol and Forum, and by Dion Cassius as near the prison. Livy also connects the area of Concord with the Vulcanal, which was here as we have seen.[9] These descriptions have been fully confirmed by the

North-western End.

Temple of Concord.

[1] Livy, xxvi. 11; ix. 40.
[2] Cic. Acad. ii. 22, § 70.
[3] Paul. Diac. p. 135; Vitruv. v. 1, ἐξώστρα.
[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 10, § 113.
[5] Ibid. xxxv. 4, 8.
[6] Cic. De Orat. ii. 66.
[7] Livy, xxvi. 27.
[8] Ibid. xxvii. 11. The shops were at first butchers' shops (Livy, iii. 48). They were then changed into goldsmiths' shops at some time, before A.U.C. 444 (Ibid. ix. 40). They were all burnt in A.U.C. 542 (Ibid. xxvi. 27). Those on the south side were first rebuilt in A.U.C. 543 (Ibid. xxvii. 11); those on the north side were rebuilt about A.U.C. 560 (Festus, p. 230). (Urlichs, Rhein. Mus. v. 157.) After that time, they began to be called Veteres and Novæ, from the dates of their respective restorations (Ritschl, Opusc. ii. 387). The butchers' shops were removed into the back streets (Livy, xlv. 16).
[9] Plut. Cam. 42; Fest. p. 347; Dion Cass. lviii. 11; Livy, xl. 19, xxxix. 56; Julius Obseq. 59, 60. See also Aug. De Civ. Dei. iii. 25; Statius, Silv., i. 1, 31.

excavations conducted in 1817, 1830, and 1835, when the foundations of a temple were uncovered standing behind the Arch of Severus, and separated from it by a street. Inscriptions were discovered on the spot which proved beyond a doubt that this was the ground-plan of the Temple of Concord.[1] This temple was founded by Camillus in B.C. 367, on the memorable occasion when the Senate, after a long and anxious debate, wisely determined to throw open the consulate to the plebeian order.[2] It was placed above the old meeting-place of the privileged families (*gentes*), as if constantly to remind them that the newly-established concord of the community was under the special sanction of the gods.

We do not distinctly hear of any restoration of this temple until Tiberius rebuilt it in honour of his German campaign of A.D. 6 and 7, and dedicated it in A.D. 10 in the name of his brother and of himself.[3] A considerable enlargement of the temple took place, either at this time or at some other time after the Tabularium was built, since the wall of the temple, the foundations of which are now left, comes quite close to the Tabularium, and would render the ornamentation on its walls quite invisible. The ornamental architecture of the Tabularium was therefore erected before the temple was enlarged. It seems impossible that the restoration by Tiberius could have been the first, and we may with reason conclude that when the Consul Opimius, on the death of C. Gracchus, was ordered by the Senate to build a temple to Concord, he restored and enlarged the old Temple of Camillus.[4]

This temple seems to have been a kind of Pantheon, or museum, for it was decorated with a great number of statues of various gods, among which were those of Apollo and Juno by Baton, of Latona by Euphranor, of Æsculapius and Hygæa by Niceratus, and of Mars and Mercury by Piston, and with pictures of the god Liber by Nicias, an Athenian artist, and of Marsyas by Zeuxis. The sacristan also exhibited as curiosities four elephants cut in obsidian, presented by Augustus, and the veritable sardonyx which had been set in the ring of Polycrates.[5] On the left-hand side of the remaining foundations of the *cella* of the temple are two huge pedestals, which probably supported two of the above-mentioned statues.

The form of the latest restoration of the Temple of Concord can be traced from its foundations, and presents a singular deviation from the usual plan of a Roman temple. The *pronaos* is smaller than the *cella*, and forms a kind of porch to it, and the *cella* has greater breadth than depth; the former measuring 82 feet in breadth and 45 in depth, and the latter 147 feet in width by 78 in depth. The lower part was apparently built with rubble, and faced on the outside with travertine and hard tufa stone, which

[1] Canina, Indic. p. 285. A coin of Tiberius representing this temple and a fragment of the Capitoline plan are also mentioned by Reber among the proofs of its identity. (Reber, p. 77.) I have not seen these.

[2] Plut. Cam. 42; Livy, vi. 42; Ov. Fast. i. 641.

[3] Ov. Fast. loc. cit.; Dion Cass. lv. 8; Suet. Tib. 20; Verrius in Fast. Prænest.

[4] App. B. C. i. 26; Plut. C. Gracc. 17; Aug. De Civ. Dei, iii. 25. Dr. Dyer, in his article "Roma," in Smith's Dict. Ant., places the Temple of Camillus on the Arx, and supposes that Opimius was the first founder of the sub-Capitoline temple. But he appears to strain the meaning of ἄποπτος and *prospicere* too much. The site near the Forum and Curia, where the quarrels took place, was most appropriate to the temple commemorating their happy termination. (See Merkel on Ov. Fast. p. cxxv.)

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 8, 19, §§ 73, 78, 80, 89; xxxv. 10, 36, §§ 66, 131; xxxvi. 26, § 196; xxxvii. 1, § 4.

again were covered with slabs of marble. As the temple stood out from the slope of the Capitoline, this basement is of considerable height in front, and the temple was approached by a flight of steps, the ruins of which remain.[1] Portions of the variegated marbles with which the interior was lined, and in particular the enormous threshold stone of African marble, are still to be seen. The style of the temple was Corinthian, as is shown by a coin of Tiberius which represents it, and had six columns in front, and three figures embracing, as a symbol of concord, at the top. One of the bases of the columns, very richly carved, is preserved in the Capitoline Museum. Canina, with immense labour and pains, fitted together a number of small fragments found on the spot, and thus restored a portion of the frieze, which shows the decorative work to have been of extraordinary beauty. This is now in the corridor of the Tabularium.[2]

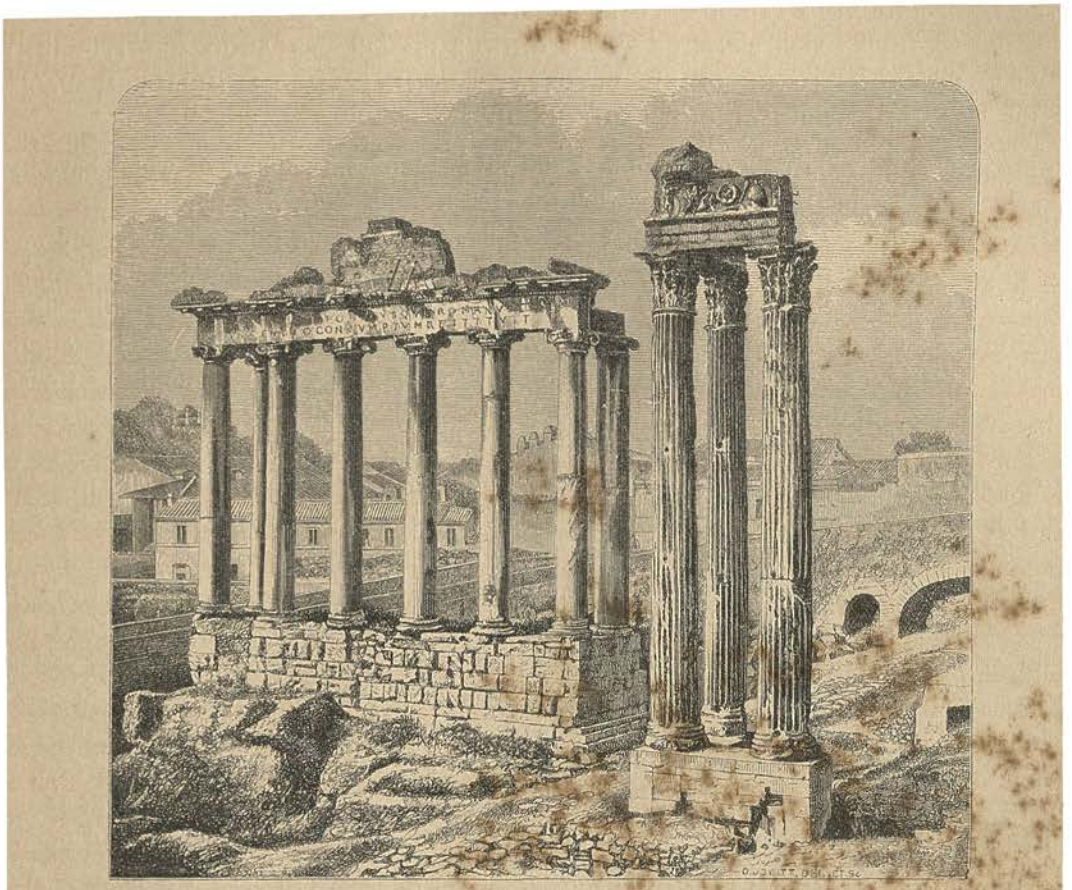
The manuscript of the anonymous traveller preserved in the library at Einsiedlen gives the inscription, which was still *in situ* in the ninth century. It is as follows:—"S.P.Q.R. (?) AEDEM CONCORDIAE VETUSTATE CONLAPSAM IN MELIOREM FACIEM OPERE ET CULTU SPLENDIDIORE RESTITUERUNT."[3] The temple is also mentioned as still standing in the "Ordo Romanus," a procession route-book of the twelfth century.[4] The stones were probably carried away for building purposes in the time of Nicholas V.[5] Even before its magnificent restoration by Tiberius, this temple must have been of considerable size, as we find the Senate frequently assembling in it. The most celebrated debates which took place here were those at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and the third Catilinarian oration was probably delivered from the steps of this temple to the assembled people after the most exciting of these debates. Sejanus was here sentenced to death by the Senate, and his body thrown down the steps to the rabble in the Forum. Meetings of the Senate continued to be held here down to a late period of the Empire, in the times of Alexander, Severus, and Probus.[6] It was used not only for the convenience of its situation in criminal cases, as being close to the prison, but also from the pacific political reminiscences and the religious feelings connected with it.

Temple of Saturn.

Dionysius mentions that there was in his time an old altar dedicated to Cronos at the foot of the hill, on the ascent from the Forum to the Capitol, and that the legend as told by the poet Euxenus and other Italian mythographers was, that the Epeans from Pisa in Elis, who came over with Hercules to Italy, had founded it.[7] This seems, however, to be an attempt to connect the old Italian deity Saturnus with the Hellenic Cronos, and to have arisen in the Philo-Hellenic age of Rome from the same source as the other Hellenic myths in Italy—the desire of proving that all Italian civilization proceeded from Hellas. Dionysius afterwards mentions the altar again on occasion of the dedication of the temple. The temple, he says, was dedicated in the consulship of A. Sempronius Atratinus and M. Minucius, B.C. 497, though some writers referred its foundation to Titus Lartius, the Consul of the previous

[1] Cicero speaks of these steps as "gradus concordiæ." (Phil. vii. ch. viii.)
[2] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 76.
[3] Mabillon, Vet. Analect. vol. iv. p. 506.
[4] Ibid. Mus. Ital. ii. p. 143.
[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 80.
[6] Hist. Aug. p. 115 E, and p. 165 E. ed. Salmas.
[7] Dionysius, i. 34. "Saturnus" is derived by Mommsen and others from *Sata*, as the god of sowing. (Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 173. See Festus, p. 325; Plut. Q. R. 42: "Saturnus a sationibus.") The falx with which he was represented seems to confirm this, but the quantity of the first syllable makes it doubtful. A fig-tree and a statue of Silvanus stood before the Temple of Saturn. (Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 18, 20.)

year, others to King Tarquin the Proud, and others to Tullus Hostilius, after his victory over the Albans and Sabines.[1] The hill above the temple was called Saturnius before it received the names of Tarpeius and Capitolinus, and the epithet Saturnia is often applied to the whole of Italy. Saturn was one of the most ancient and venerable native gods of the Italian nation, and his festival, the Saturnalia, in December, was always one of the most honoured.[2] Festus and Macrobius also speak of an altar of Saturn as existing together with the temple, and Macrobius places it in front of the Senaculum.[3]



TEMPLE OF SATURN AND TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN.

North-east End of Palatine Hill. *Clivus Capitolinus.*

The situation of the Temple of Saturn is further determined by other writers. Servius places it in front of the Clivus Capitolinus, Festus at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, Varro at the entrance (*in faucibus*) of the Capitol, Aurelius Victor under the Clivus Capitolinus, and the inscription of Ancyra places the Basilica Julia between it and the Temple of Castor.[4] Clearly, however, as the indications of its situation here seem to

[1] Dionys. vi. 1 ; Livy, ii. 21 ; Macrob. Sat. i. 8.
[2] Livy, xxii. 1.
[3] Festus p. 322 ; Macrob. Sat. i. 8.
[4] Serv. Ad Æn. ii. 116; Festus, loc. cit.; Varro, L. L. v. 7; Zumpt. Mon. Ancs. Tab. iv.; Aur. Vict., De Orig. G. R. c. 3. Nissen, Das Templum (Berlin, 1869),

point out the eight columns now standing as the remains of this temple, yet this conclusion has been impugned. Three arguments are adduced against it. First, Servius speaks of the Temple of Saturn as near (*juxta*) the Temple of Concord;[1] and, secondly, in the ancient catalogues of the Regionarii, this temple stands next in order of enumeration to the Temple of Concord. The third argument is drawn from three inscriptions which are quoted by the writer of the anonymous manuscript of Einsiedlen, who copied them from the buildings themselves, as follow:—

"S.P.Q.R. INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT DIVO VESPASIANO AUGUSTO."

"S.P.Q.R. IMPP. CAES. SEVERUS ET ANTONINUS PII FELICES AUGG. RESTITUERUNT."

"S.P.Q.R. AEDEM CONCORDIAE VETUSTATE CONLAPSAM IN MELIOREM FACIEM OPERE ET CULTU SPLENDIDIORE RESTITUERUNT."

These inscriptions doubtless belong to the three temples, the ruins of which have been excavated on the slope of the Capitol towards the Forum. The first part of them, as far as the word "restituit," is still seen upon the temple of which eight pillars remain, and which the passages of classical writers above quoted would lead us to pronounce the Temple of Saturn. Upon the three columns belonging to the temple which stands further up the slope of the hill are the letters "estituer," which plainly belong to the second inscription, and there can be no doubt that the third inscription belongs to the Temple of Concord just described. But what are we to do with the words "divo Vespasiano Augusto"? Becker would place them at the end of the first inscription, and thus make the temple of the eight pillars the Temple of Vespasian. But there are great difficulties in holding this opinion, for there is an overwhelming weight of authority against it, and scarcely any, except that of Servius and the Notitia, both of which may be explained otherwise, in favour of it. Further, there is no room upon the front of the temple for the words, and Becker is forced to separate them from the first part of the inscription, and place them at the back of the temple, which seems ridiculous. Canina has, therefore, assigned the words "divo Vespasiano Augusto" to the second inscription. And this is in accordance with the usual order of the words in dedicatory inscriptions, in which the name of the deity in honour of whom the temple is built almost invariably comes first. A fragment of the Capitoline plan, plainly belonging to the north-western end of Basilica Julia, which was close to the temple of the eight pillars, has the letters "vrni" upon it, which hardly leave a doubt that the building designated by them was the Ædes Saturni.[2] A further confirmation of this opinion, that the temple of the three pillars is the Temple of Vespasian, is found in the fact that the doorway leading down from the Tabularium, which stands behind, is blocked up by it, and the temple must, therefore, have been built after the Tabularium. But it is certain that the Temple of Saturn was, originally at least, built long before the Tabularium.[3] It must be allowed, however,

endeavours to show from the orientation of the temples that the eight columns belong to the Temple of Vespasian and the three to the Temple of Saturn. But the theory of orientation which he announces is so ill-proved, and is so inapplicable in some cases, as in the case of Janus Quadrifrons, that it cannot be accepted as satisfactory evidence in the teeth of the numerous documentary proofs given above. Vitruvius, iv. 5, gives express directions about the orientation of temples. They are, he says, to look, *if possible*, towards the west and setting sun. If not, they should *face the public roads*, that the passers-by may salute the gods.

[1] Serv. Ad. Æn. ii. 116.

[2] Canina, Pianta Topografica, fig. xlv.

[3] Ibid. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1841. This doorway

that it is possible, though improbable, that the Temple of Saturn may have been enlarged at a later period, so as to block up this entrance to the Tabularium.

Several later restorations of the Temple of Saturn are recorded. Gellius the Annalist mentions one in the military tribuneship of L. Furius. As there were several military tribunes of this name, the date cannot be determined.[1] In the reign of Augustus it was again restored by Munatius Plancus,[2] and the present building appears to belong to a restoration of the time of the later Empire, after the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople and the public recognition of the Christian religion. There is, therefore, no mention of the god Saturnus or of the Emperor in the inscription. It was the only one of the old pagan temples rebuilt at that time, probably on account of its use as the public treasury. As early as the time of Valerius Publicola, B.C. 500, it was used as the State treasury and as repository-room for State documents.[3] The *Signa militaria* were also kept there, and the temple was under the control of the officers of the Exchequer, the Quæstors.[4] Up to the fifteenth century in the Middle Ages it had the name of the Mint (Cecha or Zecca), but was afterwards, by a mistake, called Concordia.[5] Some of the vaults which served as treasuries still exist under the basement.

The breadth of the basement of this temple, which was laid bare in 1820, is 72 feet, and the length about 130 feet. Part of it is now covered by the modern road leading up to the Piazza del Campidoglio from the Forum. The facing of travertine still remains on the front towards the arch of Septimius Severus, and openings for the narrow stairs which led up to the entrance can be seen between the two central columns. Six columns which compose the front and the next to these on each side are now standing. The shafts of the two side columns are of grey, and those of the front columns of red granite. The capitals of these columns, and also of the entablature, architrave, and frieze surmounting them, are of a late and debased Ionic style, and they have been pieced together in the last restoration of the temple with extraordinary negligence. Unequal spaces are left between the columns, and some are set upon plinths, while others are without them. One of the side columns has been so badly restored that the stones are misplaced, and consequently the diameter of the upper portion is the same as that of the lower. The restored carving on the inner frieze is of the roughest description, and a want of taste and a carelessness are apparent, which show that, whenever the temple was last restored, all regard to architectural beauty was entirely neglected, and the fragments were collected, hurriedly pieced together, and patched with the rudest imitation work.

Some steps led up from the Clivus Capitolinus just above the Temple of Saturn to a narrow passage, on the left of which was a row of small chambers called the Schola Xantha. Each of these was isolated from the rest, and had its separate entrance. Three of them were found entire in the first half of the sixteenth century with a great part of their ornamental fronts, consisting of marble facing with

Schola Xantha.

may have been the entrance by which the Vitellian soldiers entered the Capitol. (Tac. Hist. iii. 71.)

[1] Macrob. Sat. i. 8.

[2] Suet. Aug. 29; Grut. Inscr. 439, 8; Orell. 590.

[3] Plut. Publ. 12, Quæst. Rom. 42; Aur. Vict., Orig. Gent. Rom. 3; Tac. Ann. iii. 51; Suet. Jul. Cæs. 28, Oct. 94; Livy, xxxix. 4; Serv. Ad Georg. ii. 502.

[4] Livy, iii. 69.

[5] See Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 95, note.

Doric pilasters.[1] On the architrave were two inscriptions, which, with the marble facings, were removed soon after their discovery, but found again near the Arch of Titus. The originals have now disappeared entirely, but copies are preserved in Gruter's "Inscriptions" and in Marliani's "Topographia."[2] They record the restoration of the chamber by A. Licinius Troisius, the curator of the building; Bebryx, a freedman of Drusus; and A. Fabius Xanthus, who also placed there a brazen tablet, supported by a cornice and seven silver images of gods. The building is called Schola in the "Inscriptions," and it is stated that the chambers were used as offices for the secretaries, clerks, and heralds of the Curule Ædiles. The name Schola Xantha was taken from the spurious catalogue of buildings in the eighth region bearing the name of Sextus Rufus, and has no real authority except the mention of Xanthus's name in the inscriptions. A passage of Cicero, in which he speaks of the clerks of the Capitoline ascent, who kept the register of Roman burgesses, has been supposed to refer to these offices.[3]

Area of the Dii Consentes.

After their discovery in the sixteenth century, these chambers seem to have been used as graves during the plagues so frequent in those times. They have now been restored as far as possible, together with the terrace above them, which is called the area of the Dii Consentes.

This area filled up the corner which the bend of the Clivus Capitolinus here made; and along the two sides of it which lay under the Tabularium and the street forming the Clivus was a row of twelve recessed chambers standing behind a portico. Three of these, which stand parallel to the front of the Tabularium, and five others forming an obtuse angle with them, have been excavated; the remaining four are covered by the modern Via del Campidoglio. The height of each is about fifteen feet, the depth about ten feet, and the doorways are nearly as broad as the interior, but only nine feet high. The walls are chiefly built of brickwork, apparently of the second or third century, but the back wall, which supported the ascent to the Capitol, is of hard tufa stone. The interiors were faced with marble, traces of which are still left. In the year 1835 ten of the bases of the columns which supported the portico were found, and fragments of the entablature and architrave, containing part of an inscription. These have been now put together, and supplemented with modern restorations. Some of the ancient shafts of the columns were also found ornamented with a peculiar fluting, and also some of the semi-Corinthian capitals, bearing trophies, the helmets of which are of Phrygian style.

From the inscription[4] found on the architrave, it appears that Vettius Prætextatus, a prefect of the city in A.D. 367, restored the statues of the Dii Consentes which had stood here from ancient times. Varro mentions the twelve gilded statues of the Gods of the Council as near the Forum, and also speaks of their temple.[5] The portico and chambers, however, of which we are speaking cannot have been a temple, but were plainly clerks' offices, similar to those in the Schola Xantha below, and we must

[1] Marliani, lib. ii. c. 10, in Grævius, Thes. iii. p. 90.

[2] Ibid. loc. cit. See Note A at the end of this chapter.

[3] Cic. Phil. ii. 7.

[4] See Note B at the end of this chapter.

[5] Varro, R. R. i. 1, 4, "ad Forum;" Livy, xliv. 16, "ad Vortumni signum;" Varro, L. L. viii. 70, 71. The Dii Consentes formed the Senate of Heaven (Seneca, N. Q. ii. 42), and were Juno, Vesta, Ceres, Diana, Minerva, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo. Varro says that the form "Consentum" was usual in his time, while in the inscription "Consentium" is written.

suppose that the statues of the twelve gods were placed in the portico, one opposite to each office.

Vettius Prætextatus was noted for his opposition to the Christian religion, and for his zeal in restoring the ancient heathen *cultus*. He held several ecclesiastical offices, and the Proconsulship of Achaia under Julian, and probably recommended himself to that Emperor by his attachment to heathenism.[1]

Porta Stercoraria.

In the neighbourhood of the portico of the Dii Consentes there was a narrow alley, at the end of which was a place for the reception of the dirt which was annually, on the 15th of June, swept out of the Temple of Vesta. The receptacle was closed by a door called the Porta Stercoraria.[2]

Tabularium.

The Tabularium, or public record office, is joined by Virgil with the Forum,[3] and seems to have more connexion with it than with the Capitoline Hill, and therefore, although strictly speaking the Tabularium stood on the Capitol, it will be convenient to describe it as forming a part of the north-western end of the Forum. There are no very distinct traces of a public record office having existed before B.C. 83 on the spot where the Palace of the Senator now stands. Cicero speaks in several places of the burning of a record office, but gives no clue to the situation of it.[4] Polybius and Livy mention Tabularia in the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, the Hall of Liberty, the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, and especially in the Temple of Saturn.[5] There was doubtless a Tabularium in most of the large public buildings and temples at Rome. In B.C. 83, at Sulla's return to Rome, the Capitol was much injured by fire,[6] and had to be rebuilt. At the same time, L. Lutatius Catulus undertook the erection of a public record office, under a decree of the Senate, and two inscriptions recording its dedication in the year of his consulate, B.C. 78, are still preserved.[7] A record of its having been repaired by the Emperor Claudius is preserved in an inscription copied by the author of the Einsiedlen MS., and also printed in Gruter's "Inscriptions."[8]

When the Capitol was burnt by the Vitellian soldiers in A.D. 70, the Tabularium probably suffered considerably, for Suetonius mentions the care which Vespasian took to have copies of the contents of 3,000 bronze tablets, which had been destroyed, procured from various quarters and replaced.[9] In the thirteenth century the very name of the building had been forgotten; and the Palace of the Senator was erected over it, to which Boniface IX. in 1389 added the tower and fortifications. In the time of Nicholas V. it was used as a salt warehouse, and the stone suffered much corrosion from the stores of salt kept there. The old corridor is now put to a worthier use—that of preserving the fragments of the entablatures of the Temples of Vespasian and Concord, which have been most ingeniously fitted together by Canina. Only the lower part of the building is now preserved underneath the Palace of the Senator. A considerable part of the side towards the Forum, measuring about 220 feet in breadth and 50 feet in height, is still standing,

[1] Amm. Marc. xxii. 7, xxvii. 9; Zosimus, iv. 3; Grut. Insc. 1602, 1603.

[2] Varro, L. L. vi. § 32; Festus, p. 344; Paul. Diac. 259.

[3] Georg. ii. 502: "Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia."

[4] Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. 30; Pro Rabir. 3.

[5] Polyb. iii. 26; Livy, xliii. 16, iii. 55.

[6] Dion Cass. Frag. 106, 3, Bekker.

[7] See the Inscriptions in Gruter, Insc. p. clxx. 6; Nardini, in Græv. Thes. iv. p. 1219, iii. p. 77.

[8] Anon. Einsied. in Mabillon Vet. An. vol. iv. p. 506; Gruter, p. ccxxxvii. 8.

[9] Tac. Hist. iii. 71; Suet. Vesp. 8.

and forms one of the most interesting ruins of Rome, being one of the very few relics of the Republican times. The large entrance in the Via del Campidoglio was opened in the Middle Ages, probably in the place of a smaller door, and as the wall has been cut through for this purpose, the structure of the building can be best observed here. On the inner side red tufa has been used, and on the outer grey peperino, and the method of construction is the same as in the Servian walls, the blocks being laid alternately lengthwise and crosswise with the greatest regularity. A great mass of masonry of this kind, without cement, forms the substruction of the building. Above it runs along the front an arcade, the arches of which were formerly open towards the Forum, and which served as a passage from one summit of the Capitol to the other. A pavement of basaltic lava has been discovered in this, showing that it was probably a public passage. Nicolas V. walled up these arches, and used the building as a fortress, and it has not been found safe to remove the masonry from them on account of the great superincumbent weight of buildings. The architecture is Doric, and the capitals and cornice are of a different stone (travertine) from the rest of the building. It is probable, though not certain, that a second open arcade surmounted the one now remaining.[1] Towards the Carcer the end of the arcade has been destroyed. The foundations of two more arches were discovered in this direction in 1851, under the Via di S. Pietro in Carcere.[2]

The ground-plan of the whole building was in the shape of a trapezium, the longest side of which faced the Forum. The principal entrance lay probably towards the hill, but there were also other entrances from the corridor, at the east end of which a ruined staircase still remains, leading into a large vaulted chamber. Some steps also led from the back of the Temple of Vespasian under the corridor into the inner part of the building to some large chambers.

In the Tabularium were preserved not only decrees of the Senate and State treaties and public deeds, but also records of private transactions. These were cut upon wooden or bronze tablets, the number of which in the later times of the Republic and the early Empire must have become enormous.

Near to the Temple of Saturn, on the south-western side of the Forum, ran the Vicus Jugarius, which led round the foot of the Capitol to the Porta Carmentalis.[3] Between the Vicus Jugarius, where it entered the Forum, and the Vicus Tuscus, which entered the Forum further towards its south-eastern end, stood the Basilica Sempronia. Livy gives a very clear description of its position. He says that in B.C. 169 Titus Sempronius, one of the Censors, employed a large sum of money, placed in his hands by the Quæstors, in buying the house of P. Africanus behind the Old Shops near the statue of Vertumnus, and the butchers' stalls and shops which adjoined it, and caused a basilica to be erected, which was afterwards called the Basilica Sempronia.[4] Now the statue of Vertumnus stood in the Tuscan Street, within sight of the Forum,[5] and the position of the Old Shops on the south-western side is well ascertained.[6] As the new basilica stood behind these, it

The South-western Side.

Vicus Jugarius.

Basilica Sempronia.

[1] Du Perac. Vest. dell' Ant. di Rom. tav. 1.
[2] *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxiii. p. 268.
[3] Livy, xxxv. 21; Fest. p. 290; Livy, xxvii. 37.
[4] Livy, xliv. 16.
[5] Asc. in Cic. Verr. i. 59; Propert. iv. 2.
[6] Cic. Acad. ii. 22, § 70, fixes the position of the Veteres Tabernæ on the south side of the Forum. See above, notes on p. 90.

must have adjoined the Forum, and probably covered a part of the ground afterwards occupied by the Basilica Julia. Accordingly we find no further notice of this building after the erection of the Basilica Julia.

At the entrance of the Vicus Jugarius into the Forum was the Servilian Well (Lacus Servilius), on the spot where M. Agrippa afterwards placed the statue of a Hydra.[1] There was possibly a tribunal usually placed near it, for we find that during the proscriptions of Sylla; the proscribed senators were killed here,[2] and their heads exhibited; whence Seneca calls it the "Spoliarium proscriptionis Sullanæ."[3] *Lacus Servilius.*

COLUMN OF PHOCAS AND TEMPLE OF SATURN.

Capitoline Hill, South-west Height. *Area of Dii Consentes.* *Tabularium.* *Temple of Vespasian.*
Column of Phocas.

This was probably the *lacus* spoken of by Plautus in the "Curculio," as the place where audacious and malignant characters were to be found, for he places it next to the Old Shops.[4]

The Lacus Curtius was probably in the middle of the Forum, and was marked by a *puteal* or well-mouth, surrounded by a low circular wall.[5] Two of the legends relating to

[1] Festus, p. 290.
[2] Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. xxxii. 89.
[3] Seneca, De Prov. iii. 7.
[4] Plaut. Curc. iv. 1.
[5] Suet. Aug. 57.

this *lacus* have already been alluded to,[1] and a third is spoken of by Varro, to the effect that the place was struck with lightning, and consecrated by the Consul Curtius in B.C. 446. A fig-tree, a vine, and an olive, are also mentioned by Pliny as having grown there, and an altar stood there.[2]

Lacus Curtius.

Next to the Basilica Sempronia, and between it and the Temple of Vesta, on the south-western side of the Forum, was the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The site is sufficiently determined. Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Martial, and Dionysius place it near the fountain of Juturna (where the twin brothers made their horses drink after the battle of the Lake Regillus) and the Temple of Vesta;[3] and Suetonius relates that Caligula broke a passage through the back of the *cella* of this temple, and made it communicate with the palace on the northern angle of the Palatine, and used to show himself to the Senate between the statues of the twin gods.[4] The temple was first begun in B.C. 494, by the Dictator Aulus Postumius, who vowed it at the battle of the Lake Regillus in the Latin war, and was dedicated by his son in B.C. 484.[5] Two restorations are mentioned; the first by L. Metellus Dalmaticus, Consul in B.C. 119,[6] the second by Drusus and Tiberius in A.D. 6.[7] Verres, among the other iniquitous proceedings with which he is charged by Cicero, is said to have cheated a minor, P. Junius, who was chargeable with the repairs of this temple, by estimating the dilapidations at an extravagant price;[8] and it appears from Cicero's account of the temple that it was small in his time, for the expense of repairs is estimated by him as very trifling. The Temple of Castor was frequently used for meetings of the Senate, and also for holding courts of law, and harangues were also delivered from its steps to the people in the Forum.[9] Money was also deposited here, as in most other temples,[10] and a register kept of the changes in the value of the Roman coinage, which were so frequent during the sixth and seventh centuries of the city.[11] In the time of Plautus the most notorious money-lenders' offices were at the back of this temple.[12]

Temple of Castor.

Since the time when the excavations on the south-west side of the Forum were carried beyond the Basilica Julia, and laid bare the foundations of the temple to which the three Corinthian columns still standing belong, little doubt has been felt among antiquarians that the columns appertained to the Temple of Castor. The substructions of this temple are separated from the Basilica Julia by the breadth of a street only, and there is no room for another building between them. As the *Monumentum Ancyranum*[13] places the Basilica Julia between the Temple of Saturn and the Temple of Castor, and the sites of the two first are sufficiently determined, there can be no doubt about the identity of the last with the temple whose substructions lie south-east of the Basilica. This situation agrees perfectly

[1] Chap. ii. p. 21.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. 148; Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 18, 20; Ov. Fast. vi. 397.

[3] Ov. Fast. i. 707; Val. Max. i. 8, 1; Dionys. vi. 13; Plut. Cor. 3; Mart. i. 70, 3. The legend shows the early influence of Greece on Roman history. Compare Cic. De Nat. Deor. ii. 2; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 457.

[4] Suet. Cal. 22; Dion Cass. lix. 28, lx. 6.

[5] Livy, ii. 20, 42.

[6] Cic. Pro Scaur. 46. Scaurus's father married Cæcilia, daughter of L. Metellus Dalmaticus. Cic. in Verr. i. 59

[7] Ov. Fast. i. 705; Pont. ii. 2, 85; Dion Cass. lv. 8, 27; Suet. Tib. 20.

[8] Cic. in Verr. i. 49, seqq.

[9] Ibid. i. 49, § 129; Dion Cass. xxxviii. 6; Cic. Pro Sest. 15, Pro Dom. 21; Gibbon, ch. vii. The election of the Gordians took place here by a "Senatus consultum tacitum." (Jul. Cap. Gord. 12.)

[10] Juv. xiv. 260.

[11] Cic. Pro Quint. 4.

[12] Plaut. Curc. iv. 1, 20.

[13] Monum. Ancyr. tab. iv. ed. Zumpt.

with the passages previously quoted, which place the Temple of Castor near the fountain of Juturna and the Temple of Vesta. On the three sides of the substructions which have been hitherto excavated (the eastern still remaining buried) is found the usual poly-

TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

gonal basaltic pavement. The pavement in front belonged to the part of the Forum called Sub Veteribus, and the street at the back was probably the Via Nova.[1]

[1] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 141, makes the Nova Via enter the Forum here. He perhaps strains the words of Ovid, "qua Nova Romano nunc Via juncta foro est," in order to extract this interpretation. See above, chap. vi. p. 79.

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The height of the basement upon which the temple stood was considerable,[1] and the flight of steps which led up to it, a part of which is still visible, afforded a convenient place for the delivery of harangues (*conciones*) to the crowds in the Forum. Bibulus, when he tried to oppose Cæsar, who was speaking here, was thrown down the steps by the mob, and escaped with difficulty. On account of the height to which the basement of the temple was raised, it commanded the Forum, and was frequently occupied by troops or bodies of insurgents during the Gracchian and Clodian riots. Its position, nearly opposite to the Comitium and Senate House, made it a favourite place from which to annoy the senators. Cicero, in several places, mentions the attacks of Clodius's mob directed against this temple, which they occupied, and tried to convert into a fortress by pulling down the steps.[2]

The length and breadth of the basement were also very considerable, the former measuring about sixty-five and the latter thirty-five yards. The sides of the basement are built of hard tufa and travertine, and were faced with marble and supported with buttresses. The three columns now standing belonged to the central part of the south-eastern side. They are of the most elegant shape conceivable, and the capitals, architrave, and frieze which surmount them are ornamented with decorations of the very best period of Græco-Roman architecture. The work on the entablature is most delicate and perfect, even in the parts which are not easily seen, and well repays a minute examination with a glass. The designs of the cornice and corbels are very chaste,[3] and besides the usual ornamentation there is along the upper edge a row of beautiful lions' heads, through which the rain-water ran off.

Temple of Vesta.

On the south-west side of the Temple of Castor, after the reign of Domitian, stood the Temple of Minerva, which, as belonging to the later Forum, will be mentioned below. Its site, in the times of the Republic, was probably occupied by private buildings. In the corner of the Forum, where the Sacred Way entered by the Arch of Fabius, stood, as has been before mentioned,[4] the Temple of Vesta and the Regia. The neighbourhood of the Temple of Vesta to that of Castor has been already shown. A further proof that this was the site of the buildings dedicated to Vesta is, that in the sixteenth century, as recorded by Andreas Fulvius and Lucius Faunus,[5] near the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice (formerly called S. Silvestro in Lago, with reference to the Lacus Juturnæ,) twelve gravestones, with inscriptions showing them to have been placed on the graves of Vestal virgins, were discovered. It was near the same spot that the fragments of the Fasti Capitolini, which contain a list of the Consuls, Dictators, Masters of the Horse, and Censors, engraved on marble slabs, were found. These are now preserved in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol. They appear, so far as can be discovered from their fragmentary state, to have contained a complete list of these State officers from the

[1] Twenty-three feet. Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 137.

[2] Dion Cass. xxxviii. 6; Cic. Pro Sest. 15, Pro Dom. 21; in C. Pison. 5, where Cicero calls it "arx civium perditorum, castellum forensis latrocinii;" and in Pro Sest. 39, "Captum erat forum æde Castoris tanquam arce aliqua a fugitivis occupata."

[3] Hirt remarks, however, that the cornice offends against the rule laid down by Vitruvius against the introduction of both modillions and dentelles (Vitruv. iv. 2).

[4] See p. 77.

[5] Andr. Fulv. Antiq. Urb. lib. iii. p. 96; Lucius Faunus, De Antiq. Urb. Rom. lib. ii. cap. ix. Venet. 1549.

foundation of the city to the time of the death of Augustus.[1] That these Fasti were kept in the Regia is not clearly ascertained, but has been thought probable.[2] If this were so, it would furnish another proof of the position of the Regia and the Temple of Vesta here. Search was made again in 1816 and 1817 and 1853 for the remaining fragments of the Fasti, but without much success.[3]

The Temple of Vesta was a round building, and was built, according to the Roman antiquarians, in this shape by Numa, in imitation of the spherical shape of the earth, which Vesta was supposed to personify.[4] The round form of construction was also the most natural form for the altar of Vesta as the hearth of the community, and was peculiarly Italian. The Temple of Vesta was not an inaugurated spot, though it was of course consecrated; and it appears that it could not, therefore, be called strictly a Templum, and that decrees of the Senate could not be legally passed in it. This curious distinction between a Templum and an Ædes is preserved by Gellius among other directions given by Varro to Cn. Pompeius, for the avoiding of informality in holding meetings of the Senate, curiously illustrating the network of superstitious forms and ceremonies which the Roman ecclesiastical aristocracy used when they wished to impede obnoxious measures.[5]

The exact position of the Regia, which was also called the Atrium Regium, the Atrium Vestæ,[6] or the Regia Numæ, with respect to the Temple of Vesta is not very clear. Prof. Reber places it in front of the temple, because the Regia and not the temple itself is generally mentioned as standing on the Sacra Via; and Becker comes to the same conclusion, from the fact that when the Atrium Regium was burnt in the fire of B.C. 210, which spread from the end of the Forum under the Capitol, the Temple remained uninjured.[7] Now the Regia could not have been between the Temple of Vesta and that of Castor, or it would be mentioned instead of the temple in the passages which speak of the two temples as adjoining,[8] and it must, therefore, have been in front in order to have caught fire when the Forum was burnt. That the Regia or some part of it lay in the Forum is shown by the account of the burning of Cæsar's body by the mob, who, when prevented from taking it into the Temple on the Capitol, are said by Appian to have carried it again to the part of the Forum near the Regia, where they burnt it.[9] Two statues, said to have formerly served as supports of the tent of Alexander the Great, stood in front of the Regia in Pliny's time.[10] It has been shown above that the Regia was the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, who had the control of the College of Vestals,[11] and that the house of the Vestal virgins was close to the Regia until Augustus gave up the Regia itself for their use.[12] In the great fire of Nero, A.D. 65, both the Regia and the Temple of Vesta were burnt.[13] The name of Atrium seems to have been given to the Regia because it stood to the Temple of Vesta and

Regia.

[1] See Fea, Frammenti di Fasti, p. 12: Roma, 1820.
[2] See Reber, p. 135.
[3] *Annali dell' Inst.* 1853, pp. 227—250.
[4] Festus, p. 262; Ov. Fasti, vi. 265; Plut. Num. 11.
[5] Gell. xiv. 7. [6] Ov. Fasti, vi. 264.
[7] Livy, xxvi. 27; xxvii. 11.
[8] Mart. i. 70, 3; Dionys. vi. 13.
[9] App. Bell. Civ. ii. 148. See also Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 363.
[10] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 8, 18, § 48.
[11] See above, p. 78. [12] Dion Cass. liv. 27.
[13] Tac. Ann. xv. 41. The first burning of the Regia of which we have any account was in B.C. 210 (see note [1]). Yet Roman historians have frequently assumed that it was burnt in the Gallic conflagration, and that the Annales Maximi kept in it were destroyed at that time. See Lewis, Credibility of Early Roman History, vol. i. p. 158.

the House of the Vestals in the same relation as the *atrium* or entrance hall to the inner parts of a private house, or because it formed the front court of the ancient palace of the kings. There was another building forming a part of the Regia called the Sacrarium, in which the sacred spears of Mars were kept, and where the Goddess Ops Consiva, the wife of Saturn, was worshipped. It was probably a small chapel attached to the Regia.[1]

Sacrarium.

The south-eastern end of the Forum was narrowed by the convergence of the sides to a breadth of about thirty-five yards, and therefore it afforded but little room for public buildings. The Sacra Via, as has been mentioned above, entered it at the south-western corner, and passed under the Arch of Fabius, near the Regia.[2] The passage of Cicero quoted above[3] probably means that this arch stood over the Sacred Way. But still Cicero need not be supposed to indicate by the words "ad Fabium fornicem" anything more definite than the corner of the Forum near the Arch of Fabius, where the crowd pressing out of the Forum would naturally converge. Another passage of Cicero is more to the point, where he speaks of descending into the Forum through the Arch of Fabius, for this would imply that it stood on the Sacra Via, which formed the usual approach to the Forum at this end. De Rossi, in an able paper in the Roman *Archæological Journal*, concludes that upon the whole the evidence is in favour of placing the site of Fabius's Arch in the corner of the Forum near the Temple of Vesta and the Regia.[4] One of the scholiasts on Cicero also places the Fabian Arch at the place where after passing the Temple of Castor the Sacra Via was first reached.[5] The Fabian Arch was erected by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, Consul in B.C. 121, from the spoils of the Allobroges and Arverni.[6] The victory then won completed the subjection of Southern Gaul to the Romans. It was restored by his grandson, who erected statues in front of it, one of himself, and two in honour respectively of Q. Æmilius Paullus and Scipio Africanus.[7] A number of other statues of the Fabii stood upon it.

The South-eastern End.

Arch of Fabius.

It only remains to notice some objects on the area of the Forum, or on the surrounding buildings, of which no mention has been made above.

A pillar at the corner of one of the arcades containing shops was called the Pila Horatia, in memory of the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii in the Alban war. Upon it, according to Dionysius, had been fixed the armour taken by the surviving Horatius from the vanquished Curiatii.[8] The word *pila* may either mean the column of the arcade upon which the armour was fixed, or the weapons themselves, and the Latin writers seem to understand it as referring to the latter,[9] while Dionysius translates it by στυλίς. It is most probable that the ambiguity of the expression was intentional, for on

Pila Horatia.

[1] Varro, L. L. vi. § 21 ; Gell. iv. 6 ; Festus, p. 186.

[2] The Arch of Fabius is placed opposite the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina by the ancient Italian topographers, but none of them say whether it was on the north or south side of the Forum. (Marliano, p. 42.) It was built of travertine.

[3] Cic. Pro Planc. 7, § 17. See above, p. 78. Mommsen thinks that Cic. Cont. Vat. ii. 28, alludes to the Fabian arch (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxx. p. 176). In this paper, among other speculations, Mommsen suggests that the Arch of Fabius may have extended across the Forum so as to block it up. This seems impossible.

[4] Cic. De Or. ii. 66 ; *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxxi. p. 324.

[5] Schol. ad Cic. in Verr. i. 7, ed. Gronov. pp. 393, 399.

[6] Ibid. i. 7 ; Livy, Ep. lvi. ; Vel. Pat. ii. 10 ; Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 50 ; Juv. Sat. viii. 13 ; Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 169.

[7] Smetius, Inscr. ii. 17 ; Gruter, 184, 4 ; *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxxi. p. 313 ; Schol. ad Cic. in Verr. 7, 19, ed. Orell. 393.

[8] Dionys. iii. 22.

[9] See Livy, i. 26 ; Propert. iii. 3, 7.

the one hand the columns of the arcades in the Forum were certainly called Pilæ,[1] and on the other the words *pila* and *spolia* are joined by Livy as if referring to the same thing.

Statues.

Besides the statues already mentioned as standing on the Comitium and near the Rostra,[2] Cicero mentions a gilt statue of L. Antonius, brother of the Triumvir, and an equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus, the conqueror of the Hernici, both of which were in front of the Temple of Castor.[3] A statue of Marsyas, the presumptuous rival of Apollo, stood near the Rostra, and was a common place of rendezvous for advocates and other public characters;[4] and a statue of Curtius, crowned with oak, is mentioned by Statius as placed near the Lacus Curtius.[5]

Jani.

Three or more *jani* stood at various points along the north-east side of the Forum. Becker supposes that these were similar to the Janus Quadrifrons, which still stands in the Forum Boarium, constructed of four archways, joined in a square, with an *attica* or a chamber above them. He thinks that the bankers spoken of by Horace and Cicero as having their offices in the *jani*, transacted business partly in these chambers, and partly below under the archways.[6] Domitian erected so many *jani* with *quadrigæ* and triumphal insignia upon them, that a wag at last wrote upon one of the new arches, *ἀρκεῖ*.[7]

One of these arches is said by the scholiast on Horace to have stood in front of the Basilica Æmilia, and the foundations of an arch which Labacco mentions as having been found between S. Adriano and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina may have belonged to the Janus Medius.[8] Plautus, however, it must be observed, places the offices of the financiers and money-lenders on the south side, near the Old Shops.[9] There may of course have been some of these offices on both sides.

Canalis.

Down the middle of the area of the Forum ran a gutter (*canalis*) to carry off the water, and Plautus points out this gutter as the place where persons who wished to advertise themselves used to walk. It appears to have been a custom at Rome for those experts who were willing to be consulted and to give advice in matters of business or law to walk up and down in the Forum. The men of established character and self-respect did not show themselves in the middle, but paced up and down at the lower end, while the empty-headed coxcombs paraded by the side of the gutter in the centre, where all could see them.[10] Here also were to be found the mudlarkers of Rome (*canalicolæ*), who picked up the scraps thrown into the gutter.[11]

Solaria.

It has been already mentioned that in the early times of Rome the hour of noon was proclaimed by the Consul's marshal from the front of the Curia when he could see the sun between the Græcostasis and Rostra, and the hour of sunset when the sun was sinking and had passed the Columna Mænia towards the Carcer.[12] This barbarous method of measuring time was first improved upon by the dial erected near

[1] Catull. xxxvii. 2; Hor. Sat. i. 4, 71.
[2] See above, pp. 82, 83.
[3] Cic. Phil. vi. 5; Livy, ix. 43; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 6.
[4] Hor. Sat. i. 6, 120; Juv. Sat. ix. 2; Serv. Ad Æn. iv. 58; Mart. ii. 64, 7; Senec. De Ben. vi. 32; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 3.
[5] Stat. Silv. i. 1, 70.
[6] Hor. Ep. i. 1, 54; Sat. ii. 3, 18; Cic. De Off. ii. 25, § 90; Phil. vi. 5, § 15.
[7] Suet. Dom. 13. [8] Canina, Indicazione, p. 245.
[9] Plaut. Curc. iv. 1.
[10] Cic. De Orat. iii. 33; Plaut. loc. cit.
[11] Paul. Diac. p. 45; Tertull. De Pall. 5.
[12] See above, page 89, and compare the Laws of the Twelve Tables, Tab. i. lines 6, 7, 8.

the Temple of Quirinus by Papirius Cursor, twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus B.C. 292, and about that time the Greek hours probably came into use at Rome.[1] There were two sun-dials in the Forum, one upon the Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia,[2] and another upon a column behind the Rostra. The latter had been brought from Catana in Sicily, after the capture of that town in the Second Punic War, by M. Valerius Messalla, B.C. 263. This dial being intended for the latitude of Catana, measured the time at Rome very incorrectly; but, notwithstanding this, the Roman public were contented with it for ninety-nine years, until Q. Marcius Philippus, in his Censorship in B.C. 164, put up another more carefully drawn by the side of it, a service most gratefully appreciated by his fellow-citizens. For five years longer, however, the hour could not be told on a cloudy day. Scipio Nasica, Censor with M. Popillius Lænas in B.C. 159, first erected a waterclock under a roof, and divided the hours equally between day and night.[3] The ancient Roman sun-dials were of various designs, some of which are described by Vitruvius.[4] That upon the Basilica Æmilia was probably drawn upon a plane surface (*discus in planitie*), while that near the Rostra was drawn upon a concave spherical surface.

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 60.
[2] Varro, L. L. vi. § 4.
[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 60.
[4] Vitruv. ix. 8.

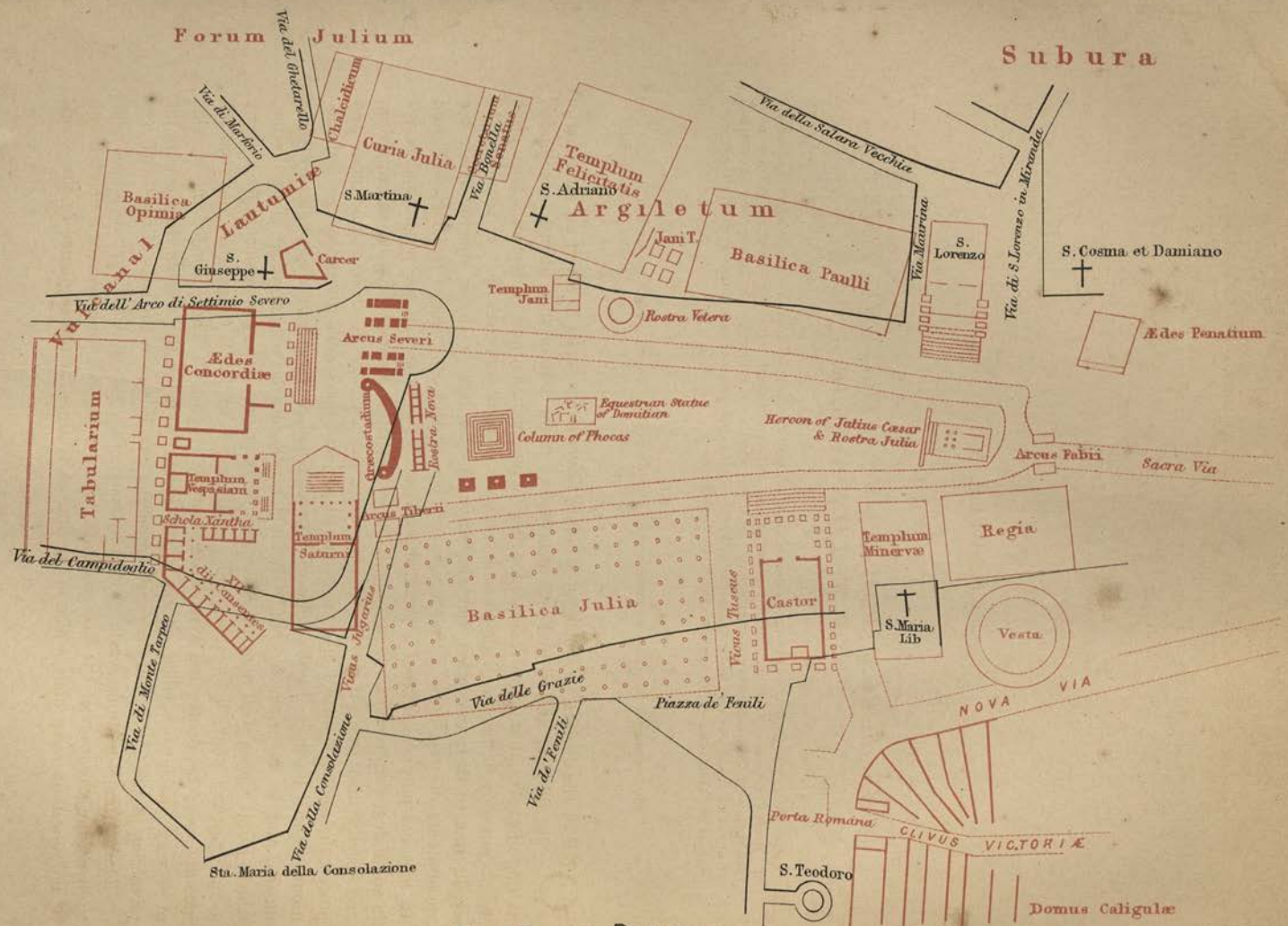
NOTE A, p. 96.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ARCHITRAVE OF THE SCHOLA XANTHA.

C. AVILIUS LICINIUS TROISIUS CURATOR SCHOLAM DE SUO FECIT. BEBRYX. AUG. L. DRUSIANUS A. FABIUS XANTHUS CUR. SCRIBIS LIBRARIIS ET PRAECONIBUS AED. CUR. SCHOLAM AB INCHOATO REFECERUNT MARMORIBUS ORNAVERUNT VICTORIAM AUGUSTAM ET SEDES AENEAS ET CETERA ORNAMENTA DE SUA PECUNIA FECERUNT.

BEBRYX. AUG. L. DRUSIANUS A. FABIUS XANTHUS CUR. IMAGINES ARGENTEAS DEORUM SEPTEM POST DEDICATIONEM SCHOLAE ET MUTULOS CUM TABELLA AENEA DE SUA PECUNIA DEDERUNT.

NOTE B, p. 96.—INSCRIPTION ON THE AREA OF THE DII CONSENTES, AS RESTORED BY CANINA.

DEUM CONSENTIUM SACROSANCTA SIMULACRA CUM OMNI LO . . . NE CULTU INI . . . VETTIUS PRAETEXTATUS V. C. PRAE. URBI CURANTE LONGEIO CONSUL.



THE FORUM ROMANUM
AFTER THE TIME OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

Ch. VI. Part II.

Edwd Weller, lith.

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CHAPTER VI.

PART II.

THE FORUM ROMANUM AFTER THE TIME OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

TEMPLUM FELICITATIS—CURIA JULIA—CHALCIDICUM—SECRETARIUM SENATUS—ROSTRA NOVA, OR JULIA—HEROON OF JULIUS CÆSAR—BASILICA PAULLI—TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA—BASILICA JULIA—THREE PEDESTALS—ARCH OF TIBERIUS—COLUMN OF PHOCAS—TEMPLE OF MINERVA—TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN—ARCH OF SEVERUS—GRÆCOSTADIUM—MILLIARIUM AUREUM—ROSTRA OF THE LATER EMPIRE—CHAPEL OF FAUSTINA—ARCH OF AUGUSTUS—EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF DOMITIAN.

"Vix jam videtur locus esse qui tantos acervos pecuniæ capiat. Augent, addunt, accumulant."
CIC. *Leg. Agr.* ii. 22.

ONE of the devices by which an absolute Government seeks to divert the attention of its subjects, and to make them acquiesce in the loss of their liberty, is the undertaking of great public improvements for their accommodation and enjoyment. Such great works not only flatter the national vanity, since every one conceives that he shares in the credit due to their execution, but also serve to obliterate or throw into the shade the monuments of past ages of freedom. A splendid and conspicuous building, dedicated to national purposes, makes a great impression on the masses of the people, and serves in some degree to reconcile them to political and social disabilities. Partly with this view, and partly also from the wish to perpetuate the memory of their magnificence and power, the earlier Roman Emperors began to project considerable alterations and enlargements of the Forum. In the time of Cicero, popularity was already sought by these means, and he mentions a grand scheme for relieving the overcrowding of the Forum, which Julius Cæsar had suggested and was beginning to make arrangements for as early as B.C. 54,[1] ten years before his death. The designs of Julius Cæsar were, however, left incomplete at his death, and were carried out by Augustus. They included the erection of a very spacious basilica on the south-western side of the Forum Romanum, the rebuilding of the Curia, and the construction of a new Forum at the back of the Curia.

The Forum Romanum was neglected by some of the subsequent Emperors, who wished to divert the attention of the Romans from the old historical reminiscences connected with it, and new Fora were built, which in the time of Hadrian, at the beginning of the second

[1] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 16.

century, far surpassed the old one in size and magnificence. But the Empire soon became so firmly established, that there seemed to be no danger in reviving the old associations by again drawing the eyes of the nation towards the Forum Romanum, and thus the buildings of the later Cæsars returned again to the Republican site. With what reverence the Romans still regarded this site, is shown by the fact that during the later Empire the Forum Romanum obtained the name of the Great Forum, and gave its name to the eighth Region, though far inferior in size and splendour to that of Trajan.[1] Before proceeding to the description of the Imperial Fora, we shall mention the later alterations made in the Forum Romanum, adopting the same topographical divisions as in the previous part of this chapter.

North-eastern Side, and South-eastern End.

Templum Felicitatis.

The first stroke which Julius Cæsar aimed at the memory of the old senatorial party was naturally directed against the Curia, which was the representative building of the Senate. He pulled down the Curia Hostilia, which had been restored by Sulla and his son Faustus, with the avowed intention of building a Temple of Felicitas upon the site, but in reality in order to abolish this monument of the hated name of Sylla, and to rebuild it under a different name. The proposed Temple of Felicitas was accordingly begun and finished by Lepidus, when Master of the Horse in B.C. 45, and stood upon the place of the Curia Hostilia. Whether it occupied the whole site or not is not known, as the only knowledge of this building we have is derived from one passage of Dion Cassius.[2]

The sittings of the Senate were thus removed from the Forum, and were held for some time in the Curia of Pompey, on the Campus Martius, and there Cæsar was murdered in the year after the erection of the Temple of Felicitas, after which the Curia of Pompey was closed, and never again used as a Senate-house. A pestilence, and other unusual calamities which happened in the next year, were ascribed to the destruction of the old Curia, and it was resolved to build a new one.[3] This was done by Augustus,[4] and the new building, called the Curia Julia, was placed on the Comitium,[5] to the north-west of the lately-finished Temple of Felicitas, and probably partly on the site of the Curia Hostilia.

Curia Julia.

That the new Curia was not exactly upon the site of the old is shown by a passage of Gellius, in which he states that it was necessary to inaugurate the ground upon which it stood, in order that the decrees of the Senate made in it might be legal; a ceremony which would not have been required if, as had been the case with the Curia of Sulla, it had been placed exactly upon the old site, which was already inaugurated.[6] It seems tolerably evident, from the excavations which have uncovered nearly the whole of the south-western side and the north-western end of the Forum, that the new Curia was not there; and as it was near the Comitium,[7] it could not be at the south-eastern end. We must therefore place it on the north-eastern side of the Forum; and as it is mentioned by many writers as

[1] Dion Cass. xliii. 22.

[2] Ibid. xliv. 5; Zonaras, x. 12; Cic. Philipp. xiii. 4.

[3] Dion Cass. xliv. 5, xlv. 17.

[4] Mon. Ancyr. ed. Zumpt; Dion Cass. li. 22.

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 4, 10, 27; Dion Cass. xlvii. 19.

[6] A. Gellius, xiv. 7, 7. Mommsen, *Ann. dell' Inst.* xvi. p. 304, places the Curia Julia at the Lacus Servilius, quoting Prop. (iv.) v. 4, 13. But Propertius' description is too vague to counterbalance the arguments adduced in the text.

[7] παρὰ τῷ κομιτίῳ, Dion Cass. xlvii. 19; "in comitio," Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 27.

standing near the Temple of Janus,[1] we may in all probability place it next to the Temple of Felicitas, and partly on the site of the old Curia, partly on that of the Basilica Porcia, which was burnt down in B.C. 54, and apparently never restored.[2] Some topographers think that the Basilica Argentaria, mentioned in the list called the *Curiosum* as situated in the eighth Region, was the name of a restoration of the Porcian Basilica, but there is nothing to confirm this supposition.

THE FORUM ROMANUM, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOLINE HILL.

Porticus of the Dii Consentes. *Tabularium* *Column of Phocas.* *Ara Cœli.*
Temple of Saturn. *Temple of Vespasian.* *Arch of Septimius Severus.*
Floor of Julian Basilica.

Augustus placed a trophy of Egyptian spoils and an altar and statue of Victory in the Curia Julia. The statue was brought from Tarentum, and was therefore probably the work of a Greek artist,[3] and was highly venerated by the Emperor, for at his death this statue was carried in his funeral procession.[4] The altar afterwards became famous on account of the disputes in the time of Valentinian II. and Theodosius, between Ambrose

[1] Dion Cass. lxxiii. 13 ; Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 25 ; Jul. Cap. Pert. 4 ; Orell. Inscr. 28.
[2] Asc. Introd. to Cic. Pro Mil. p. 34 ; Orell.
[3] Dion Cass. li. 22 ; Claud. de VI. Cons. Hon 597.
[4] Suet. Aug. 100.

and Symmachus, about the restoration of the worship of the heathen gods.[1] Heliogabalus, in his fanatical conceit, ordered a statue of himself to be placed over the head of the statue of Victory, in order that he might receive the adoration of the Senate, customary before they proceeded to vote.[2] The Curia therefore existed down to the later times of the Empire, and it is reasonable to believe that, had it stood upon the south-western side of the Forum, as Becker and Mommsen suppose, its foundations would have been discovered. It still remains to be seen whether they will be found when the north-eastern side of the Forum is disinterred. A fire in the reign of Titus destroyed the Curia Julia of Augustus, and it was rebuilt by Domitian.[3] That it had not been burnt in the Neronian fire, as Reber supposes, seems to be proved by the fact that Pliny the elder speaks of the pictures painted on its walls by Augustus as extant in his time.[4] The Temple of Felicitas had been destroyed by the Neronian fire, and this new Senate-house of Domitian may therefore have been built nearer to the old site of the Curia Hostilia. Other fires in the time of Carinus and Numerianus destroyed it again, and it was rebuilt by Diocletian and Maximian. The modern Church of S. Adriano occupies pretty nearly the spot on which these buildings stood.

Some further arguments are advanced by Urlichs[5] to support the opinion that the Curia Julia was in this part of the Forum. In the first place, after the death of Commodus a statue of Liberty was erected by the Senate in front of the Curia,[6] and the inscription probably belonging to this statue was found in the Church of S. Martina, which stands very near that of S. Adriano. Further, in two passages of Vopiscus[7] the Curia is called Pompiliana, an appellation evidently connected with the Temple of Janus, founded by Numa, which stood in this neighbourhood, may possibly have been identical with the Curia Julia or Pompiliana.[8] The Templum Fatale, a building which stood near the churches of S. Martina and S. Adriano in the Middle Ages. Lastly, the description of the eighth Region, which begins from the boundary of the fourth Region, and proceeds northwards along the edge of the Forum, mentions the Senatus—*i.e.* Domitian's Curia—in the third place, and therefore not far from the middle of the north-eastern side of the Forum.

Attached to the Curia Julia of Augustus was an annexe called the Chalcidicum,[9] the exact nature of which has occasioned a great deal of discussion. By some writers it has been identified with the Temple of Minerva on the south-western side of the Forum, because the chronologers mention a Minerva Chalcidica among Domitian's buildings.[10] But this idea was suggested by those topographers who place the Comitium and Curia Julia on the south side of the Forum, in order to support their peculiar views, and is directly contradicted by the Monumentum Ancyranum, which mentions the Chalcidicum as adjoining (*continens*) the Curia Julia.[11]

Chalcidicum.

A passage of Dion Cassius, where he mentions the Athenæum Chalcidicum apparently

[1] See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xxviii. init.; Prudent. lib. ii. init.; Lardner, Heathen Test. vol. iv. p. 372.

[2] Herodian, v. 5.

[3] Cassiod. Chron. t. ii. p. 197; Hieron. t. i. p. 443, where it is called "Senatus."

[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 4, 10. See also Suet. Tit. 11; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 14.

[5] *Memorie dell' Inst.* vol. ii. p. 81.

[6] Herodian, i. 14, 9.

[7] Vopisc. Aurel. 41, p. 222, E.; Tacit. 3, p. 227 B. See Amm. Marc. xiv. 6. "Pompiliana securitas."

[8] See p. 86, note [1].

[9] Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iv. ed. Zumpt.

[10] Euseb. Ol. 217; Cat. Imp. Vienn. t. ii. p. 243, Ronc.

[11] Mon. Ancyr. loc. cit.

as a separate building from the Curia Julia, is more difficult to explain. Urlichs supposes that there was a statue of Minerva in the Chalcidicum, and that it was identical with the Atrium Minervæ which is placed by the *Curiosum* next to the Curia Julia in the eighth Region.[1] If so, the words of Dion may refer to the Chalcidicum adjoining the Curia Julia, but it is quite possible that they refer to an entirely different building—the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine, or that near the Porta Capena.

A chalcidicum is explained by Vitruvius and the "Glossarium" of Isidorus to be a cloistered court attached as a wing to another building to increase its accommodation, and various inscriptions mention chalcidica both as annexes to other buildings and as separate buildings.[2] In the inscription upon the edifice at Pompeii called by the name of Eumachia, the name of Chalcidicum seems to be applied to the whole building, which is of the nature of a basilica, or exchange.[3] The name also occurs in connexion with a building at Capua, and hence it has been conjectured by Urlichs that the name is derived from the fact that this kind of building was introduced into Italy by the Chalcidic colonists of Cumæ in Campania. Urlichs further endeavours to show that the Chalcidicum of Augustus was an enclosed court with cloisters round it, standing on the left of the Curia Julia, nearly on the spot now occupied by the Church of S. Martina.[4]

Connected with the Chalcidicum is another building, the Secretarium Senatus, named on an inscription which once stood upon the apse of S. Martina's church and recorded the building of the Secretarium by Flavianus in A.D. 399, its destruction by fire (perhaps in the sack of the city by Alaric), and its restoration by Epifanius, Præfect of the city.[5] This Secretarium was perhaps an addition to the Chalcidicum or Curia, intended for the sittings of the council of five senators constituted after A.D. 376 to assist the Præfect of the city in legal business.[6] The place where the above inscription was found certainly affords additional reason for supposing that the Curia Julia stood in this locality, as the Secretarium Senatus would naturally be close to the Senate-house itself.

Secretarium Senatus.

Cæsar's intention to destroy the memory of the old oligarchy by changing the appearance of the Forum, was further carried out by the erection of new Rostra at the south-eastern end of the Forum.[7] He thus separated the Rostra from their former connexion with the Senate and Comitia, and indicated that henceforth appeal must be made to the public opinion of the masses, and not to the wishes of a privileged class. The new Rostra were made in the year of Cæsar's death, but the other alterations which he planned were not carried out till Augustus had established his imperial power. It does not appear why he chose the south-eastern end of the Forum, for previously in his disputes with Bibulus he had been accustomed to address the populace from the steps of the Temple of Castor on the south side of the

Rostra Nova or Julia.

[1] Dion Cass. li. 22. Bekker reads with Zumpt, τό τε Αθήναιον τὸ Χαλκιδικόν. The common reading is τότε Αθήναιον καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικόν. Reber supposes the Atrium Minervæ to be the north-west part of Nerva's Forum, the ruins of which are still visible in the Via della Croce Bianca. There is no proof of this given, and it must be taken as a mere conjecture.

[2] Vitruv. v. 1, 4; Gloss. Isidor. ap. Auct. Ling. Lat. ed. Gothofred. ii. 1622, App. p. 7; Orelli, Insc. 1303, 3287, &c.; Paul. Diac. p. 32.

[3] Dyer's Pompeii, p. 117.

[4] Nuove Memorie, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

[5] Gruter, Insc. clxx. 5.

[6] Urlichs, Nuove Memorie, loc. cit.

[7] Dion Cass. xliii. 49.

Forum.[1] Nor were the old Rostra destroyed, for Suetonius and Dion Cassius mention that after Augustus's death funeral orations were spoken both from the old and new Rostra.[2] The situation of the Julian Rostra is shown by the account given of the burning of Cæsar's body. Appian says that this was done near the Regia, where the temple and altar were afterwards erected to his memory, and Livy adds that it was in front of the Rostra.[3] Now this cannot refer to the old Rostra, which were not near the Regia, and Livy must therefore mean the Julian Rostra. Augustus, when he afterwards built the Heroon or small Temple of Cæsar on this spot, arranged that the steps of the temple should form the Rostra, and ornamented them with the beaks of the ships taken at Actium.[4] If the fact that the Heroon stood in front of the Regia did not sufficiently prove that it was at the south-eastern end of the Forum, a strong corroboration might be derived from the words of Ovid, who speaks of the deified Julius as surveying from his temple the Forum and the Capitol, and as a near neighbour of the twin brothers Castor and Pollux.[5] It may also be inferred from its neighbourhood to the Temple of Castor, that it stood not on the edge, but upon the open area of the Forum. The Heroon was built in the style called by Vitruvius Peripterus Pycnostylus, with six columns at each end, and eleven at each side, reckoning in those at the corners, having spaces between them equal to a diameter and a half of one of these columns.[6]

Heroon of Julius Cæsar.

An altar and a column of Numidian marble, twenty feet high, were erected at first on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt, but these seem to have been pulled down by Dolabella afterwards; for we find Cicero and Brutus mentioning their destruction in their letters, in one of which Brutus and Cassius ask M. Antonius whether it is safe for them to return to Rome, as they hear that it is proposed to restore the altar,—"An act which," they say, "can hardly be approved of by any one who wishes us to be safe and to retain the respect of the Romans." Sacrifices were offered, vows made, and oaths sworn for the decision of disputed matters at this Heroon for a long period after Cæsar's death.[7]

Returning from the Heroon of Cæsar, which we have mentioned in this place in order to combine in one view the alterations made by Julius Cæsar and Augustus in the group of buildings attached to the Curia, we have to consider the eastern half of the north-eastern side of the Forum. To the east of the spot where the modern Church of S. Adriano stands, a street opened out of the Forum, which led through the centre of Nerva's Forum. To the right of this street the buildings belonged to the fourth Region, named from the Via Sacra, and the most conspicuous of them was the Basilica Paulli, already mentioned, which, after its restoration by Augustus, was reckoned one of the finest buildings in Rome. It remained standing till the latest Imperial age, but no vestige of it has been brought to light in modern times, nor are any other public buildings known to have existed in this part of the Forum until we come to the extreme north-eastern corner.

Basilica Paulli.

[1] Dion Cass. xxxviii. 6.

[2] Suet. Aug. 100; Dion Cass. lvi. 34.

[3] App. B. C. ii. 148, iii. 2; Dion Cass. xliv. 51, xlvii. 18; Livy, Epit. cxvi. See also Frontinus, De Aquæd. § 129.

[4] Dion Cass. li. 19.

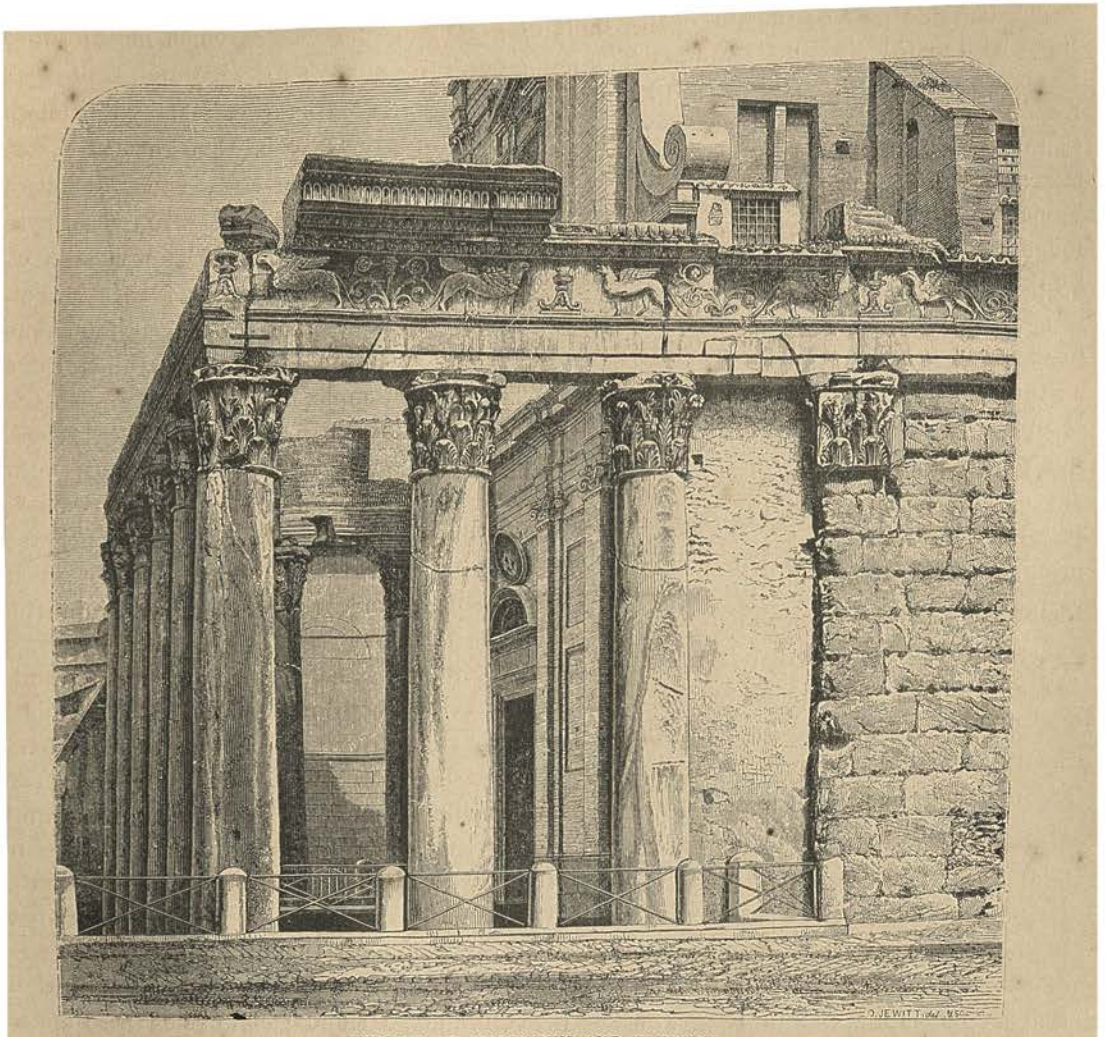
[5] Ov. Met. xv. 841; Ep. Pont. ii. 2, 83: "Fratribus assimilis quos proxima templa tenentes divus ab excelsa Julius æde videt."

[6] Vitruv. iii. 3.

[7] Suet. Cæs. 85; Cic. Phil. i. 2, Ad Att. xiv. 15, Ad Div. xi. 2.

At this corner stood the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the portico of which is still partially preserved, consisting of six magnificent columns of cipollino or Carystian marble,[1] with two columns and a pilaster, besides the corner column, on each side. The shafts of these columns are fifty-five feet high, and they are ornamented with Attic bases and Corinthian capitals of white marble. The

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.



TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.

remains of the steps leading up to the temple were excavated in 1813, and show that it must, when built, have stood at some height above the level of the Forum, although it is now a considerable depth (sixteen feet) below the level of the surrounding ground. Upon the plain architrave and frieze in the front of the temple the following inscription is cut :—

[1] The "undosa carystos" of Stat. Silv. i. 5, 34, from the wavy lines upon it, which resemble the ripple of water.

"DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX. S. C." It is evident, from the different size and appearance of the letters, that the first three words of this inscription were not cut at the same time as the latter part, and it is supposed that they were added after the death of the Emperor, the temple having been at first dedicated to Faustina alone. At the sides the frieze is ornamented with a bold and finely-executed relief, representing griffins, with upraised wings, between which elaborately-designed candelabra and vases are carved. A considerable part of the side-walls, built of grey peperino blocks, which were formerly faced with marble, is still standing. The name of Antoninus was deservedly held in great reverence to the latest times of the Empire, and afterwards may have preserved this temple from the destruction to which so many others fell a prey. It is also known that the temple was consecrated as the Church of S. Lorenzo at a very early epoch. Palladio states that there was an oblong court in front of this temple, in the centre of which the bronze equestrian statue of M. Aurelius, now standing in the Piazza del Campidoglio, was found.[1] This is, however, contradicted by the report of the excavators of 1813, and also by the most trustworthy account of the place where the equestrian statue was found,[2] and it is probable that Palladio mistook the foundations of the Heroon of Julius Cæsar, or of some other building, for a court in front of this temple.

The old Church of S. Lorenzo was pulled down in the first part of the sixteenth century, on occasion of the return of the Emperor Charles V. from Tunis, and a great quantity of valuable relics were then disinterred here. The church lay in ruins for half a century or more, and in 1602 the guild of the Apothecaries, to whom it belonged, restored it, and erected the present building, which forms a strange contrast in the meanness of its style and proportions to the massive grandeur of the grey old ruin which embraces it.[3]

Considerable difficulty has been found, notwithstanding the inscription, in determining the persons to whom this temple was dedicated: for both the elder and the younger Faustina died and were deified and had temples erected to them before their husbands the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.[4] But there are several arguments in favour of the common opinion that the temple was dedicated to Antoninus Pius and his Empress. In the first place, M. Aurelius would have been described by name more exactly, as is the case in an inscription given by Gruter.[5] It is also related that Heliogabalus appropriated the Temple of M. Aurelius,[6] and it would therefore either have been destroyed after his death, or, if it were preserved, would have retained some traces of his name. Further, a Temple of Antoninus (probably M. Aurelius) is mentioned by the *Curiosum*, in the ninth Region, where his column also stands. Nor does there appear to be anything to lead us to assign this temple to M. Aurelius, except the passage of Palladio above quoted, which is plainly a mistake. An inscription found near the spot, belonging to a votive tablet erected to M. Aurelius, may in all likelihood have been put up in his mother's temple, and is no proof of the existence of a temple here dedicated to himself.

[1] Palladio, Arch. vi. 9, 30; Ven. 1570.
[2] See Fea, Miscell. pp. lxii. 18.
[3] See Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 132.
[4] Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, 6; Ant. Phil. 26.
[5] Gruter, Inscr. p. 259.
[6] Hist. Aug.; Ant. Phil. 26.

On the south-western side of the Forum, between the Temple of Castor and the Vicus Jugarius, lay the Basilica Julia. The ground-plan of this basilica was laid bare

SITE OF BASILICA JULIA.

Coliseum.
Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

Arch of Titus. *Temple of Castor.*

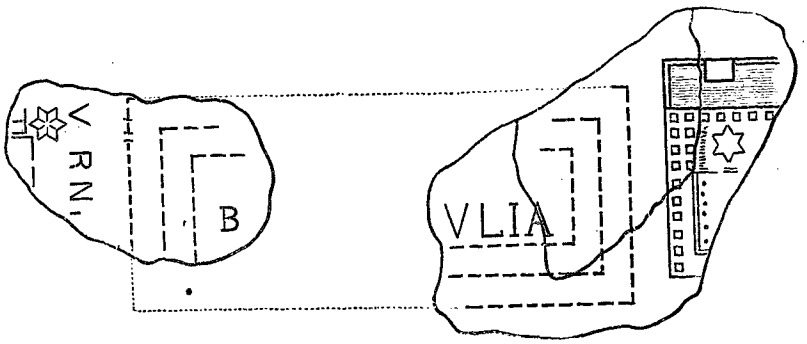
by a series of excavations from 1817 to 1849, and has, more than any other discovery, helped to determine the topography of the Forum Romanum. The front measures more than 300 feet in length, and has been entirely cleared, but the breadth is not ascertained, only 60 feet having been as yet uncovered. It may,

Basilica Julia.

however, be safely concluded that the longer side faced the Forum. The street in front of this building, a continuation of that which in the Imperial times ran in front of the Regia and Temple of Castor, has been also cleared, and is paved with basaltic lava, the travertine pavement of the Forum being separated from it by a slightly raised edge. The marble steps and the drain along the side of the street can be traced, and the brickwork bases of the columns are tolerably easy to distinguish, whence it may be seen that a flight of five or six steps formed the approach, and that the surrounding portico contained three rows of columns.

The pavement is wonderfully perfect, and is composed of angular pieces of red, yellow (*giallo antico*), and grey marble, arranged in regular rows. The preservation of these valuable marbles shows that they must have been buried beneath the ruins of the basilica before the times when the ancient buildings were plundered to build modern Rome.

The proofs that these ruins belong to the Basilica Julia are very strong, and amount almost to certainty. First, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*[1] places the Basilica Julia



FRAGMENTS OF THE CAPITOLINE PLAN.

between the Temple of Saturn and that of Castor; a description which, it will be seen, corresponds exactly to the spot occupied by the foundations in question. A second proof is derived from two inscriptions found during the excavations, one of which records the repair of the Basilica Julia, and the erection of a statue in it by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Præfect of the city in 377 A.D.;[2] and another the rebuilding of the Basilica Julia under Maximian, after the fire which destroyed it in the reign of Carinus and Numerian.[3] Besides these proofs, another has been drawn from two fragments of the Capitoline plan of the city, figured above, which answer pretty accurately to the ground-plan so far as discovered by the excavations, and represent the two ends of the basilica adjoining the Temples of Saturn and Castor. The combination of these two fragments is, however, rendered uncertain by a want of correspondence in size between the letters of the inscription upon them.[4]

[1] Zumpt, Monum. Ancyr. Tab. iv. line 12.
[2] Gruter's Inscr. clxxi. 7.
[3] Cat. Imp. Viena. Roncalli, vol. ii. p. 247.
[4] On the Capitoline plan see below, chap. viii. Note A.

Whether there was a semicircular apse at the south side of the basilica or not remains uncertain until the excavations are completed. A good deal of legal business was transacted here, as may be seen from the frequent mention of it in Pliny's Epistles.[1] There were four tribunals, and four trials could be carried on at the same time; but it does not follow from this that there must have been four apses in the building, nor are there any visible upon the fragments of the Capitoline plan.[2]

Of the history of this basilica little is known, except what can be learnt from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and the inscriptions found on the spot. A late authority places the dedication as early as B.C. 46, in the third consulship of Julius Cæsar, when he returned from Numidia, celebrated his four triumphs over Gaul, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Africa, gave the most magnificent entertainments to the Roman people, and dedicated the Forum Julium, the Temple of Venus, and this basilica.[3] The erection of these splendid buildings was a part of the policy by which he was endeavouring to inaugurate the new era of Imperialism at Rome; and the new basilica occupied the site of, and supplanted, a relic of the old oligarchical government, the Basilica Sempronia. Augustus completed the Basilica Julia, but it was afterwards, during his lifetime, burnt down, and then restored and enlarged by him, and dedicated in the names of his grandsons Caius and Lucius.[4] The inscriptions above quoted show that it was burnt down a second time about A.D. 283, and restored by Maximian, and that a third restoration took place under Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian in A.D. 377. One of Caligula's amusements, we are told by Suetonius, was to stand upon the roof of this basilica and throw money to the mob to scramble for in the Forum.[5]

In front of the Basilica Julia three large brick pedestals have been brought to light by the excavators, which, from the style of their masonry, are judged to belong to the time of Constantine, or at least to the later Imperial times. They are built strongly, as if to support heavy masses of stone, and fragments of enormous granite columns have been found near them. We can only conjecture that they served as the bases of dedicatory pillars similar to that of Phocas. *Three pedestals.*

The excavations have also uncovered the substructions of an ancient triumphal arch, which seems to have spanned the street in front of the Basilica Julia just at the point where the Vicus Jugarius and the street leading past the Temple of Saturn to the Clivus Capitolinus diverge. This arch has with much probability been identified with the arch mentioned by Tacitus[6] as having been erected B.C. 16, close to the Temple of Saturn, in honour of the recovery of the Roman standards lost by Varus, and retaken by Germanicus under the auspices of Tiberius. A representation of it is supposed to be given in a bas-relief upon the Arch of Constantine, showing the Rostra of the later Empire, with an arch at the side. *Arch of Tiberius.*

Close to the above-mentioned three pedestals which have lost their surmounting pillars, stands the Column of Phocas, a fluted shaft of white marble with a Corinthian capital. It is raised upon a pyramidal base with twelve steps, composed of fragments taken from other buildings, and has a marble pedestal, upon *Column of Phocas.*

[1] Plin. Ep. ii. 14, v. 9, vi. 33.
[2] Quint. Inst. Or. xii. 5, 6.
[3] Roncalli, Chron. vol. i. p. 399; Ol. 183, 5; Dion Cass. xliii. 22.
[4] Suet. Aug. 29; Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iv.
[5] Suet. Cal. 37.
[6] Tac. Ann. ii. 41.

which the inscription is cut, showing that it was erected by Smaragdus, proclaimed for the eleventh time Exarch of Italy. The name of the Emperor in whose honour

TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN.

Area of Dii Consentes. *Tabularium.*

it was erected is cut out by accident or by the spite of an enemy; but, as we know that Smaragdus was Exarch of Italy for five years under Mauritius, A.D. 583—588, and seven years under Phocas, A.D. 602—609, it follows that the eleventh year of his

exarchate, A.D. 608, fell in the reign of Phocas, and there can be no doubt that the name of Phocas must be restored to the inscription. What irony of Fate has preserved this monument, erected by a cringing courtier to a brutal and effete Emperor,[1] to obtrude itself with its miserable patchwork on the sacred ground of the Roman Forum, while the statues and memorials of heroes which once worthily occupied so world-famous a site are buried and lost in oblivion?

Between the Temple of Castor and the Regia, on the south-western side of the Forum, the Catalogue of the *Curiosum* mentions a Temple of Minerva. Bunsen identifies it with the chalcidicum spoken of above, and fills up the lacuna in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*[2] after *ad circum curiam cum* with the words *chalcidico Minervæ*. The insertion of the word *Minervæ* is, however, unnecessary if we take the right view of the situation of the Curia, and Bunsen plainly imagined it for the sake of supporting his untenable view of that question. It is possible that the Temple of Minerva in question may have been built by Domitian, who, as appears from Dion Cassius,[3] had a great enthusiasm for the worship of that goddess, but nothing is known about it further than the mere mention of the name in the *Curiosum*.

Temple of Minerva.

The situation of the Temple of Vespasian, to which the three Corinthian columns still standing under the Tabularium belong, has been already described. It stood with its front towards the ascent to the Capitol.[4] The remains of the substructions which have been laid bare since 1830 show that it occupied a space of 107 feet in length, and 71 in breadth, and was approached from the street leading up to the Capitol by a flight of steps, the uppermost of which were placed between the columns, and have been partially restored. The temple was in form, according to the nomenclature of Vitruvius,[5] a "prostylus hexastylus," having six columns in front of the portico and one at each side, but none along the sides of the *cella* or at the back. The three corner columns on the right-hand side of the portico are the three which now remain. They have fluted shafts and Corinthian capitals, and still support a portion of the entablature, upon the front of which the letters ESTITVER are legible, evidently forming a part of the word "restituerunt." The letters were of metal, according to the common custom, and the holes of the rivets which fastened them are still visible. The architrave and cornice, especially on the side towards the Temple of Concord, are ornamented very richly with the usual mouldings, and there are some most interesting reliefs upon the frieze, representing sacrificial implements and the skulls of oxen. A horse-tail for sprinkling, and a sacrificial knife, with a vase, a patera, an axe, and the mitre (*apex*) of a high priest (*flamen*), are plainly distinguishable. Another portion of this entablature may be seen in the corridor of the Tabularium, among the fragments restored by Canina. The walls of the *cella* were built of blocks of travertine faced with marble. Against the back wall stands a large pedestal, which supported the statue of the deified Emperor.

Temple of Vespasian. The North-western End.

[1] Gibbon, ch. xlvi.

[2] Zumpt, Mon. Ancyr. Tab. vi. line 34. Zumpt reads, "Curiam cum Chalcidico, forum Augustum basilicam Juliam."

[3] Dion Cass. lxvii. i.

[4] The front was turned towards the street in accordance with the rule of Vitruv. iv. 5: "Si circum vias publicas erunt ædificia Deorum, ita constituantur uti prætereuntes possint respicere et in conspectu salutationes facere." This fully explains the difficulty which Nissen, Das Templum, pp. 205—214, finds in the orientation of the temple.

[5] Vitruv. lib. iii. cap. 2.

We have seen before,[1] in discussing the locality of the Temple of Saturn, that the inscription which was placed upon the Temple of Vespasian, as preserved by the anonymous writer of Ensiedlen, was as follows:—

"DIVO. VESPASIANO. AUGUSTO. S.P.Q.R.
IMPP. CAESS. SEVERUS ET ANTONINUS PII FELICES AUG. RESTITUERUNT."

The upper line is the original inscription, and the lower records a restoration by Severus and Caracalla.

To the arguments in favour of this mode of dividing the three inscriptions given by the anonymous writer, it may be added that, according to Bunsen and Becker's mode of division, we should have for the temple of the three columns the extraordinary inscription "S.P.Q.R. IMPP. CAESS. SEV. ET ANTON. PII FEL. AUG. RESTITUERUNT," where the prefix of "S.P.Q.R." to the Emperors' names is very unusual.

Further, the word "restituerunt" stands at the lower edge of the frieze, showing that there was another line above that in which it stood. This upper line was "DIVO. VESP. AUG. S.P.Q.R.," and referred to the original building of the temple, while the lower was "IMPP. CAESS. SEV. ET ANT. PII FEL. AUGG. RESTITUERUNT," and referred to the restoration by Severus and Caracalla.

Lastly, we know that the Temple of Saturn was the treasury. Now, the temple of the three columns is too small to have contained the treasures and the archives of the Roman Empire, nor has it, as the temple of the eight columns has, any subterranean vaults in which treasure or records could be stored.

The facts known about the history of the Temple of Vespasian are as follow.

It was built by Domitian in the Consulship of Asprenas and Clemens, apparently in A.D. 94,[2] in honour of Vespasian, with whom Titus was afterwards associated; for, though we do not find his name in the inscription, yet the temple is called after him as well as Vespasian in the Catalogue of buildings.[3]

A restoration of the temple by Severus and Caracalla is recorded in the second line of the inscription; but the name of Caracalla's unfortunate brother Geta has probably been erased, and the words "pii felices" inserted instead: for Caracalla, after murdering his brother, caused his name to be cut out of all the inscriptions which bore it, in order to banish the memory of his foul deed.[4] On the Triumphal Arch of Severus and the Arch of the Goldsmiths in the Velabrum, the blank space has not been so skilfully filled up. Much care had evidently been taken in the case of this temple to change the inscription so as to conceal the insertion of fresh words.

Arch of Severus.

In front of the ruins of the Temple of Concord stands the Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus, composed of three archways of Pentelic marble. It now forms one of the most conspicuous objects in the Forum, and has been excavated completely to its base. As the ground on the side towards the Capitol is higher than on the side of the Forum, a flight of steps leads up to the two side arches; and it has

[1] See above, p. 94.
[2] Cassiod. Chron. Domit. ix.
[3] Curiosum Reg. ix.
[4] Hist. Aug. Ant. Carac. 2; Ant. Get. 7; Dion Cass. lxxvii. 12: Εἴγε τις ἔγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον ἢ εἶπε μόνον εὐθυς ἀπώλετο.

been ascertained by the Italian antiquary, Fea, that this was also the case with the central archway, so that, unless some temporary mode of levelling the road which passed through it was adopted for each occasion, the triumphal processions must have passed through on foot. The side archways are connected with the central archway by small openings in the intervening walls, and the arched interiors of all three are ornamented by square coffers with rosette decorations.

On each side stand four columns of Proconnesian marble with composite capitals, on the pedestals of which are bas-reliefs representing barbarians clothed in breeches and

ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (NORTH SIDE).

with the chlamys and Phrygian cap, led as captives by Roman soldiers wearing the lacerna.[1] Between each pair of outer and inner pillars there are large bas-reliefs, executed in a very confused and tasteless style. The four lower and narrower compartments represent the goddess Roma receiving the homage of the East, which is personified by a woman wearing a tiara. Behind her, in a long train of carts and carriages, come the spoils of the various nations conquered by Severus. Above this bas-relief, which run round the bottom of the four compartments, over the side arches, are four larger bas-

[1] See above, chap. ii. p. 27.

reliefs, representing the sieges and victories of Severus in Parthia, Osrhoene, Adiabene, and Arabia. The following interpretation of these bas-reliefs is perhaps as nearly right as can be expected, though the exact correctness of the explanations cannot be relied upon, as the monotony and want of distinctness in the execution render it difficult always to distinguish the meaning of the scenes portrayed.

The compartment on the left of the observer, looking from the Forum, contains a representation of the raising of the Parthian siege of Nisibis, in Northern Mesopotamia, by Severus, after he had crushed his rivals Æmilianus and Pescennius Niger in Pontus and Syria (A.D. 195). The taking of the town of Carræ, west of Nisibis, and the march from thence against the Osrhoenians and Adiabenians, are also here represented.

The compartment on the right hand, looking from the Forum, contains the surrender of Abagarus, the king of Osrhoene, to Severus, and the siege of the town of Hatra on the Tigris.

On the other side, towards the Capitol, the second campaign of Severus in the East is portrayed. The right-hand compartment contains the flight of the Parthians from Babylon, the undisturbed entry of the Romans into that city, and a second siege of Hatra (A.D. 199). On the left is the wresting of the towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon from the Parthians, the flight of their king Artabanus, and the surrender of the Arabians, who had joined the Parthian side[2] (A.D. 201, 202). Over the central arch are four winged figures of Victory bearing trophies, and underneath them the genii of the four seasons,—Spring with flowers, Summer with sickle and ears of corn, Autumn with grapes, and Winter wrapped up in a cloak. The figures over the smaller arches represent the river-gods of the Euphrates and Tigris, and their tributaries, on which lay the towns of Nisibis and Carræ.

The entablature which surmounts these arches is badly proportioned, and the projections over the capitals of the columns are too heavy. Upon the entablature rises an attica, containing four small chambers, to one of which stairs lead from the small entrance door visible at some height above the ground, on the side towards the Temple of Saturn. In the corner pilasters of the attica there are the traces of nails which have fastened some bronze ornaments to the wall; and from the shape in which these nails are arranged, it has been conjectured that the objects fixed here were Roman military ensigns. The whole middle space of the attica is occupied by an inscription repeated on both sides. The latter, as appears from rivets still left, was inlaid, like that of the Temple of Vespasian, with metal. A coin of Severus,[3] upon which a representation of this arch appears, gives us the further information that a brazen chariot with six horses originally stood upon the top. In the chariot were the figures of Severus, and Victory crowning him, and the two sons of the Emperor, Caracalla and Geta, walked one on each side. Upon the four corners of the attica stood four equestrian statues. The inscription is as follows:—

[1] Reber, p. 103. The outlines of the history will be found in the Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Herodian.

[2] Herodian, iii. 9, 10, 11; Hist. Aug. Vit. Sev. 9, 16, 17.

[3] Eckhel, part ii. vol. vii. p. 185.

IMP. CAES. LUCIO. SEPTIMIO M. FIL. SEVERO. PIO. PERTINACI. AUG. PATRI. PATRIAE. PARTHICO. ARABICO. ET PARTHICO. ADIABENICO. PONTIFIC. MAXIMO. TRIBUNIC. POTEST. XI IMP. XI. COS. III PROCOS. ET IMP. CAES. M. AURELIO. L. FIL. ANTONINO. AUG. PIO. FELICI. TRIBUNIC. POTEST. VI COS. PROCOS. P. P. OPTIMIS FORTISSIMISQUE PRINCIPIBUS OB REMPUBLICAM RESTITUTAM IMPERIUMQUE POPULI ROMANI PROPAGATUM INSIGNIBUS VIRTUTIBUS EORUM DOMI FORISQUE. S.P.Q.R.

From the inscription we find that the arch was built in the eleventh year of the reign of Severus, and the sixth consulship of Caracalla, here called M. Aurelius Antoninus; that is to say, in A.D. 203. The repetition of the title Parthicus twice points to the two campaigns of Severus against the Parthians.[1] In the fourth line the name of Geta and his titles have been erased, and the words "optimis fortissimisque principibus" inserted in their place. A similar erasion was also made in the inscription on the Goldsmiths' Arch in the Velabrum and on the Temple of Vespasian. In the Middle Ages the tower of the Church of S. Sergio e Bacco was built upon the top of this arch, but was removed on occasion of the entry of Charles V. in 1536, by command of the Pope Paul III. The columns of the arch were replaced and restored to a considerable extent at the end of the seventeenth century, and the rubbish has been gradually cleared away from the base.

Between the Arch of Septimius Severus just described, and the substructions which we have assigned to the Arch of Tiberius, the ruins of a curved platform or terrace about thirty-two yards long, with the convexity of the curve towards the Forum, have been discovered. The level of this terrace is about nine and a half feet above the Forum. It seems to have been surrounded with a marble edge with bronze railings, the holes for which are still to be seen in the stones. The greater part is, however, now covered by the modern road, and invisible. Now the Catalogue contained in the *Curiosum* mentions a place in the eighth Region, between the Vicus Jugarius and the Basilica Julia, called the Græcostadium, and the situation of this terrace corresponds sufficiently to this description, if by the Vicus Jugarius we understand the continuation of that street past the Temple of Saturn. It is plain that we cannot place the Græcostadium, as it is placed in many plans of the Forum, between the Vicus Jugarius and the north-western end of the Basilica, for the excavations show that there is no room left between them, and it therefore seems likely that we must recognise in these ruins the remains of the Græcostadium catalogued in the *Curiosum*. The name Græcostadium may be taken as identical with Græcostasis, but it cannot be supposed that this is the old Græcostasis, which, as we have seen, stood near the Curia Hostilia, on the north-eastern side of the Forum. We are therefore naturally led to the conclusion that this is the Græcostasis built after the destruction of the old Curia and the erection of the new Rostra by Julius Cæsar. Pliny the elder speaks of the Græcostasis as having *formerly* stood on the Comitium,[2] whence we may conclude that it had been removed before his time; and as Julius Cæsar altered the arrangements of the Forum so completely in other respects, it seems most probable that the Græcostasis was placed here by him. The

Græcostadium.

[1] Hist. Aug. Vit. Sev. 9, 16.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1, 6.

Græcostadium is also mentioned among the buildings of the Forum as having suffered by a fire in the reign of Carinus and Numerianus.[1]

Milliarium Aureum.

At the northern end of the terrace which has been identified with the Græcostasis of the Imperial times, and close to the Arch of Septimius Severus, stands a round brickwork pedestal. This has been considered with great probability to be the base of the Milliarium Aureum, a milestone erected by Augustus B.C. 28, bearing a bronze-gilt tablet, where the distances to which the various Roman roads of Italy reached from the metropolis were recorded.[2] The Milliarium is mentioned by Pliny as standing at the head of the Forum,[3] and Tacitus and Suetonius both describe it as near the Temple of Saturn. Otho chose it as the spot where he appointed a meeting with the soldiers who were to proclaim him Emperor and dethrone Galba, probably because it was the most public place on the road between the palace and the Prætorian camp.[4] In the Catalogue of the *Curiosum* it is mentioned in the eighth Region in connexion with the Græcostadium and the Temples of Concord, Vespasian, and Saturn; and in the list of places given in the anonymous MS. of Einsiedlen it is called the Umbilicus Romæ, and placed near the Church of S. Sergio e Bacco, which, as we have seen, stood upon the Arch of Septimius Severus. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Milliarium Aureum was in this spot, or not far from it; and that this round pedestal belonged to it is rendered likely from the fact that the masonry is evidently not intended to support any great weight, such as that of a memorial column or statue, but some smaller and lighter object. The pedestals which supported columns have always been found to contain a massive base of blocks of travertine, while this is entirely composed of brickwork.[5] A cylindrical piece of marble found near this spot has been supposed to be a fragment of the milestone itself. It has holes in it drilled for the metal rivets of a tablet, which may have contained the inscription. I have already mentioned[6] that the miles along the Roman road were measured from the gates of the Servian Wall, and not from this Milliarium Aureum, so that the inscription did not record the length of the roads from the milestone, but from the gates. It is probable that the bronze tablet was removed before the time of the writer of the Einsiedlen MS., who visited Rome in the ninth century; and this may account for the change of name, as given by him, into Umbilicus Romæ, instead of Milliarium Aureum. A somewhat similar round pedestal stands at the other end of the terrace, and a piece of the marble facing of this may be seen in the archway under the modern road near the Temple of Saturn, but it is not known what this latter pedestal supported.

Rostra of the later Empire.

In front of the curved platform supposed to be the Græcostadium, some substructions have been discovered, assigned by Bunsen to the Milliarium Aureum, but by Reber, with greater probability, to the Rostra of the later Empire.[7] They consist of a row of blocks of peperino, about fifteen feet broad, lying along the edge of the Græcostadium, and it does not appear likely that they can be, as is commonly supposed, the remains of a projection in front of the Græcostasis intended for statues. To

[1] Roncalli, Script. Vet. Chron. vol. ii. p. 247.
[2] Dion Cass. liv. 8. [3] Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, § 66.
[4] Tac. Hist. i. 27; Suet. Otho, 6; Plut. Galba, 24.
[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 101.
[6] Above, chap. iv. p. 49. See Græv. Thes. Ant. Rom. vol. iv. p. 1805.
[7] Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. iii. p. 101; Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 98.

what building, then, can they be most probably assigned? Reber makes the following conjecture. The Catalogue of the *Curiosum* names three Rostra in the Forum, and we have as yet only discovered two,—the Rostra Vetera on the north side, and the Rostra Julia at the eastern end. The third Rostra must then be of later date, and may be supposed to have stood in this part of the Forum, as there is no room for them elsewhere. This view receives confirmation from a bas-relief on the side of the Arch of Constantine towards the Coliseum, which represents Constantine, surrounded by his court, addressing the people from the Rostra. At the sides of the Rostra are two sitting statues, and in front a lattice-work railing, supported by posts shaped like the common statues of Hermes. The three arches on the right may be supposed to be the Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus, and the single arch on the left that of Tiberius, to the left of which the Basilica Julia is seen. Behind the Rostra are represented five statues mounted on high pedestals. It was possibly upon these Rostra that Aurelian placed his golden statue of the Genius of the Roman people,[1] for in Dion Cassius the shrine of the Genius is placed near the Temple of Concord, and in the *Curiosum* it is mentioned next to the Rostra, in the eighth Region.[2]

Chapel of Faustina.

At the further end of the narrow space between the foundations of the Temple of Concord and that of the Temple of Vespasian, close under the Tabularium, a small brick chapel was discovered in 1829, with an inscription upon a small pedestal recording its erection in honour of Faustina, the deified Empress. To which of the two Faustinas it was dedicated, whether to the Empress of Antoninus Pius or of Marcus Aurelius, is not known. The builder was a bailiff (*viator*), employed by the treasurer of the Empress. The chapel is extremely small, the breadth of the whole being only 8 feet, and the depth 13 feet. It appears from the remains that the walls were covered with plaster and painted, and the approach to it was paved with flat paving-stones of travertine.

Arch of Augustus.

A triumphal arch in honour of Augustus is spoken of by Dion Cassius as having been placed in the Forum by command of the Senate, after the victory at Actium;[3] and an anonymous interpreter of Virgil, published by Mai from a Verona palimpsest, mentions an arch built by Augustus, near the Temple of Julius Cæsar, in the Forum, in commemoration of the recovery of the Roman standards lost by Crassus from the Parthians.[4] These two can hardly be identical unless the erection of the arch spoken of by Dion was delayed till after the Parthian war. It is well known from the first poem in Statius' *Silvæ*, that an equestrian statue of Domitian stood at the north-western end of the Forum looking towards the other end. It was a triumphal statue erected in honour of Domitian's campaigns against the Catti and Daci.[5] The poet describes its position very accurately, mentioning the Heroon of Julius Cæsar which faced it, the Basilica Julia on the right, the Basilica Paulli on the left, and the Temples of Vespasian and Concord behind. He also alludes to some other principal objects in the Forum, the Temple of Vesta, the Temple of Castor, and the statue of Curtius, and concludes with prophesying that time will be unable to injure so

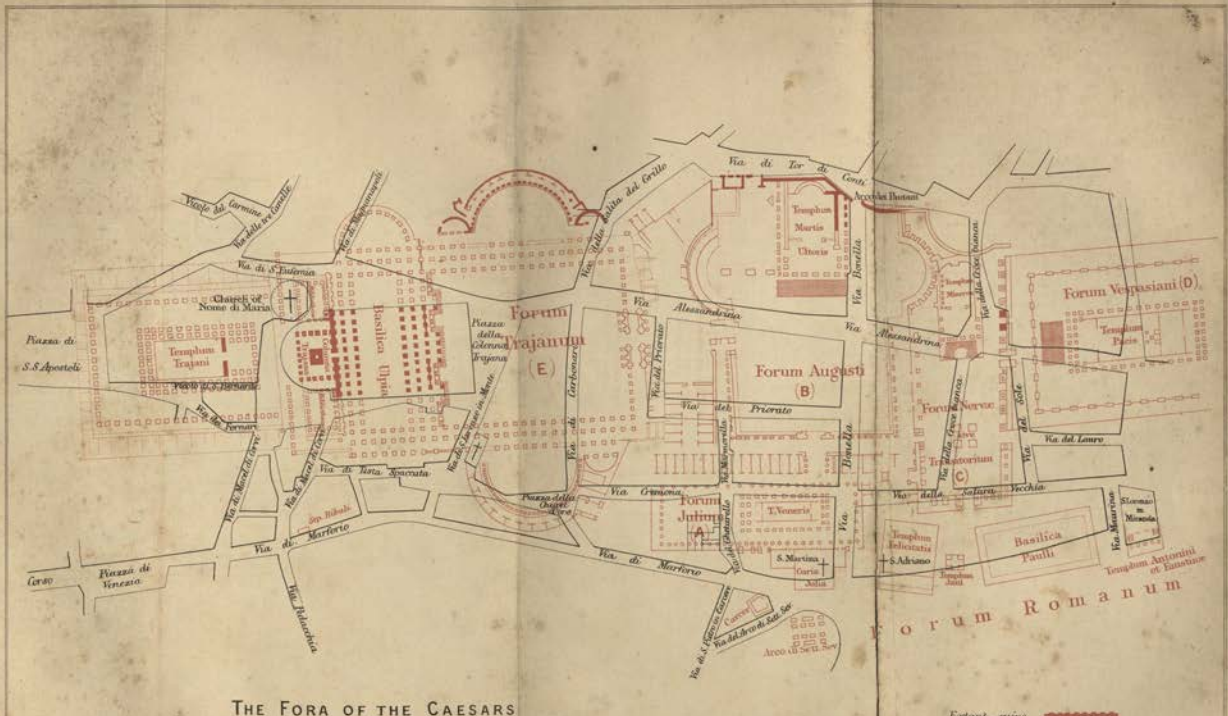
Equestrian Statue of Domitian.

[1] Roncalli, Vet. Chron. p. 246.
[2] Dion Cass. xlvii. 1, 2, 8; Curiosum Reg. viii. ap. Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 712.
[3] Dion Cass. li. 19.
[4] Lion. Interp. ad Virg. vol. ii. p. 319.
[5] Suet. Dom. 6, 15.

noble a statue, and that it will outlast the Eternal City itself. Unfortunately this prophecy has not been fulfilled. No vestige even of the Æterna crepido now remains, much less of the horse or its Imperial rider, which were probably melted down by the Goths and Vandals centuries ago. The lines of Statius are so important and exact a description of the north-western end of the Forum, and so beautiful in themselves, that I give them at length:—

"An te Palladiæ talem, Germanice, nobis
Effinxere manus, qualem modo frena tenentem
Rhenus et attoniti vidit domus ardua Daci.
Par operi sedes, hinc obvia limina pandit
Qui fessus bellis adscitæ munere prolis,
Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera Divis.
At laterum passus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Paulli.
Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.
Ipse autem puro celsum caput aere sæptus
Templa superfulges, et prospectare videris
An nova contemptis surgant palatia flammis
Pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis,
Atque exploratas jam laudet Vesta ministras.
At sonipes, habitus animosque imitatus equestre
Acrius attollit vultus, cursumque minatur,
Hunc pavet aspiciens Ledæus ab æde propinqua
Cyllarus, hic domini nunquam mutabit habenas
Perpetuus frenis, atque uni serviet astro.
Cedat equus Latiæ qui contra templa Diones
Cæsarei stat sede fori, vix lumine fesso
Explores, quam longus in hunc despectus ab illo.
Non hoc imbriferas hiemes opus, aut Jovis ignem
Tergeminum, Æolii non agmina carceris horret.
Annorumque moras, stabit dum terra polusque
Dum Romana dies."[1]

[1] Stat. Silv. i. 1, 5—7, 22—24, 29—36, 46, 47, 53—55, 84—88, 91—94.


Via di Tor de' Conti
Arcivolto Pantani
Templum Martis Ultoris
Via Alessandrina
Via Alessandrina
Via Bonella
Via della Croce Bianca
Forum Vespasiani (D)
Templum Pacis
Via del Tempio della Pace
Via del Sole
Via del Lauro
Via dello Statuto Vecchio
Via Maurizio
Templum Antonini et Faustinae
Forum Romanum
Via Sacra
Via Sacra
Via Sacra

CHAPTER VII.

THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS.

INCREASE OF PUBLIC BUSINESS AT ROME REQUIRED LARGER PUBLIC BUILDINGS — CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPERIAL FORA — SITE OF THE FORUM OF JULIUS CÆSAR — TEMPLE OF VENUS GENETRIX — FORUM OF AUGUSTUS AND TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR—EXTERIOR WALL—ARCO DEI PANTANI—STATUES IN THE FORUM AUGUSTI — FORUM OF NERVA—COLONNACCE—TEMPLE OF MINERVA—TEMPLE OF JANUS—HISTORY OF TEMPLE OF MINERVA—FORUM OF VESPASIAN—TEMPLUM PACIS—CONTAINED A LARGE COLLECTION OF WORKS OF ART — LIBRARY — FIRE IN THE TIME OF COMMODUS— FORUM OF TRAJAN—FORUM PROPER — TRIUMPHAL ARCH—BASILICA ULPIA—GREEK AND LATIN LIBRARIES—COLUMN OF TRAJAN—DESCRIPTION OF THE BAS-RELIEFS—TEMPLE OF TRAJAN—LATER HISTORY OF THE FORUM TRAJANUM—REMAINS FOUND ON THE SITE—INSCRIPTIONS.

"Percensere labor densis decora alta trophæis
Ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit.
Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus
Ipsos crediderim sic habitasse Deos."

RUTILIUS NUMANTIUS, *Itin.* i.

"Circumscriptiones, furta, fraudes, infitiationes quibus trina non sufficiunt Fora."—SENECA, *De Ira*, ii. 9, 4.

ROME had possessed until the end of the civil war few public buildings, except the temples of the gods. The Tabularium at the north-western end of the Forum, and beneath it the offices of the notaries, the Basilicæ of Cato, Sempronius, and Æmilius, were almost the only edifices which could be used for secular business. But with the re-organization of the government, the settlement of conflicting claims, and the changes in financial arrangements which began with the Sullan constitution, an immense tide of public business must have set in, which required far more space than the small area of the Forum Romanum, with its annexed basilicæ, could possibly accommodate. Fortunes were rapidly made, and splendid private houses, such as those of Crassus[1] and Lucullus, Servilius and Sallust, rose in various parts of the city. The Campagna and coasts of the Mediterranean were covered with vast and luxurious country seats.[2] These would have indicated, even had history been silent, the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of an oligarchy, who cared little to establish a systematic national government, who crushed all national organization, and whose chief care was to satisfy the hungry mob by distributions of grain or magnificent festivals. The aspect of Rome reflected this state of her affairs very faithfully. The most magnificent

Necessary extension of public buildings at Rome.

[1] The house of Crassus was valued at 6,000,000 sesterces, 61,500*l.* (Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 416.)

[2] Lucullus paid 23,600*l.* for a villa at Misenum. (Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 416.)

buildings in the first century before the Christian era were not those which belonged to the nation, but the houses of the rich nobles. Even the temples of the gods had been neglected, and their statues blackened with the smoke of frequent conflagrations.[1] The Forum Romanum had remained within its original limits; the Temples of Saturn, Castor, and Vesta, the Carcer and the Curia, had been almost unchanged since the time of the kings; and though separate market-places for cattle, vegetables, and fish had been established in the Forum Boarium, Olitorium, and Piscarium,[2] yet the vast and complicated business of the Empire had to be conducted in a ridiculously narrow space, and in a few confined buildings. But with the change from an oligarchy to an Imperial government, a corresponding change necessarily began to show itself in the buildings of Rome. An Emperor could not with safety neglect the regular administration of public business, or allow the national religion to decay. Sulla and Pompey, who were in reality if not in name the first Emperors of Rome, felt this, and began the work by the restoration of the Curia and the Temple of Jupiter, and by erecting the Pompeian theatre, and the public buildings of the Campus. Julius Cæsar, as we have already seen, partly from political motives, and partly from personal ambition, altered the arrangement of the Forum, and laid the plan of a basilica on a far more extensive scale than had hitherto been contemplated. But he was not content with this. His favourite scheme, which he did not, however, live to see accomplished, was the opening of a new Forum on the north-east of the Forum Romanum. Augustus not only carried out this design of his uncle, but added to it another similar group of public buildings, and the subsequent Emperors vied with each other in the costly splendour of their Fora. Vespasian, Domitian, and Nerva successively covered nearly the whole space between the Forum Romanum and the Subura with cloistered courts and stately temples; and Trajan and Hadrian, those mighty masters in the art of combining colossal size with beauty of proportion, crowned this series of marvellous buildings with a group which became the wonder and envy of their successors.

Although these buildings of the Emperors were called Fora, yet they were in no respect similar in their arrangement to the old Forum. Each had its temple in the centre of a walled court surrounded with porticoes, and resembled a Greek temple with its sacred enclosure, more than an open market-place with buildings of different kinds standing round it. The Piazza of St. Peter at Rome, the Piazza of St. Mark at Venice, and the Largo del Palazzo at Naples, resemble in some respects the Imperial Fora. In all we have the central temple and the lateral arcades; and in the Piazza of St. Peter's and the Largo at Naples, also a similarity to the Forum Augusti in shape. The best ancient example still extant of such a group of buildings is the Forum at Pompeii, though the Temple of Jupiter there does not cover so much of the area as the temples of the Roman Fora did. The arrangement of these Fora may perhaps be traced partly to the influences of Greek architects, and partly to a politic wish on the part of the Emperors to maintain the old Roman custom of conducting public business under the sanction and in the immediate presence of the gods.

Peculiar features of the Imperial Fora.

The tribunals were placed, and the courts of justice held, either in the temples or in the semicircular apses which, if we may conjecture from the remains of the Forum Augusti,

[1] Hor. Carm. iii. 6.

[2] See Jordan in Hermes, ii. p. 93.

projected from the outer wall; and the offices of business for bankers, notaries, Government officials, or merchants, were under the arcades which ran round the court. There was but little open space, for the central temple with its basement filled the greater part of the area. Nor was it desirable in a hot sunny climate like that of Rome to have an open square in which to transact business. Shade and coolness were wanted, and well provided for in the arcades and temple-porticoes of the Imperial Fora.

The Forum of Trajan differed from the others in this respect. It was not merely the court of a temple, but was surrounded with various public buildings arranged in symmetrical order, and contained a basilica, two libraries, and the column which still bears his name. Hadrian added to this a colossal temple with a court dedicated to his deified predecessor. The whole area of these noble buildings of the early Emperors extended over a space nearly three times the size of the Forum Romanum, even if we include in that expression the tabularium, the basilicæ, and the adjacent temples, and occupied the whole of the valley included by the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Palatine Hills, and by a line drawn across from the Arco dei Pantani to the Basilica of Constantine.

Forum of Julius Cæsar. Its position.

The ancient authorities which enable us to determine the position of the Forum of Julius Cæsar are unfortunately very scanty. Much praise is lavished upon its beauty, and the rare treasures of art which it contained, but the only passage which can be said to fix its site at all definitely is the curious account given by Pliny of a lotos-tree which grew on the Vulcanal, and the roots of which extended to the Forum Julium.[1] As it is tolerably certain that the Vulcanal was on the north-eastern side of the Forum at the part nearest the Capitol, we must conclude that the Forum Julium adjoined the buildings of this part of the Forum Romanum. Again, Ovid speaks of the Temple of Janus as "juncta duobus foris,"[2] and we have seen that the Temple of Janus was near the Curia. It is probable, therefore, that by the two fora Ovid means the Forum Romanum and the Forum Julium; and the expression, if taken in this sense, confirms the notice of Pliny with respect to the site of the Forum Julium.

The order in which the name of this Forum occurs in the Catalogue of the *Curiosum* is also in favour of this supposition.[3] It is there placed between the Atrium Minervæ, or Chalcidicum, which probably adjoined the Curia, and the Forum Augusti, which is known to have been between the Arco dei Pantani and the Forum Romanum.

The ruins of two portions only of the Forum Julium have been discovered in modern times. The first is a considerable part of the outer wall, standing in the court of the house No. 18, in the Via del Ghetarello, a small street which opens out of the Via di Marforio, near the Carcer and the Church of SS. Martina e Luca. This ruined wall has three arches built into it, composed of large blocks of peperino and travertine skilfully cut, and joined without mortar, and underbuilt by another arch, as if in order to enable the wall to bear a great weight. The length of the fragment of wall is about 50 feet, and the highest point about 30 feet. More fragments of massive walls of the same construction are to be seen in the adjoining cellars.[4] The other relic of Cæsar's Forum is now no longer visible. We

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 44, 86. [2] Ov. Fast. i. 257.
[3] Curiosum Reg. viii.; Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 713.
[4] These walls have been lately assigned by Mr. Parker to the dungeons of the Carcer Mamertinus and to the wall of Servius Tullius. But there is not sufficient proof of this to justify an abandonment of the usual opinion about them.

obtain our information about it from Palladio, the architect, who relates that about the middle of the sixteenth century, while he was at Rome, the ground-plan of a temple was uncovered in digging the foundations of a house between the Salita di Marforio and the Temple of Mars Ultor, a description which points plainly to the block of houses behind SS. Martina e Luca.[1] There was a peculiarity in the intercolumniations of this temple which Palladio particularly remarked. The distance between the columns, he says, was the eleventh part of the diameter of a column less than a diameter and a half.

This description agrees exactly with Vitruvius' account of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, which stood in the Forum Julium.[2] It was of the style called pycnostylos, with the spaces between the columns equal to a diameter and a half of a column; and as this style was rare in temples of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, and it is not likely that there should have been two in this style so near together, it seems tolerably certain that Palladio is describing the foundations of the Temple of Venus. The position, moreover, of these foundations corresponds to that of the wall above mentioned in the Via del Ghetarello, if we suppose that wall to have formed a part of the outer enclosure of the temple court, and there is no mention of any other temple of such size and importance in this neighbourhood.

Temple of Venus Genetrix.

Fragments of the ornamental work with which the temple was decorated were found at the time of the excavation of its foundations. They contained representations of dolphins and tridents, and Palladio therefore assumed that the temple was dedicated to Neptune. But these ornaments are sufficiently accounted for by an allusion found in Ovid to some artificial waterworks near the Temple of Venus in the Forum Julium.[3]

Julius Cæsar bought the site of the Forum Julium with the money produced by the sale of the spoils in the Gallic wars, and he began to clear the ground and to build in B.C. 49. The price of the site according to Suetonius and Pliny was a hundred million sesterces,[4] and doubtless it was to this vast expenditure that Pompey chiefly alluded when he said that Cæsar was obliged to create a civil war in order to pay for his public works. Pompey had chosen a much cheaper site for his public buildings in the Campus Martius. At the battle of Pharsalus, in 48 B.C., Cæsar made a vow to build a temple to the goddess patroness of his family, Venus Genetrix, and after his victory he proceeded to fulfil this vow in the most magnificent manner.[5] His original intention had probably been to leave the central area of the Forum open like that of the Forum Romanum, but he now filled the greater part of the open space with the new temple. The erection of this must have been very much hastened, for he celebrated the dedication of it two years afterwards, in B.C. 46, at the time of his triumphal entry into Rome. The temple was at that time scarcely completed, and in particular we are told that the statue of the goddess which was to be executed by Arcesilaus, the best sculptor of the day, was not finished, and that the clay model only was placed in the temple for the occasion. By the side of this statue was afterwards placed another of Cleopatra.[6] On the last day of the triumphal festival Cæsar entered the Forum, says Dion Cassius, after dinner, crowned with a wreath

[1] Palladio, Architettura, Venet. 1642, lib. iv. p. 128.

[2] Vitruv. iii. 3.

[3] Ov. Ar. Am. lib. i. 81, iii. 451; Rem. Am. 660. The Appiades are statues of nymphs of the Appian aqueduct, placed round the fountain.

[4] Suet. Cæs. 26; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 26 § 103.

[5] Appian, B. C. ii. 102.

[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 12, 45, § 156.

of various flowers, and with slippers on his feet, and he was thence escorted home by nearly the whole population of Rome, the procession being lighted by a number of elephants carrying torches.[1]

It was also in this temple that Cæsar gave the deepest offence to the Roman nobility by a slight they never forgave, and for which he atoned by his death. He was sitting in the portico while a meeting of the Senate was being held, that he might not seem to exercise any undue control over them; and when the Senators came to announce to him the extravagant decrees which they had just passed in his honour, he received them without rising from his seat.[2] Though his friends tried to excuse him on the ground of indisposition, yet their efforts were in vain, and from that moment his enemies had an easy task before them, the whole nation being disgusted with his overweening pride.

The Forum or τέμενος of the temple was designed for *legal* business especially, and not for merchants. The whole work was not quite completed at Cæsar's death, and Augustus finished it.[3] The temple was sometimes used for meetings of the Senate, and was adorned with works of art, many of which became celebrated at Rome. In particular, Pliny speaks of the pictures of Medea and Ajax, by Timomachus, for which Cæsar gave eighty talents.[4] Other curiosities were also shown there—a cuirass ornamented with British pearls, esteemed, not for their beauty, for they are small and discoloured, but for their rarity in those times, and six cabinets of gems dedicated by Julius Cæsar.[5] The strange story of Cæsar's horse with human feet, which is repeated by Suetonius and Pliny, may have originated from the fact that its statue, which was placed in front of the Temple of Venus, had griffon or sphinx-like fore-feet.[6] Statius mentions the tradition that this statue was originally made by Lysippus to represent Bucephalus, the war-horse of Alexander, but this must be a poetical fiction, or Pliny would hardly have omitted to mention it. The statue was apparently gilt.[7]

Of the subsequent history of the temple and forum but little is known. In the great fire at the time of Carinus this part of the city suffered considerably, and was afterwards restored by Diocletian.[8] In the twelfth century the route of a procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran passes through the Arch of Severus and then turns to the north-east between the Temple of Concord and the Temple of the Fates,[9] and passes between the Forum Julium and the Forum of Trajan, after which it goes on to the Forum Nervæ. This notice affords additional evidence that the site which has been here assigned to the Forum Julium is the right one.

The almost universal opinion of Roman topographers now is, that the three Corinthian columns on the left-hand side of the Via Bonella, and the massive arch which leads from it into the Via di Tor di Conti, are the remains of the Temple of Mars Ultor, which Augustus built in his Forum, and of the north-eastern portion of the enclosing wall. This opinion was already held by Palladio in the sixteenth century,[10] but the Italian antiquaries since his time have adopted the most various hypotheses on the subject. There is, it is true, no actual proof that this was

Forum of Augustus.

Temple of Mar Ultor.

[1] App. loc. cit.; Dion Cass. xliii. 22.
[2] Dion Cass. xliv. 8; Plut. Cæs. 60; Suet. Jul. 78.
[3] See Monum. Ancyr. Tab. iv. prim. a dext.
[4] Tac. Ann. xvi. 27; Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. § 126, xxxv. 4, § 26.
[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 35, § 116; xxxvii. 1, 5, § 11.
[6] Suet. Cæs. 61; Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 42, § 155.
[7] Stat. Silv. i. 1, 86.
[8] Roncalli, vol. ii. p. 247.
[9] See above, ch. vi. [10] Palladio, Arch. iv. p. 15.

the Temple of Mars Ultor, but there is strong presumptive evidence that it was so. The Catalogue of the *Curiosum* places that temple next to the Forum Julium in the Eighth Region. Now, the Eighth Region was bounded on the east in this neighbourhood by the Via del Sole, or a street a little to the east of it, behind the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and we are tolerably sure that the Forum Transitorium filled up a great

TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR AND ARCO DEI PANTANI.

space between the Temple of Mars Ultor and the above-mentioned street, and that the Forum Julium intervened between that temple and the Forum Romanum, while the Forum Trajani limits the space to the north-westward within which we can suppose the Forum Augusti to have been. Thus the only space left in the Eighth Region within

which the Forum of Augustus can be supposed to have been contained is bounded by the Via della Croce Bianca, the Via del Priorato, and the Via di Tor di Conti.

The ruins of the temple consist of three lofty fluted Corinthian columns and a pilaster of white Carrara marble, a part of the surmounting architrave, and the corresponding wall of the *cella* of the temple. Antiquarians are of opinion that the purity of style and elegance of these columns and their ornamentation forms a strong proof that they were designed and executed in the best times of Roman architectural art, and cannot belong to a period later than that of Augustus. The richest decorative work is to be seen under the roof of the portico between the columns and the wall of the *cella.*

Exterior Wall.

Arco dei Pantani.

These three columns stood at the left side of the temple, which abutted on the exterior wall of the Forum, as the ruins show. A large portion of this wall is still standing on each side of the Arco dei Pantani. The arch itself is built of travertine, the wall of peperino blocks laid alternately with the longer and shorter sides outwards, as in the masonry of the Tabularium. In the Middle Ages a door was fitted to this archway and a portion of the stone cut away on the west side, which has injured its architectural beauty very much. It has also been stripped of the marble facing with which it was probably cased; and, being now half buried in the rubbish of ages, it presents a somewhat mean and rough appearance.

This archway formed one of the entrances to the Forum Augusti from the east. The wall of the enclosure can be traced for a considerable distance on each side of it, but there are no other archways now open. The monotonous appearance of so high a wall is relieved by rustic-work, so that each block stands out separately, and the lower part of the wall is divided into two stages and its upper into three stages by projecting rims of travertine.

It is said that the blocks of stone in this masonry are fastened with wooden bolts made in the shape of double swallow-tails, and that some of these have been found completely petrified.[1] When the Forum was first designed Augustus encountered great opposition from the owners of private house property, and through fear of the unpopularity which wholesale evictions might have caused, he accommodated the shape of the external walls to that of the ground he could occupy.[2] Hence arose the irregular line of the exterior, which was, however, reduced to a symmetrical form inside by secondary walls. The general shape of the interior area of the enclosure was that of a broad oblong piazza, with two large semicircular side extensions or wings (somewhat like those in the Piazza S. Pietro), opposite to and corresponding to each other. The area was large, for the horse-races and games in honour of Mars were held here once when the Tiber had overflowed the circus.[3] The temple stood at the northern end, between these two side extensions, and occupied about one-sixth of the whole space. Tribunals were placed in the hemicycles, and courts of law held there. Some portions of these semicircular recesses are still extant, by which their plan may be traced, but the outer wall is in no part preserved entire except at the back and sides of the temple. Its height at the back of the temple is 120 feet, and over the Arco dei Pantani 100 feet, which we must suppose

[1] Flam. Vacca, in Fea's Miscell. p. 91, No. 89: "Spranghe di legno da ogni banda fatte a coda di rondine."

[2] Suet. Aug. 56: "Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus domos." Zumpt. Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iv.

[3] Dion Cass. lvi. 27.

to have been the normal height of the rest of the enclosure. These enormous walls served as a defence against fire, not less than to exclude the traffic and noise of the streets.[1] Although it is possible that Augustus may have entertained the design of erecting a new group of public buildings as a means of gaining distinction and popularity before the battle of Philippi, which established his power, yet, so far as we know, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augusti owed their existence to a vow made by the Emperor immediately before the decisive battle of Philippi, B.C. 42, to build, if victorious, a temple to Mars, as the avenger of his adopted father.[2] The dedication of the temple took place in B.C. 2, accompanied with most magnificent shows of gladiators and splendid sham sea-fights.[3] The Forum had been previously opened to public business, and separate parts of it had been assigned by the Emperor for the process of selecting juries by lot, and for the session of the courts.[4] The Emperor himself sat here sometimes in the tribunal.[5]

The growing complications of legal business and the increase of the population of Rome had rendered it imperatively necessary to open this third Forum as soon as possible, but it was delayed from time to time, in consequence of more pressing business, for so long that Augustus grew very impatient, and is said to have facetiously remarked, that he wished that Cassius, an unsuccessful accuser, the objects of whose attacks were always acquitted (*absoluti*), would accuse his Forum (*ut absolveretur*).[6]

The Temple and Forum of Augustus, the Basilica Paulli, and the Temple of Peace were considered the finest buildings in Rome in Pliny's time.[7] In the porticoes which surrounded the piazza were placed the statues, in triumphal robes and standing in chariots, of all the Roman generals who had enlarged the territory of the Empire, beginning from Æneas and Romulus down to triumphal heroes of the day, including Augustus himself, with inscriptions recording their victories and titles. Among these Scipio Æmilianus is particularly mentioned by Pliny. A statue of Nero was ordered by the Senate to be placed in the temple in the first year of his reign, of the same size as that of the god Mars himself.[8] It has been supposed that the names and inscriptions of these statues may have furnished the basis of the lives of illustrious Romans written by Aurelius Victor,[9] and Bunsen endeavours to show that the number of niches in the semicircular wings of the Forum answers to the number of *triumphatores* in that work. In the temple itself a statue of Venus was placed, as well as that of Mars Ultor.[10] The other works of art of which we have especial mention as contained in Augustus' forum are an ivory statue of Apollo,[11] some iron bowls,[12] two pictures painted by Apelles (one representing Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, and the other War personified, with his hands bound, riding in a triumphal chariot with Alexander[13]).

Statues in the Forum Augusti.

[1] Tac. Ann. xv. 38.

[2] Suet. Aug. 29; Ov. Fast. v. 569. The temple mentioned in Dion Cass. liv. 8 and Ov. Fast. v. 579 is a different one, built after the recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthian king Phraates, and was placed on the Capitol. Zumpt, in Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iv.

[3] Vell. Paterc. ii. 100, 2.

[4] Mart. vii. 51; Suet. Aug. 29.

[5] Dion Cass. lxviii. 10.

[6] Macrob. Sat. ii. 4.

[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 24.

[8] Suet. Aug. 31; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxii. 6; Dion Cass. lv. 10; Gell. ix. 11; Vell. Paterc. ii. 39; Ov. Fast. v. 549, seq.; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28; Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

[9] Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. vol. iii. p. 68, note 122; Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 56; Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. iii. 2, p. 151.

[10] Ov. Fast. ii. 295.

[11] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 53, § 183.

[12] Ibid. xxxiv. 14, 40, § 141.

[13] Ibid. xxxv. 10, 36, § 93; xxxv. 4, 10, § 27.

Claudius afterwards had the face of Augustus substituted for that of Alexander in these pictures. There were also two statues in front of the temple which are said to have served as supports to the tent of Alexander the Great, and to have been fellows to those placed before the Regia.[1] On each side of the temple, where the Forum opened out into semicircular wings, Tiberius afterwards placed two triumphal arches, with statues of Drusus and Germanicus.[2] Augustus laid down with great care the uses to which this temple was to be put. The Imperial princes were to celebrate their coming of age here (*togam virilem sumere*); the governors of provinces were to make their formal departure from Rome hence; the Senate were to assemble here when they discussed the question of granting triumphal honours, that they might be reminded by the surrounding statues not to make the honour too cheap; the triumphant generals were to dedicate their crowns and sceptres here to Mars; all standards recovered from an enemy were to be laid up here; the nails marking the years were to be driven here by the Censors; and, as in the case of the Temples of Apollo and the Capitoline Jupiter, senators were to be allowed to contract for the repairs of the temple, and the supply of horses for the equestrian games in honour of the god.[3]

Statues in the Forum Augusti.

The Forum was restored by Hadrian,[4] but nothing more is known of its subsequent fate until, at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, the Church of S. Basil was built by Pope Symmachus I. upon the ruins of the temple, and out of its materials,[5] and the bell tower of the adjoining monastery of the Annunziata was afterwards erected on the three remaining columns. This rubbish was cleared away from the wall and columns in 1820.

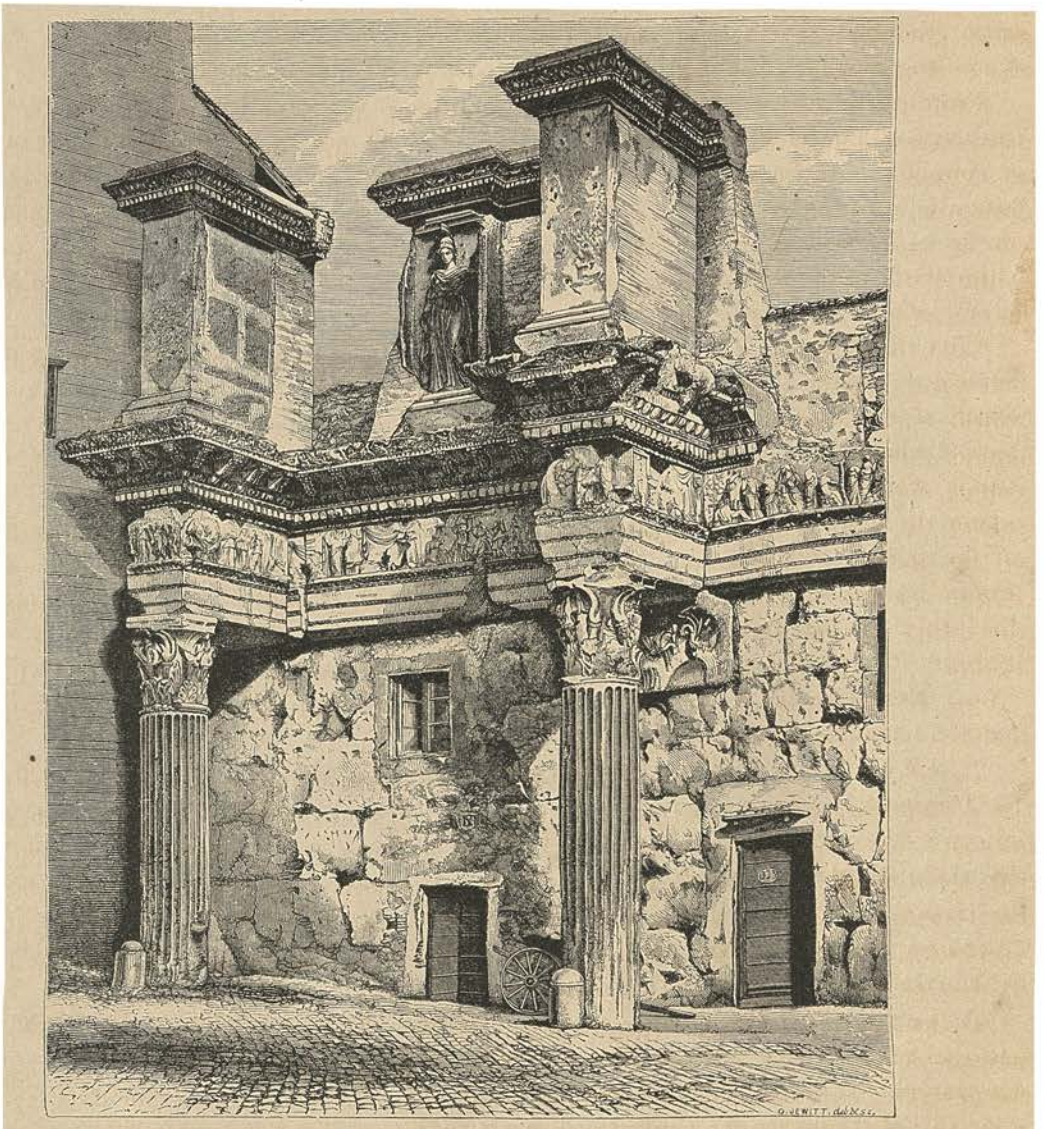
The space to the south-east of the Forum of Augustus now traversed by the Via della Croce Bianca was occupied in the Imperial period by the Forum of Nerva, also called the Forum Transitorium and Pervium, because it was built in order to unite the Forum of Augustus with the Forum Pacis of Vespasian which lay to the south-east of it, and also because the road from the Forum Romanum to the Subura passed through it.[6] The catalogue called the *Curiosum Urbis Romæ Regionum* places it in the Fourth Region, between the Basilica Æmilia, the Temple of Faustina, and the Subura;[7] and Martial speaks of it under the name of Palladium Forum, as near the Forum Pacis.[8] The name Palladium was, as we shall see, given to it on account of the Temple of Minerva which it contained. The *Ordo Romanus*, also, a ritual book of the twelfth century, in describing the route of an Easter procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran, makes it pass between the Forum Julium and Forum Trajani, and thence through the Arch of Nervia, between the temple of that goddess and the Temple of Janus, and thence along the Sacred Way to the Temple of Romulus (S. Cosma e Damiano).[9] According to this somewhat obscure description, the Forum of Nerva plainly lay to the east of the Forum Augusti, and between it and the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano. The Temple of Nervia seems to be a confusion between the Forum of Nerva and the Temple of

Forum of Nerva.

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 8, 18, § 48.
[2] Tac. Ann. ii. 64.
[3] Dion Cass. lv. 10.
[4] Spart. Had. 19.
[5] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. p. 143; Blond. Flav. Rom. Inst. lib. iii. § 61; Donat. De Urb. ii. 23, in Græv. Thes. vol. iii.
[6] Lamprid. Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28; Aur. Vict. Cæs. 12; Eutrop. vii. 23.
[7] Curiosum Reg. iv.; Becker, Handbuch, vol. i. p. 713.
[8] Mart. lib. i. 2, 8.
[9] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. p. 143.

Minerva, and it will be shown that there was a Temple of Janus in the Forum of Nerva, to which the *Ordo Romanus* here alludes.

From the above notices we are led to place the Forum Nervæ in the district through which the Via della Croce Bianca passes, and to connect it with the ruin commonly called



PORTION OF THE PERIBOLUS OF NERVA'S FORUM: COLONNACCE.

the Temple of Minerva, still standing on the right-hand side of that street, where it is crossed by the Via Alessandrina. Two columns are there to be seen, now called the Colonnacce, half buried in the earth, surmounted by an entablature and an attica.

The wall behind the columns is built of blocks of peperino of unequal size, and is in a style of masonry inferior to the walls of the Forum of Augustus. In it may be seen the traces of an arch which has been filled up with the same stone as that of which the wall is built. The columns, which are of fluted marble, stand out in front of the wall; but, as in the Arch of Severus, the entablature does not lie between them, but projects from the wall over the capitals, and unites them with the wall. The edges of the architrave are richly decorated, and the frieze contains an elaborately carved bas-relief, which, though unfortunately much disfigured, can be partially understood by the help of old engravings taken before it was reduced to its present lamentable state.

From these it appears that the figures represent various attributes of Minerva as the patroness of household management. Some of them are drawing water, others weaving or spinning, and others dyeing, washing, holding scales and purses, as if bargaining. The design is incomplete, and was probably carried round the rest of the frieze of the enclosure. On the cornices, both upper and lower, the ornamentation is very rich, but not so chaste as the work of the Augustan period. In the centre of the attica stands a figure of Minerva in *alto relievo*, with spear, helmet, and shield.

That this beautiful ruin, which is one of the most picturesque in Rome, belonged to the outer wall of Nerva's Forum, is rendered certain by the old views of the sixteenth century,[1] which represent it as part of the inner side of the wall enclosing a splendid temple which stood to the north-west of it. Seven of the columns of this temple were still standing in the fifteenth century, belonging to the left-hand side of the portico, and a considerable part also of the walls of the *cella*, with the pilasters of the portico. The *cella* of the temple adjoined the semicircular part of Augustus's Forum on one side, and, as will be seen by the plan, the wall of the enclosure met it on the other, so that only the portico of the temple projected into the open space of the Forum. On the front were the words—probably the last line of a longer inscription—"Imp. Nerva, Cæsar, Aug. Pont. Maxim. Trib. pot. II. Imp. II. Procos.," showing that the temple was dedicated by Nerva.[2]

Temple of Minerva.

There can be but little doubt that this was the Temple of Minerva begun, together with the Forum, by Domitian, and finished by Nerva.[3] It is true that there is no actual mention in any of the ancient writers of a Temple of Minerva here, but the assertion of Dion Cassius that Domitian had a particular reverence for Minerva and Janus,[4] and the character of the designs and statue of Minerva found upon the ruined part of the enclosure already described, leave little doubt on the subject. The name of Palladium, given to the Forum by Martial, also agrees with this supposition.[5]

A Temple of Janus also stood in this Forum. It is mentioned in the above-quoted passage of the *Ordo Romanus*, and also in Johannes Lydus and Servius, who describe it as having four arches (*quadifrons*).[6] The fact that it differed from the old Temple of Janus, which was in the shape of a single arch, while this new one, built by Domitian, had four arches, is alluded to by Martial, who, speaking

Temple of Janus.

[1] Alexandro Donato, De Urb. Rom. ii. 23, in Græv. Thes. vol. iii.; Du Perac, Vestigj di Roma.

[2] Lucio Fauno, Antichita di Roma, lib. ii. p. 72; Gamucci, Ant. lib. i. p. 52; Roma, 1569.

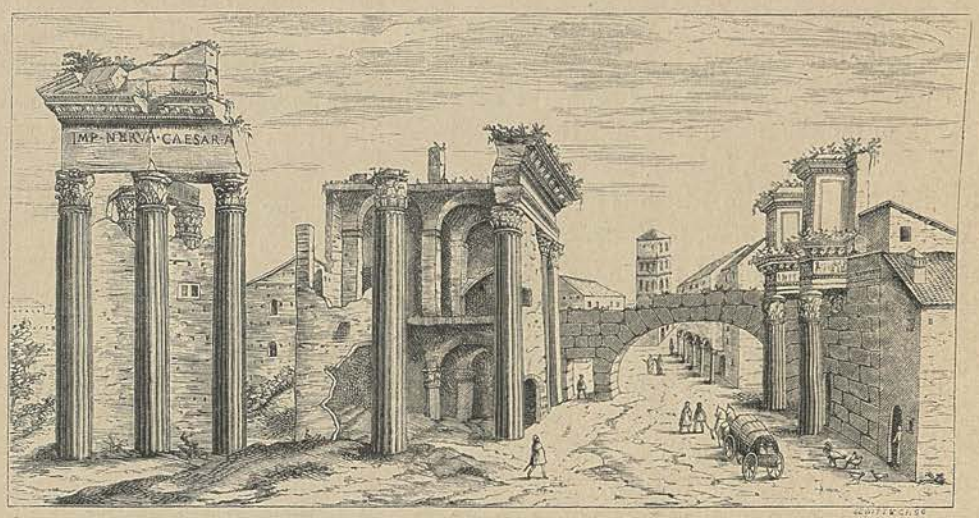
[3] Suet. Dom. 5.

[4] Dion Cass. lxvii. 1.

[5] Mart. Ep. i. 2, 8.

[6] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. ii. p. 143; Joh. Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 1; Serv. Ad Æn. vii. 607.

of the four Fora of the day, congratulates Janus on having now as many faces as there are Fora.[1] It is at once evident that this Temple of Janus Quadrifrons had reference to the fact that the Forum formed a passage (*transitorium*) in one direction between the Forum Romanum and the Subura, and, in the other, between the Forum Augusti and the Forum Pacis. An explanation is thus also given of the Catalogue contained in the Curiosum, which mentions the Forum Nervæ in the eighth region, and a Forum Transitorium in the fourth. For the important street corresponding to the modern Via della Croce Bianca, which passed through this Forum from the Forum Romanum to the Subura, formed the boundary line of the two regions; and thus half of the Forum was in one region and half



FORUM OF NERVA, AS IT APPEARED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
(*From Du Perac.*)

in the other. The reason why the arch near the Temple of Minerva is represented in Du Perac's views as so large, is that one of the chief thoroughfares of Rome passed through it.[2]

The breadth of the streets, which crossed each other at right angles at the Temple of Janus, and the colossal statues, some of them equestrian, which Alexander Severus placed in the Forum in honour of his canonized predecessors, attaching to them brazen columns, in imitation of those upon the statues in the Forum of Augustus, upon which were recorded the deeds of each Emperor,[3] must have left but little space for shops or offices; so that this Forum was not so much a place of business as a connecting link between the important centres of Roman life in the adjoining districts.

In the twelfth century, the *Ordo Romanus*, as we have seen, mentions the Temple of Janus and the Temple of Minerva as still standing. The former seems to have been known

[1] Mart. x. 28, 6. See also Statius (Silv. iv. 3, 9), who distinctly attributes the commencement of the Forum (*coronat*, in the present tense) to Domitian.

[2] Mommsen, *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xvi. p. 314.

[3] Lamprid. Hist. Aug. Alex Sev. 28.

in the Middle Ages as Noah's Ark,[1] a name which, in the ignorance of those times, might be given to any old building of unusual shape, such as this Temple of Janus.

A complete description of a square temple, the ruins of which are said to have been found between S. Adriano and the Temple of Antoninus, is given by Labacco in his work on Architecture.[2]

It seems, however, that, as Reber suggests, Labacco's description is an instance of *ex pede Herculem*, for the actual remains appear to have been but small. Nevertheless, the fact that the temple discovered was square in form, and that its position corresponded to the south-western end of Nerva's Forum, where we should, according to the authorities, place the Temple of Janus, cannot be doubted. The ruins were not near enough to the Forum Romanum to identify them, as Becker does, with one of the Jani of the Forum; nor can they be supposed to have belonged to the old Temple of Janus, which was to the north-west of the Church of S. Adriano. The fate of the Temple of Minerva is better known than that of most of the ancient temples in Rome. In the time of Pope Pius V. (1566—1572) the building of a new quarter of the city was begun in this district. The streets Via Alessandrina and Via Bonella were laid out, and as the new quarter grew the ruins of the old temple became an impediment to its progress, for which reason Paul V., in the beginning of the seventeenth century, ordered them to be removed and to be applied to the construction of the Chapel of St. Paul in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and the Fontana Paolo, upon the Janiculum. The great gateway which stood at the end of the Via della Croce Bianca was suffered to remain for a century longer, but is now quite gone.

History of the Temple of Minerva.

With the exception of some ruins of a wall of peperino now standing in the court of the Franciscan Monastery behind the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano, not a stone is left of the Forum of Vespasian. Its position is, however, tolerably certain. Martial, in the passage already quoted, speaks of it, under the name of Forum Paçis, as near the Forum of Nerva;[3] and Suetonius says that it adjoined the Forum Romanum.[4] In Roncalli's collection of ancient chronological works, the warehouses of Eastern spice are spoken of as near the Forum Pacis and the Basilica of Constantine, the ruins of the latter of which buildings are well known;[5] so that we may conclude that these two buildings were close together.

Forum of Vespasian, or Forum Pacis.

The site must, therefore, be placed in the district between the ruin called the Colonacce, the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano, and the Basilica of Constantine. Strictly speaking, this group of buildings could hardly be called a Forum. We have no reason for thinking that it was used for legal business, though the mention of spice warehouses seems to show that trade was carried on there.[6] The temple was the central and principal part of the group of buildings, and the name of Forum seems to have been given to the enclosure surrounding it from the resemblance it bore to the other Imperial Fora.

Vespasian dedicated the temple in A.D. 75, four years after the triumph he celebrated

[1] Lucio Fauno, Antichita di Roma, p. 72; Gamucci, lib. i. p. 52.

[2] Antonio Labacco, Libro appartenente a l'Architettura. Roma, 1558, pp. 17, 18.

[3] Mart. i. 2, 8. [4] Suet. Vesp. 9.

[5] Roncalli, Vet. Chron. vol. ii. p. 243. Martinus Polonus and the Mirabilia Romæ also place the Templum Pacis behind S. Cosma e Damiano, but very little weight can be allowed to the maunderings of these wretched mediæval scribblers. Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. p. 294.

[6] Dion Cass. lxxii. 24.

in commemoration of the capture of Jerusalem, on which occasion the building had been begun.[1] Josephus gives a detailed account of the triumphal procession, and adds that the temple surpassed all expectation in magnificence. Money was lavished without stint upon it, and it was adorned with the finest ancient works of art. All the wonders for the sake of seeing which men formerly travelled into distant lands might here be viewed in one building. The golden table of shewbread, weighing many talents, and the golden candlestick from the Temple at Jerusalem were deposited in it.[2]

Templum Pacis contained a large collection of works of art, and trophies.

This description of Josephus may seem extravagant, but it is corroborated by Pliny and Herodian. Pliny ranks this Temple of Peace with the Basilica Paulli and the Forum of Augustus, as the three most splendid buildings in the world before the Forum of Trajan was built; and Herodian calls it the greatest and most beautiful ornament of Rome, and the richest of all temples.[3] We have, unfortunately, but little information about the particular works of art here collected. A recumbent statue of the river-god Nilus, made of lapis basanites, a very hard Egyptian stone of ferruginous colour, was among the most celebrated, and is the more interesting because the description of it given by Pliny exactly answers to the statue which was discovered in the time of Leo X. (1513—1522), and is now placed in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum. The Nile is represented as a colossal recumbent figure, holding a cornucopia, and surrounded by sixteen children (said by Pliny to represent the sixteen cubits height to which the Nile rose in the highest inundation ever known), and by a crocodile, ichneumon, and hippopotamus.[4] The Nile group discovered in the sixteenth century is an ancient copy in marble of this older group in basanites, and was found in the ruins of a Temple of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, near Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva. The modern copy in the Garden of the Tuileries at Paris is well known. A statue of Ganymede in this temple seems also to have been famous in Juvenal's time as a place for assignations;[5] and a statue of Cheimon, an Argive wrestler, and victor in the Olympian games, the work of the sculptor Naucydes of Argos, was much admired.[6]

The Temple of Peace also contained a fine collection of pictures, among which "The Hero," by Timanthes, was considered to be the most perfect model of a manly figure. The *chef-d'œuvre* of Protogenes, his picture of Talyrus, the Rhodian hero, was also here, during the execution of which the artist is said to have lived on boiled beans, in order that the delicacy of his sense of beauty might not be impaired by rich food. Pliny states that Protogenes painted this picture with four coats of paint, in order that it might last the longer, and that one of the most curious parts of the picture was an exquisite representation of foam at the mouth of a dog, accidentally produced by dabbing the sponge upon the place in despair, after many fruitless attempts.[7]

A picture of Scylla, by Nicomachus, is also mentioned as kept in this temple.[8] There was a library there, and literary discussions were held in it. A curious instance of

[1] Dion Cass. lxvi. 15.
[2] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, 7.
[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, § 102; Herodian, i. 14. See also Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.
[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 7, § 58.
[5] Juvenal, Sat. ix. 22.
[6] Pausanias, vi. 9, 3; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 8, § 19.
[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 10, § 102.
[8] Ibid. xxxv. 10, § 109.

the influence of the critics of the Temple of Peace has been preserved by Trebellius Pollio the biographer, who lived in the time of Constantine. In his "Lives of the Emperors," popularly called the Thirty Tyrants, he makes an apology at the end of his book for having included two queens among the number, Zenobia and Victoria; and in order to avoid, as he says, the severe remarks which would be made upon him in the Temple of Peace for having done so, he begs to be allowed to introduce two tyrants from a different period, Titus and Censorinus, to make up the number.[1] The public library is also mentioned by Gellius, who speaks of searching for books there.[2]

In the time of Commodus a great fire injured this temple and the adjoining spice warehouses.[3] Herodian and Galen both speak as if it had burnt the whole group of buildings down;[4] but the library, as we have seen, was extant in the time of Constantine, since it is mentioned by Trebellius Pollio, in the passage above quoted, and the Forum is spoken of as retaining its grandeur at the time of the visit of Constantius to Rome:[5] so that we must suppose that the injury done by the fire was not very serious.

During the regency of Amalasontha, the daughter of Theodoric the Great (522—534), the Temple of Peace is mentioned as lying in ruins, having been struck by lightning. There were still at that time a large number of statues by the greatest of Greek sculptors, Phidias and Lysippus, remaining in the adjoining Forum, among which was that of the bull standing over a fountain, said to have been mistaken for a real animal by a passing bullock, and the heifer of Myson, one of the most celebrated of ancient sculptures.[6]

The name Forum Pacis appears to have been applied to the ruins till the beginning of the sixth century, and the name Forum Vespasiani at a still later period;[7] but, though some of the ruins must have survived the Middle Ages, we do not find any mention or description of them.

Forum of Trajan.

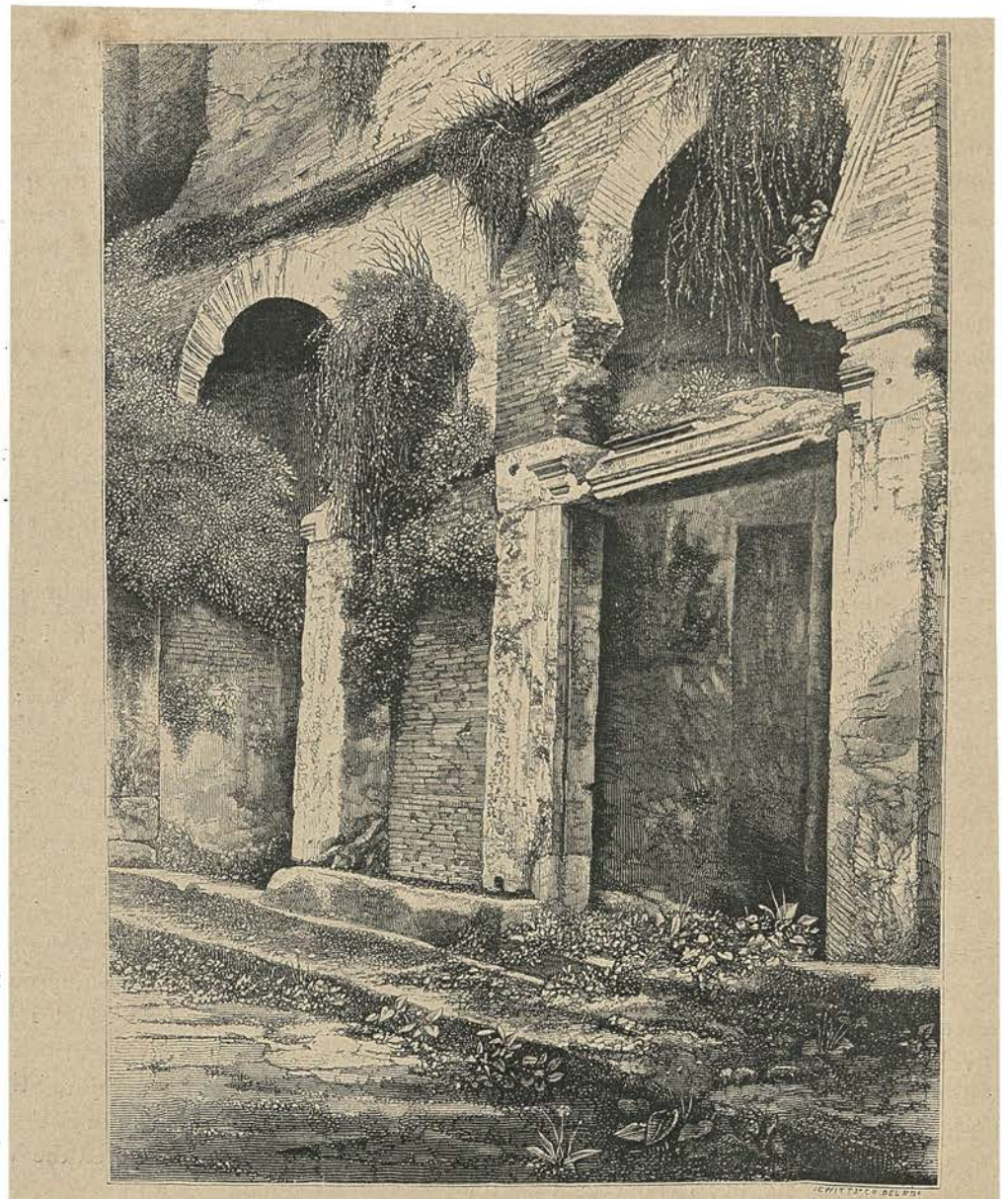
The immense group of public buildings which, under the name of the Forum of Trajan, filled the whole space between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills from the modern Via del Priorato to the southern end of the Piazza di SS. Apostoli, comprehended not only a spacious open Forum adjoining the Forum of Augustus, but also a basilica, a cloistered court surrounding the celebrated column which bears Trajan's name, two libraries, and a splendid temple with its enclosure.

The Forum Proper, which Gellius calls the Area Fori,[8] and Ammianus the Atrium,[9] was a large rectangular court, surrounded with porticoes, having a double row of columns, and occupying the space between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills where they approach each other most nearly. On the sides which lay under the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills respectively it had enormous semicircular extensions, similar to those already described in the Forum of Augustus. One of these is fortunately still preserved so far uninjured that we can plainly trace its plan and extent. The name commonly given to it is the Baths of Paullus Æmilius, and from this mistaken idea the street which adjoins it is called the Via Magnanapoli (Balnea Paulli or Magnanimi Paulli).

By entering the court of the house No. 6, in the Via della Salita del Grillo, the ruins of

[1] Treb. Poll. Hist. Aug. Tyr. Trig. 31.
[2] Gell. v. 21, 9; xvi. 8, 2.
[3] Dion Cass. lxxii. 24.
[4] Herodian, i. 14; Galen, De Comp. Med. i. 1.
[5] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.
[6] Procop. Goth. iv. 21; Auson. Epig. 58.
[7] Procop. loc. cit.; Roncalli, vol. ii. pp. 243, 277.
[8] Gell. xiii. 25, 2.
[9] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.

the northern hemicycle of the Forum of Trajan will be best seen. Half of them are still unfortunately covered with rubbish, and used as a garden ; but the other half, the curve of which is about forty-five paces in length, gives us a fair idea of what the building was



SHOPS IN TRAJAN'S FORUM.

originally. The pavement was apparently composed of the usual polygonal blocks of basalt, and the buildings which remain are of brick, with the exception of the jambs of the doors, the bases and capitals of the pilasters, and a low basement, all of which are made

of travertine. Upon this basement a brick building of two stories rises, containing in the lower story small rooms, measuring about ten feet square, probably shops or offices for notaries and lawyer's clerks. The interior of three of the rooms is covered with plaster, and painted roughly with red and yellow stripes. The floors were covered with mosaic pavement of a common description, a good deal of which is still remaining *in situ*. In the upper story above these rooms, which is reached by three staircases, runs a corridor with arched windows, at the back of which a row of large and high chambers opens, resting not on any lower story, but upon the natural tufa of the Quirinal Hill, which rises behind. These were probably the rooms in which the shopkeepers or notaries lived. The front of this upper story is ornamented with brick pilasters, standing on a basement of travertine. The entablature over them is also of brick, and the style of the whole is that mixture of Doric and Ionic so often seen in Roman buildings of the Imperial age. These buildings were laid open by excavations in 1824 and 1825. The older engravings of the front of the ruins show that there formerly were pediments over the windows, alternately of truncated, triangular, and circular forms in the Roman-Greek style.[1] On the opposite side of the Forum there was probably a similar semicircular range of buildings, but this is now entirely covered by the block of houses between the Via de Chiavi d'Oro and the Via di Marforio. Canina gives an account in the *Annali dell' Instituto* of some traces supposed to belong to this western hemicycle which were found in the cellars of that district.[2] The south-eastern side of the Forum is also completely hidden under the houses of the modern town. If we may suppose that the Forum of Augustus adjoined it, then the Via del Priorato will limit its extent, and the principal entrance may be placed in the centre of that side.

It is probable that over the entrance stood the Triumphal Arch of Trajan, mentioned by Dion Cassius and represented on the coin No. 12 in the plate at the end of Becker's Handbook.[3] This arch had only one passage through it, on either side of which stood six columns. Between the shafts are four niches for statues, and between the capitals four medallions. The attica is divided into seven compartments; the central one intended for an inscription, and the six side ones probably for reliefs. On the top stands a triumphal chariot with six horses, and six statues of warriors.[4]

Trajan's Triumphal Arch.

From this arch the medallions and some of the reliefs now to be seen upon the Arch of Constantine were taken, an act of Vandalism which bears most striking testimony to the rapid decline of art which took place during the two hundred years which intervened between Trajan and Constantine. If the latter Emperor had wished to triumph over the downfall of the art of sculpture, he could not have done it in a more striking way than by placing as he did these beautifully-executed reliefs, robbed from Trajan's Arch, side by side with the miserable productions of his own age.

The porticoes which ran round the sides of the Forum Trajanum must have contained offices, and perhaps shops of various kinds. Upon the entablature which surmounted

[1] See Desgodetz, Édifices Antiques de Rome, p. 138; Dureau de la Malle in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xii. p. 285, where plans and elevations of these ruins are given; Venuti, Antichita di Roma, vol. i. p. 100; Du Perac, Vestigj; Gamucci, Ant. di Roma, p. 152.

[2] Canina, *Ann. dell' Inst.* xxiii. 1851, p. 131.

[3] Becker, Handbook, vol. i. plate 5, No. 12; Dion Cass. lxviii. 29.

[4] See Pellegrini, in *Bulletino dell' Inst.* 1863, p. 78.

them, and the pediments of the surrounding buildings, stood gilded statues of horses and military ensigns.[1]

In the centre of the area stood the equestrian statute of Trajan, which gave rise to the often-repeated story told by Ammianus of the Emperor Constantius, who, on his visit to Rome, after expressing his unbounded astonishment at the magnificence of the city, and in particular of the colossal buildings in Trajan's Forum, declared his despair of ever being able to rival them, and added that the only thing he saw which he thought he could and would imitate was the equestrian statue of Trajan. Thereupon the Persian Prince Hormisda, who was attending him, exclaimed, "Your Majesty must first build, if you can, a stable like this, in which to stall the horse you propose to make, if he is to be properly lodged."[2] Other statues in great numbers of triumphatores and other celebrities stood in different parts of the Forum. Marcus Antoninus Philosophus erected here statues of all the officers of noble birth who had fallen in the Marcomannic war.[3]

Basilica Ulpia.

The north-western side of the Forum was formed by a splendid basilica, to the sides of which the two double rows of columns standing upon the bases now to be seen in the Piazza Trajana belonged. Canina has most ingeniously restored the ground plan of this basilica from two fragments of the Capitoline plan, one of which contains the letters BASIL, and the other VLPIA.[4] The basilica was called Ulpia, from the family name of Trajan, and this name is given to it on several ancient medals; but it also bore the name Trajani.[5] According to the Capitoline plan, then, as restored by Canina, and the excavated foundations, the building was divided into a central nave and four side aisles by rows of columns, and had at each end a tribune or apse of the usual semicircular shape. One of these tribunes bears upon the Capitoline plan the name LIBERTATIS, and Canina, in order to explain this, has not without probability adduced the fact that the ceremony of manumission was performed in one of the tribunals of the Basilica Ulpia.[6] He further suggests that this part of the basilica may have been built upon the site of the former Libertatis Atrium, mentioned by Cicero as the point to which it was originally intended to extend the Forum Julium.[7]

A great part of the central area of this basilica is now uncovered, and numerous fragments of columns and pavement which have been there discovered show the costly character of the work. The columns dividing the nave were probably of the richest marbles, such as pavonazetto and giallo antico, of which many fragments have been found, and the floor was of variously coloured marbles, while the outer columns, exposed to the air, were of grey granite. A mistake has been made in setting up these granite columns on the bases of the columns of the interior of the basilica, to which they do not answer in size.[8]

[1] Sidon. Apoll. Carm. viii. 8; Gell. xiii. 25, 1.

[2] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.

[3] Jul. Cap. in Hist. Aug. M. Ant. Phil. 22.

[4] Canina, Indic. p. 259. The only objection I can see to this restoration of Canina's is the apparent difference between the arrangement of the columns at the corner of the Forum next to the basilica as shown upon the plan, and as shown by the excavated foundations. But the plan of the excavated foundations has not been clearly enough made out at this point to entitle such an objection to the weight it would otherwise have.

[5] Lamprid. Comm. Hist. Aug. p. 46 B.

[6] Claud. in Eutrop. i. 310; Sidon. Apoll. Carm. ii. 545; Claud. De Sext. Cons. Honor. 646.

[7] Cic. Ad. Att. iv. 16, § 14.

[8] It is very unlikely that the granite columns now placed upon the bases stood there originally. They probably belonged to the external pillars only and the interior columns were of marble.

Two medals are extant, one of which is figured in Becker's Handbook,[1] representing the outside of this basilica. In one of them, which appears to belong to the side fronting the Forum, three projecting porticoes with columns are seen, which formed the grand entrance,

TRAJAN'S COLUMN, WITH THE BASES OF THE COLUMNS OF THE BASILICA ULPIA AND THE CHURCH OF NOME DI MARIA.

[The rising ground on the right is a part of the Quirinal Hill.]

and on the roof of the attica above them are statues of men and horses. The excavations show that there were three doors on the side towards the Forum, but only one on the north side. The roof appears to have been of bronze, for Pausanias, in enumerating the buildings

[1] Becker, Plate 5, No. 13. Some of the details of the decorative architecture of this basilica have been restored in the *Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch.* vol. v. tav. 39. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1851, p. 131.

of Trajan, speaks of the Forum built at Rome by that Emperor, which was remarkable especially for its roof of bronze. Now this roof must have belonged to the basilica, for the Forum was of course open to the air.[1]

It is to be observed that, upon the fragment of the Capitoline plan which contains the outline of the Basilica Ulpia, another rectangular building is represented as standing to the north of the eastern tribune, with a row of columns round the interior. Now although indisputable authority cannot be claimed for this portion of the Capitoline plan, because it is evidently one of the later restorations;[2] yet as it exactly agrees with the place usually assigned to a part of the Ulpian library, we have here a confirmation of the general opinion of topographers, that the library was placed in two buildings situated on either side of the court in which the column stood. One of the two library buildings was devoted to Latin and another to Greek books.[3] Gellius speaks of reading the edicts of the ancient prætors there, so that State papers must have been included among the documents.[4] The books were at one time removed to the baths of Diocletian,[5] but appear to have been replaced again, for at the end of the seventh century we still find the library used for literary discussions and poetical recitations.[6]

Greek and Latin libraries.

The great pillar, with its well-known spiral bas-reliefs, perhaps the most interesting and instructive monument of antiquity in Rome, was surrounded, when the buildings round it were complete, with a narrow court not more than forty feet square. The south side of this was formed by the basilica, the eastern and western by the libraries, and on the north there was probably an open colonnade, the line of which can be traced to the enclosure beyond, in which stood the temple dedicated to Trajan. Thus we discover a fact, which seems at first somewhat surprising, that the pillar could not be viewed in its full height from any side, and that the upper part of it alone was visible from the Forum over the roof of the basilica. That it was intentionally thus enclosed is evident, for had the Greek architect Apollodorus of Damascus,[7] who designed the Forum, wished it to be where the full colossal proportions could be seen, there was the open space of the Forum close at hand, in the centre of which it might have been placed. But it is not unlikely that the sight of a column was almost inseparable, in the Greek architectural ideas, from an entablature and pediment. The Greeks did not place their statues on the tops of columns,[8] and probably had this reason for it, that a single column cannot form a whole by itself, and wears a forsaken and deserted aspect when viewed from a distance. An obelisk conveys a different meaning, and the use of a single column cannot be justified by it. The obelisk tapers upwards and completes itself, but a column instantly conveys the idea of something heavy to be supported. Obelisks, moreover, were never used singly by the Egyptians, but always placed in pairs at the gateways of their temples. The intention of the architect was not that the column should be viewed, as we now view it, as a whole, but that the colossal statue of the Emperor should be raised on high above his splendid

Column of Trajan.

[1] Pausanias, v. 12, 6; x. 5, 11; Roncalli, Vet. Chron. p. 204.

[2] See note on the Capitoline plan at the end of chap. viii.

[3] Sidon. Apoll. Ep. ix. 16; Carm. xxvii. seq.; Dion Cass. lxviii. 16.

[4] Gell. xi. 17, 1.

[5] Vopisc. Hist. Aug. Prob. 2.

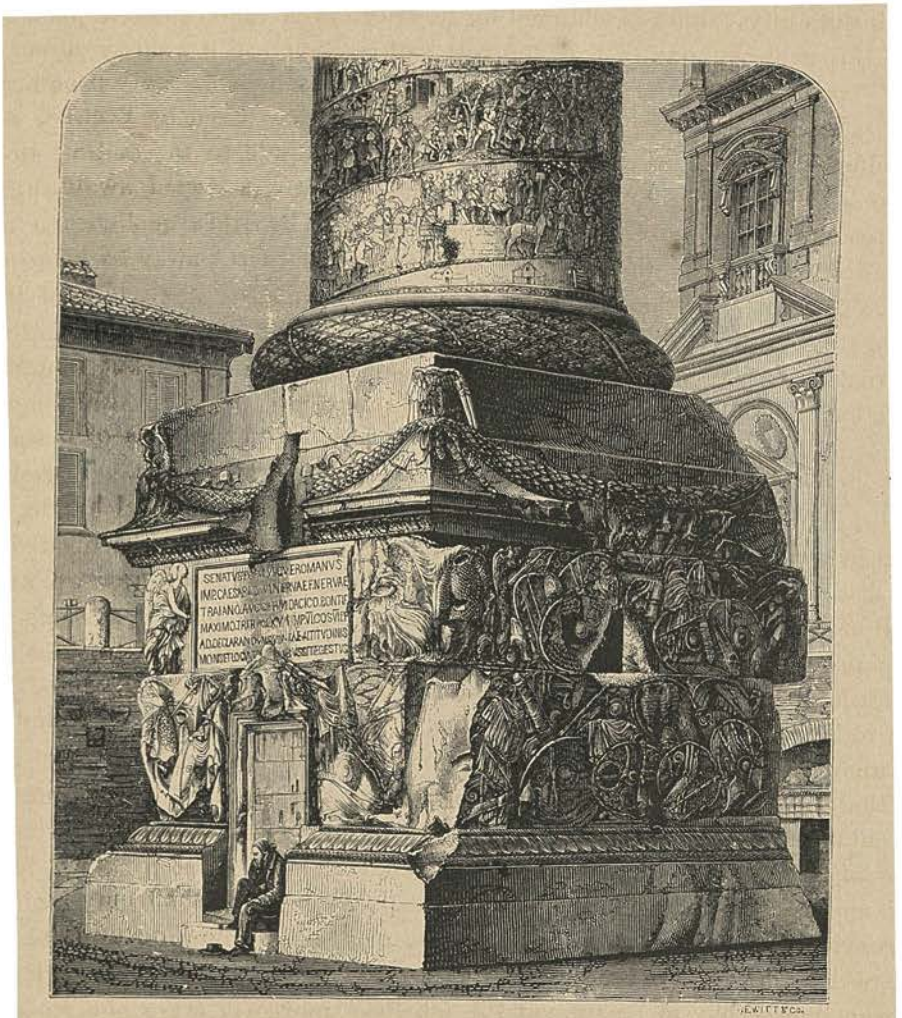
[6] Venant. Fort. lib. iii. 23, 7; Sidon. Apoll. loc. cit. quoted by Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838.

[7] Dion Cass. lxix. 4.

[8] The passage quoted by Merivale, vol. vii. p. 246, from Plin. xxxiv. 6, 12, relates to statues only, and not to columns with statues upon them.

group of buildings, and also that the bas-reliefs should be conveniently viewed from the surrounding galleries.[1]

The height of the column is 124 feet from the pavement to the foot of the statue.[2] It is usually considered to belong to the Tuscan order of architecture as described by Vitruvius, and to be, with the exception of its sister column in the Piazza Colonna, the only specimen of that order in Rome. It stands upon a pedestal of marble 18 feet high,



BASE OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

ornamented on three sides with highly interesting bas-reliefs, representing trophies of Roman and Dacian armour of various kinds, the Roman labarum and the Dacian dragon, coats of mail made of scale or chain armour, helmets, curved and straight swords, axes, clubs, bows, quivers, arrows, lances, trumpets, and several kinds of military tools. On the fourth side two genii bear the tablet, on which is the inscription :—SENATVS

[1] See Fergusson's Principles of Art, p. 494.

[2] See chap. xiii. The shaft is exactly 100 Roman feet high, inclusive of base and capital. *Annali dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 255.

POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F. NERVAE TRAJANO AVG. GERM. DACICO PONTIF. MAXIMO TRIB. POT. XII IMP VI PP AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITVDINIS MONS ET LOCUS TANT[is operi] BUS SIT EGESTVS.

The last words of this inscription are illustrated by a passage of Dion Cassius, who says that Trajan placed a colossal pillar in his Forum to be his own tomb, and also to show the amount of labour expended upon the Forum, the slope of the hill which previously occupied the site having been dug away so as to afford a level space for the Forum.[1] There is no need to interpret this, as some writers have done, to mean that the ground on the spot where the column stands had previously been as high as the top of the column. Such an interpretation seems highly improbable. The view taken by Becker and Brocchi, as mentioned above, is more tenable, that the words allude to the cutting away of the Quirinal hill, which was steep and inaccessible before, but was sloped away to a point on the side of the hill as high as the top of the column. Brocchi's geological observations have made it almost certain that the ground has not been cut away to any great depth between these two hills.[2]

In the base of the column the ashes of Trajan were deposited in a golden urn.[3] Sixtus V. had the chamber in which this urn was deposited opened, but found it empty, and it has now been walled up.[4]

Above the pedestal are two flat stones ornamented with garlands of oak leaves, and upon them rests a round base carved in the shape of a laurel wreath. The shaft, which stands immediately upon this, is composed of twenty-three cylindrical blocks of marble, on the outside of which a spiral band of beautifully-executed bas-reliefs winds from bottom to top, covering the whole shaft. The capital is a single ring of egg-shaped ornaments, with arrow-heads between them, and a simple border below. On a pedestal above it stood originally the colossal bronze-gilt statue of Trajan. This statue and pedestal were probably carried off during the robberies committed at Rome by the Byzantine Emperors A.D. 663.[5] Sixtus V. replaced it by a modern cylindrical pedestal and a statue of St. Peter. The ancient winding staircase, hewn in the solid blocks of marble and lighted by narrow openings, still leads to the top. From thence it may be seen how difficult it is to suppose that the ground ever rose to such a height between the Capitol and Quirinal as has been imagined by many historians and topographers.[6]

The magnificent wreath of bas-reliefs which winds round the shaft may be best studied by means of the model to be seen in the French Academy on the Pincian hill. It contains the history of two campaigns against the Dacians, and has been ingeniously and minutely interpreted by several writers. A complete account of this marble history of the Dacian wars, with a discussion of all the historical and antiquarian points connected with it, would occupy several volumes, and we

Bas-reliefs representing scenes in the Dacian wars.

[1] Dion Cass. lxviii. 16.

[2] Becker, Handbuch note 737; Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 133. The top of the column is only six feet lower than the level of the Villa Aldobrandini on the top of the Quirinal, and two feet *higher* than the Piazza di Ara Cœli. If, therefore, at any time the ground on the site of Trajan's Forum was as high as the column, it must have formed a ridge higher than the Capitoline and very nearly as high as the Quirinal.

[3] Dion Cass. lxviii. 16, lxix. 2; Aur. Vict. Epit. ii. Eutrop. viii. 5.

[4] Becker, Handbuch, p. 384.

[5] Anastas. Vit. Pont. vol. i. p. 132.

[6] Merivale's expressions (vol. i. p. 2, and vol. vii. p. 243) seem to me much too strong. He allows however, in his note, that the common interpretation of the inscription is very hard to accept.

must therefore content ourselves with noticing the general character of the work, and some few of the more interesting portions.

Two campaigns are represented. The first of these took place in the year 101, and during it Trajan's army passed down the river Save, and crossed the Danube in two divisions,—at Kastolatz and at the confluence of the Tjerna. The two divisions effected a junction at the pass of the Bistra, called the Iron Gate, which they forced, and then attacked and took the royal city Zermizegethusa. Trajan was not satisfied with this success, but pushed on into the heart of the enemy's country, and gained a great victory at Tapæ, after which Decebalus, the Dacian king, sued for peace.

Trajan's first campaign in Dacia.

The bas-relief begins at the base by a representation of the banks of the Save, down which the Roman army passed, and shows military storehouses, piles of wood, stacks of hay, and wooden huts. Then follow forts with soldiers on guard, and boats carrying barrels of provisions.

The river-god Danube then appears, and looks on with astonishment at the bridge of boats over which the Roman army is passing.[1] The baggage of the soldiers on the march, tied to the top of the vallum or palisade which they carry, and the different military standards, are very distinctly shown. Many of the men are without covering on their heads, but some wear lions' skins.[2] The Emperor and his staff are then introduced. He is sitting upon a suggestus, or platform, and Lucius, the Prætorian Prefect, sits beside him.[3] The Suovetaurilia, a grand sacrificial celebration, is the next scene, with priests in the cinctus gabinus, and trumpeters.[4] After this the Emperor is seen making an harangue to the troops; and a little further on the building of a stone encampment enclosing huts is being carried on with great vigour, and bridges are being thrown across a river, over which cavalry are crossing.[5]

A battle seems then to take place, and the heads of two enemies are being brought to the Emperor. The Dacian army, with the dragon ensign and the Dacian cap, the symbol of superior rank, seen upon the statues of the Dacian prisoners on the Arch of Constantine, appears;[6] Jupiter gives the victory to the Romans, the Dacian camp is burnt, and the Dacians fly.[7]

Numerous representations of forts, boats, different kinds of troops, skirmishes, and sieges follow, ending with the surrender of Decebalus, and the return of Trajan to Rome, where a great festival is celebrated. The arrival at Rome, and the crowds of Romans going to meet the great conqueror, are very vividly drawn. An immense number of bulls for sacrifice, altars, camilli, and half-naked popæ are introduced into the triumphal rejoicings, and the first campaign ends with the figure of Trajan offering incense at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus.[8]

A somewhat similar series of scenes is represented in the sculptures which depict the second campaign. Perhaps the most interesting is that of the great bridge over the Danube,[9]

[1] Fabretti, Colonna Trajana, No. 40.
[2] Ibid. No. 43.
[3] Ibid. No. 65.
[4] Ibid. Nos. 78—80. Compare the bas-reliefs now on the Arch of Constantine taken from Trajan's arch.
[5] Fabretti, Nos. 87—120.
[6] Dion Cass. lxviii. 9.
[7] Fabretti, Nos. 131, 132—138.
[8] Ibid. Nos. 221, 237, 242.
[9] Ibid. No. 260. The bridge is described in Dion Cass. lxviii. 13; Merivale, vol. vii. p. 235; Francke, Gesch. Trajans, pp. 128, 129.

made of wood, supported on stone piers, the foundations of which may still be seen in the bed of the river. Apollodorus, Trajan's architect, designed this immense work, which crossed the Danube at a spot where it is not less than 1,300 yards wide, near the village of Gieli.[1] A permanent road into Dacia and secure communication with his basis of operations having thus been secured, Trajan gradually advanced from post to post, driving the Dacians into the mountainous parts of the country. The sculptures represent a number of skirmishes and assaults upon fortified places, but no regular pitched battle. At last the ghastly spectacle of the head and hands of Decebalus severed from his body is exhibited on a board by two soldiers in front of the Prætorium. This disgusting scene is followed by a representation of the storming of the last strongholds of the enemy in the mountains; and a mournful procession of fugitives, carrying away their goods and driving their cattle into exile, forms the close of the sculptured history of the Dacian campaigns of Trajan.[2]

Trajan's second campaign in Dacia.

In these curious bas-reliefs we have a treasury of information on the religion, the military science, the habits, and dress of the Romans of the Empire far more valuable than ten thousand pages of descriptive writing. The lover of Roman antiquities will learn more by studying Fabretti's engravings of these reliefs, or the casts at the French Academy at Rome, than by endless book-labour. The descriptions of Livy and Polybius, Cæsar and Tacitus, receive life and movement and interest as we look at the actual figures (*oculis subjecta fidelibus*) of the general and his staff, the Prætorian guards marked by their belts over the left shoulder, the fierce-looking standard-bearers and centurions, with their heads covered with wolves' skins and the shaggy manes of lions streaming down their backs, the rank and file carrying enormous stakes, the master-masons, sappers, and pioneers, with their axes and crowbars, the lancers, heavy and light cavalry, and royal chargers, the Sarmatian horsemen, clothed, riders and steeds, in complete scale armour, and the Moorish cavalry, riding without reins.

Bridges being constructed, Roman causeways laid, forts attacked with all kinds of military engines, the charge of cavalry, the rout and confusion of a defeated army, are all most vividly depicted. Trajan in person traverses the ranks on foot, or mounts the suggestus and harangues his men, or receives with simple dignity the submission of the enemy, or marches, with all the pomp of a Roman procession, under the triumphal arch. The soldier-like simplicity and *bonhomie* of the great military Emperor are strikingly portrayed. There is no silken tent, or richly-decorated chariot, or throne or canopy of state to be seen. His colonel of the guards sits beside him as an equal on the suggestus; in the midst of a battle the Emperor tears up his robe to bind the wounds of his soldiers;[3] he is present everywhere, wearing a sword and fighting in person. Nothing could be more illustrative of the state of Roman affairs in that iron age when, as in the olden times, rough and unlettered warriors, fresh from the camp, swayed the destinies of the Empire.

In this vast spiral relief there are said to be more than 2,500 sculptured figures of men, and the higher they are placed on the column the larger are their dimensions, showing the care that was taken to counteract the effects of the increased distance from the eye. The whole of the carving, from base to summit, is executed with equally minute care, though the

[1] Procop. Ædif. iv. 6. [2] Fabretti, Nos. 313, 320. [3] Dion Cass. lxviii. 8.

upper part can never have been easily visible except from the windows or roofs of the basilica and the libraries, which, as we have seen, were placed very near. The opinion which prevailed for some time, that the figures had been coloured,[1] is incorrect, as the more minute examination since made has proved that the colours thought to be artificial are the natural results of the decay of the stone and oxidization of the metallic parts of the structure under the effects of the rain, sun, and dust.[2]

Close to the Greek and Latin libraries lay the temple which Hadrian dedicated to his predecessor. We have no description of this temple left us, but its mention in conjunction with the column by Gellius, Spartianus, and the Catalogue called *Curiosum* shows beyond a doubt that it was placed to the north of the small court surrounding the column.[3] This is the only place in which it could have been situated without destroying the symmetry of the plan of Trajan's Forum. A considerable number of granite columns, supposed to have belonged to this building, have been found in digging the foundations of houses to the north-west of the Piazza of Trajan, and from the colossal size of these it may be concluded that the temple was of very large dimensions.

Temple of Trajan.

A medal figured in Becker has been supposed to represent the front of this temple, but Reber has shown[4] that the date borne by it (103 A.D.), fourteen years before Trajan's death, renders this supposition impossible, and that it probably represents a temple dedicated to Nerva by Trajan himself.[5] The only difficulty is contained in the title, "Optimo principi," on the medal, which has generally been considered as given to Trajan alone among the Roman Emperors. In the absence of positive proof, all that can be said is, that Nerva, of all the other Emperors who preceded Trajan, would be most likely to have received this title.

Thus the whole group of buildings called by the name of Trajan's Forum extended from the Via del Priorato to the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli, and at the northern end adjoined some of the great public buildings of the Campus Martius.

Of the subsequent history of this magnificent monument of Trajan's reign a few notices may be gleaned here and there. At the end of the fifth century the library seems still to have been a place of literary resort, for the statue of Sidonius Apollinaris, the poet, was placed there, as he himself mentions, in the piazza between the two libraries.[6]

Later history of the Forum Trajanum.

In the time of Charlemagne, five centuries after the Dacian victories, Paulus Diaconus, in his "Life of St. Gregory the Great," speaks of the still remaining beauty of the Forum of Trajan, having occasion to mention it in relating the wonderful delivery of the soul of "the best of Emperors" from purgatory.[7] Rome had, however, before this time been robbed by the Byzantine Emperors of all the bronze and other metals which her public buildings contained, and the roof of Trajan's basilica had doubtless suffered with

[1] Merivale speaks of the column as "shining in every volute and moulding with gold and pigments," vol. vii. p. 246. Considering that it is a simple Tuscan column without volutes or mouldings of any marked kind, and that it never was painted or gilt, this description is far too poetical.

[2] *Bull dell' Inst.* 1836, p. 39.

[3] Gell. xi. 17, 1; Spart. Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19; Curios. Reg. viii.

[4] Becker, Handbuch, p. 381, and Pl. 5, No. 11; Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 191.

[5] Plin. Panegr. 10.

[6] Sid. Apoll. lib. ix. 16; Carm. 25.

[7] Paul. Diac. in Vit. Greg. 17; Merivale, vol. vii. p. 250.

the rest.[1] It is a significant fact, that, of all the bronze-gilt statues and ornaments which this Forum is known to have contained, not a single one has been dug up in the course of the extensive excavations which have been made. In the terrible convulsions which tore Rome to pieces in the tenth century during the riots between the Burgundians, Alberic, and Pope John XII.,[2] the Forum of Trajan was probably destroyed, for we find a garden growing round the great pillar in the year 1003, and the Church of S. Nicolas was already built there in 1032.[3] In the succeeding centuries of ignorance and misery the names of Campus Kaloleonis and Palatium Hadriani were given to the ruins, and the Forum of Nerva was wrongly supposed to be the Forum of Trajan.[4] The preservation of the column itself is probably due to an order issued in the twelfth century, forbidding any one to injure it on pain of death.[5] Gradually the ruins around it became levelled, gardens were made there, and then the city began to grow again in this direction, until, as has been above mentioned, the new streets, the Via Alessandrina and the Via Bonella, were laid out by Pius V. A small piazza was built round the column, but Sixtus V. caused this to be cleared away, and the base of the pedestal to be laid bare, when he placed the statue of St. Peter upon the summit. But the greatest credit is due to the French, who, when they occupied Rome in 1812, excavated, under the orders of Napoleon I., the greater part of the ruins of the basilica and part of the Forum.

Remains found on the site.

A vast number of fragments of columns, of inscriptions, and of architectural ornaments have been dug up at various times on the site of Trajan's Forum. The great granite columns which now lie near the base of the pillar were found in laying the foundations of the Church of S. Maria di Loreto, by the architect, the elder San Gallo, and are mentioned as lying near that church in the middle of the sixteenth century.[6] The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza del Campidoglio stands upon a pedestal made by Michael Angelo out of an immense fragment of entablature found on the site of Trajan's Forum. The following account is given by Flaminio Vacca, in his "Memorie" (1594), of a discovery of a number of bas-reliefs and sculptures:—

"I remember that near the Pillar of Trajan, at the spot called Spolia Christi (so called from a picture in the Church of S. Salvadore, representing the stripping of our Saviour), the remains of a triumphal arch were found, with many pieces of historical sculpture, which are now in the house of Signor Prospero Boccapadullo, who was then Inspector of Roads. Among these was one of Trajan, mounted on a horse and crossing a river, and some statues of prisoners similar to those now standing on the arch called by Constantine's name. I observed these very carefully, and am certain that they are in the same style and by the same master-hand as those upon the Pillar."[7]

In 1765, in digging the foundations of a house near the Church of S. Maria di Loreto, six columns of grey granite were found, eight palms and a half in diameter; but they remained *in situ*, because no one could be found to bear the expense of removing them. An enormous portion of the cornice of a portico was also found

[1] Anastas. Vit. Pont. vol. i. p. 132. See below, chap. xiii.
[2] Gibbon, chap. xlix.
[3] See Reber, p. 193, note 4.
[4] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. ii. pp. 132, 143, 161.
[5] Galletti, Primicero, p. 232 seq. quoted by Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte ii. Antica, p. 213.
[6] Reber, p. 194. Nibby, loc. cit.
[7] Flaminio Vacca, Memorie, 9.

there, which Cardinal Alessandro Albani removed, and placed in his villa outside the Porta Salaria.[1]

The statues of prisoners mentioned by Flaminio Vacca were undoubtedly the fellows to the statues of Dacian prisoners which are now to be seen in front of the attica of Constantine's Arch. More statues of the same design, but smaller dimensions, were found by the French excavators in 1813, in the middle of the ruins of the basilica.[2] These probably belonged to a different part of the buildings from the larger ones mentioned by Flaminio Vacca. The granite columns found near S. Maria were possibly a part of the Temple of Trajan or its enclosure. Besides these, there have been found in various excavations on the site a number of pedestals of statues, with inscriptions ranging from the time of Trajan to the end of the Empire.

The antiquary Fea mentions three pedestals discovered in 1813 which had supported statues of Trajan, all having the same inscription, stating that they were erected in his sixth consulship, which answers to the year A.D. 112, and commemorating his services to the State both at home and abroad.[3]

Another inscription, which is now built into the wall on the north of the pillar, commemorates the remission of all debts to the Emperor's private purse (*fiscus*) by Hadrian, a fact which we find also mentioned in Dion Cassius and Spartianus. The latter writer adds that it was in the Forum of Trajan that Hadrian publicly burnt the list of debtors, and the inscription was no doubt intended to mark the spot of this act of liberality or bribery.[4] A large number of statues were erected in the Ulpian Forum by M. Aurelius during the course of his German campaigns, in memory of the Roman nobles who fell in those wars.[5]

Pedestals have also been found with inscriptions in honour of the Prætorian Prefects Eugenius, who lived in the time of Constans, and Merobaudus, a noted general of Celtic extraction, and a literary character in Gratian's time, some of whose works are still extant. The absurdly verbose and bombastic style of these inscriptions of the later Empire contrasts strongly with the laconic simplicity of those of an earlier date. The virtues of one Nicomachus Flavius, of the time of Theodosius and Valentinian, are celebrated in language which can only find a parallel in some of the English epitaphs of the last century, or in the modern Papal encyclicals.[6] The statue of Sidonius Apollinaris has already been mentioned, and another poet, Claudian, also had the honour of a place in this Forum. The inscription belonging to his statue was found in the fifteenth century in the house of Pomponius Lætus.[7] Besides these, we find in Gruter's "Inscriptions" the following mentioned to whom statues were erected in this Forum:—Fl. Anicius Petronius Maximus, Prefect of the city in the year 420; Anicius Anchemius Bassus, Prefect in 383; L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, Prefect in the year 377; Anicius Paulinus, Consul in 334; and Bassæus Rufus and M. Pontius Latianus Larcius Sabinus, contemporary with M. Aurelius.[8]

[1] Fea, Misc. pp. 56, 57, note *c*.

[2] Ibid. Inscrizioni di Monumenti; Roma, 1813, p. 13.

[3] Ibid. p. 12.

[4] Gruter, p. x. No. 6; Dion Cass. lxix. 8; Spart. Hist. Aug. Hadr. ch. 7.

[5] Hist. Aug. M. Ant. Phil. 22.

[6] See De Rossi, in *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxi.; Fea, Inscrizioni, p. 10.

[7] Claud. Bell. Get. præf. 7; Gibbon, chap. xxx.; Gruter, Inscr. cccixxv. 1.

[8] Gruter, Inscr. cccclvii. 3; cccliii. 4; ccclxx. 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART I.

THE PALATINE, GERMALUS, AND VELIA.

NATURAL FEATURES OF THE HILL—NAME PALATIUM—GERMALUS—LUPERCAL—CASA ROMULI—FICUS RUMINALIS—SCALÆ CACI—CORNUS SACRA—RUINS AT THE NORTH-WEST CORNER—TEMPLE OF MAGNA MATER—TEMPLE OF JUNO SOSPITA—AUGURATORIUM—DOMUS TIBERIANA—DOMUS CALIGULÆ—TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS—GATEWAY AT NORTH-EAST CORNER—TEMPLE OF VICTORY—HOUSES OF WEALTHY ROMANS—CICERO'S HOUSE—HOUSE OF CATULUS—HOUSE OF CLODIUS—SPLENDOUR OF PALATINE HOUSES—PORTA MUGIONIS—TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR—PALACE OF TARQUINIUS AND ANCUS—SACELLUM LARUM—VELIA—ÆDES PENATIUM—HOUSES OF TULLUS AND PUBLICOLA—MARBLE PLAN OF THE CITY—NERONIAN FIRE—DOMUS AUREA—COLOSSUS OF NERO—TEMPLE OF PEACE—BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE—ARCH OF TITUS—TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME—META SUDANS—ARCH OF CONSTANTINE—SUBSTRUCTIONS ON THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF THE HILL—PALACE OF AUGUSTUS—TEMPLE OF VESTA—TEMPLE OF APOLLO—LIBRARY—ROMA QUADRATA IN AREA APOLLINIS—ÆDES PUBLICÆ—ATRIUM—LARARIUM—BASILICA—PERISTYLIUM—TRICLINIUM—NYMPHÆUM—PORTICO—LIBRARY—ACADEMIA—TEMPLE OF JUPITER VICTOR—PALACE OF THE CÆSARS—TERRACE—AQUEDUCT—STADIUM—SEPTIZONIUM—TEMPLE OF HELIOGABALUS—ALEXANDER SEVERUS—BATHS OF MAXENTIUS—TEMPLE OF VICTORIA—FORTUNA RESPICIENS—CURIA SALIORUM—ARA FEBRIS—SACELLUM DEÆ VIRIPLACÆ—DOMUS FLAMINIS DIALIS—TEMPLE OF BACCHUS—Ἀφροδίσιον—TEMPLE OF JUPITER PROPUGNATOR—DOMUS GERMANICI—DOMUS GELOTIANA.

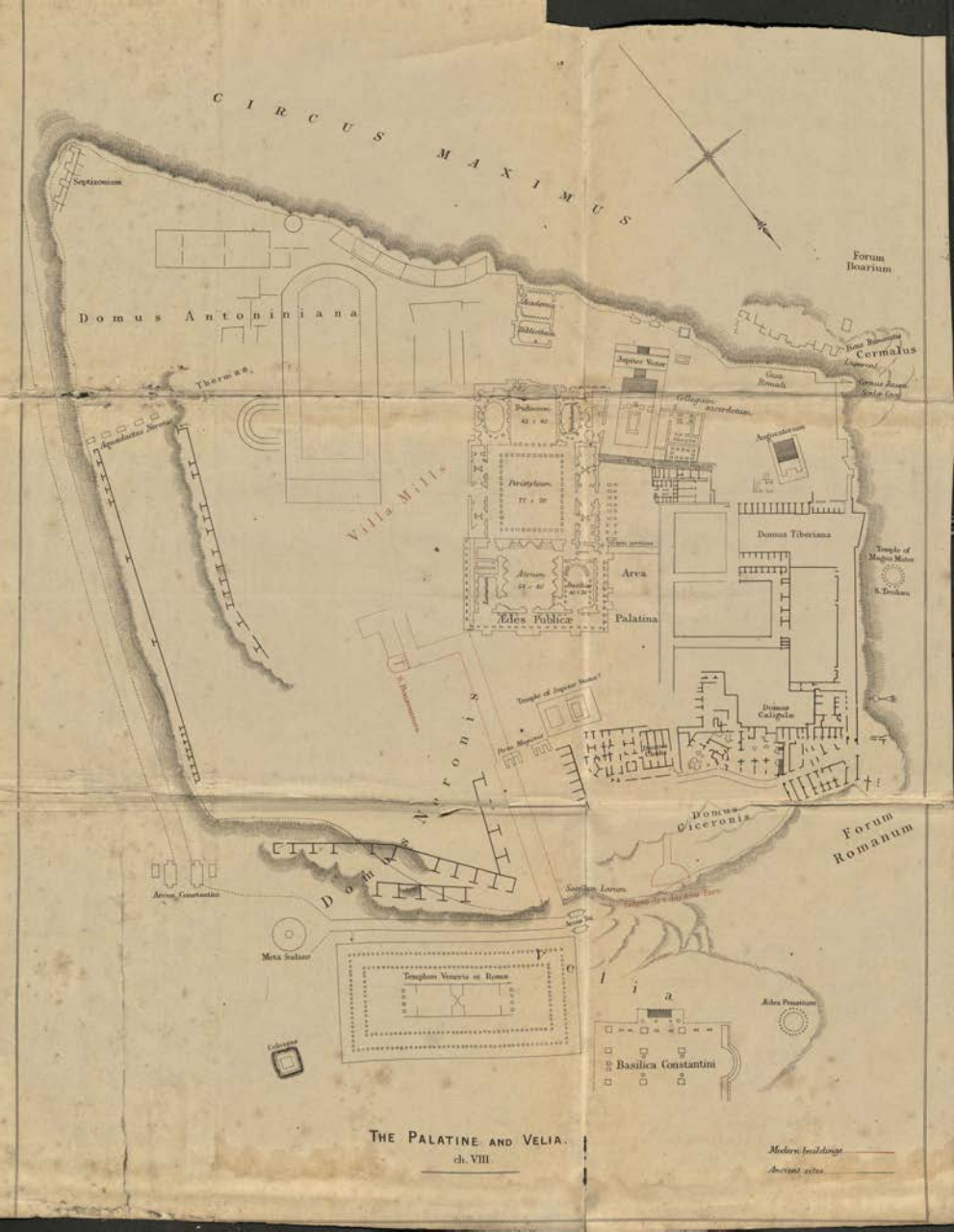
"Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
Esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas
Æstimat, et summi sentit fastigia juris."

CLAUDIAN, *De VI. Cons. Hon.* 39.

THE natural features of the Palatine hill have been so thoroughly altered and obscured by the successive buildings piled upon it during more than a thousand years, that it is impossible at the present time to give an accurate account of its original shape and dimensions. The rubbish which covers it is in some parts more than thirty feet thick, and of the most chaotic description. It is, however, tolerably certain that the hill itself consists of the same stone as the Capitoline and most of the other hills of Rome. The original rock can be seen at the back of the new Russian excavations at the north-western angle, and its character has also been ascertained by Brocchi from observations in a subterranean vault of the Villa Mills, in the centre of the hill.[1] Hence it appears that the great mass is composed of granular and hard tufa. I am not aware that any fresh-water gravel deposits or travertine have been found upon it. The nature of the soil has in some degree obscured its history; for, had it consisted of large masses of hard travertine rock, we might have felt more certain that they had remained unchanged from the earliest times of Rome. The present shape

Natural features of the hill.

[1] Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 149.



THE PALATINE AND VELIA.

ch. VIII.

Modern buildings

Ancient sites

of the hill is that of an irregular four-sided figure, having the shortest side towards the Capitoline and the longest towards the valley of the Circus Maximus.

The highest part of the hill, near the Church of S. Bonaventura, is 160 feet high according to the measurement of Calandrelli;[1] but no part of the hill now rises much above the rest. Whether this is the result of artificial levelling or of the natural tendency of rubbish to collect in the hollows is not known, nor can it be ascertained whether the hill was originally flat-topped. If Cav. Rosa's supposition, mentioned in a previous chapter,[2] be true, a considerable difference of level must have existed between the different parts of the hill, and enormous substructions must have been built across the centre, completely filling up the depression which he believes to have formerly extended from the middle of the south-west to the middle of the north-east side.

The south-western and north-western sides of the hill are steep and inaccessible. They have doubtless been cut away and made steeper for purposes of defence, and they are supported in most places by huge brick walls and arches constructed at various times. The other two sides, looking towards the Cælian and the Forum valley, are much less precipitous, and present for the most part gradual terraced slopes. The longer axis of the hill, from S. Maria Liberatrice to the point where the Via dei Cerchi and the Via di S. Gregorio meet, is about 700 yards in length, and the shorter, from the Church of S. Anastasia to the Arch of Constantine, is about 550 yards.[3]

Name Palatium.

The name Palatium has furnished a fruitful subject of speculation to etymologists. It has been derived from the Pallantes, who are said to have come with Evander from Arcadia; from the town of Palatium, in the district of Reate; from Palanto, the mother of Latinus; from the bleating (*balatus*) of the sheep once fed upon its pastures, or from their wandering habits (*palari*); and from the sepulchre of Pallas, son of Evander.[4] None of these derivations seems so probable as that which would connect Palatium with the shepherd-deity Pales.[5] The oldest traditions represented the Palatine as covered with thickets and pasturage; and, although but little weight can be assigned to these traditions, yet the Romans were undoubtedly, as their ancient festivals, the Palilia, the Lupercalia, and the Faunalia show, originally a pastoral as well as an agricultural and commercial community.[6]

Germalus.

Two outlying parts of the Palatine were called Germalus and Velia. Varro says expressly that these two, together with the Palatine itself, formed the fourth region of the city at the time when the Argeian chapels were first built. We must, therefore, as has been said above, consider them as separate from the Palatine itself. The only clue we have to the position of the Germalus is the statement of Varro,[7] that it derived its name from the (Germani) twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, who were found deposited there by the flooded waters of the Tiber. It is, therefore, hinted by Varro that the slope of the Germalus came down to some point

[1] Brocchi, p. 211. [2] See chap. iii. p. 33.

[3] For a further description of the Palatine hill see chap. iii., and for an account of the substructions see *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 324; *Monumenti*, vol. v. tav. xxxvi.

[4] Varro, L. L. v. § 54; Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 51; Festus, p. 220; Dionys. i. 32, ii. 1.

[5] Merkel, Ad Ov. Fast. p. 208.

[6] Schwegler, Rom. Gesch. 1, S. 457, An. 17; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. pp. 47, 51, 176, Eng. trans.; "Pecorosa Palatia," Propert. v. 9, 3; "Herbosa Palatia," Tib. ii. 5, 25; Ov. Met. xiv. 438; Fast. iv. 815.

[7] Varro, L. L. v. § 54, 55.

in the valley which could be reached by the waters of the Tiber during an inundation. The part of the hill most exposed to floods is the western corner; and here, therefore, most writers on Roman topography have placed the Germalus. In Festus the word appears under the form Cermalus.[1] Nor was this a name used only by antiquarians, for we find Cicero employing it to indicate the situation of Milo's house, so that it must have been a well-known district of Rome in his time.[2] Another indication of the situation of the Germalus is given by a quotation from Quintus Fabius Pictor, preserved by Dionysius. According to Fabius, the Lupercal, a cavern in which the she-wolf was suckling the twins when the shepherds drove her away, was on or near the Germalus. Now the Lupercal is plainly stated to have been upon the road leading to the Circus Maximus. The road in question was most probably that leading from the Forum and Capitol through the Velabrum to the Circus; and we may, therefore, assume that the Germalus was the part of the Palatine overhanging this road. Dionysius describes the Lupercal as having once been a large grotto, shaded with thick bushes and large trees, and containing a copious spring of water. His usual Hellenizing spirit leads him to identify the worship of Lupercus with that of the Arcadian Pan.[3] Lupercus was, however, most probably a genuine Latin pastoral deity, whose worship was naturally similar to, but not necessarily identical with, the Greek Pan.[4] The grotto was not easily identified in the time of Dionysius, who speaks of it as hidden by the numerous buildings erected on and near the spot; but the altar or shrine, with the peculiar festival of the deity Lupercus on the 15th of February, were still much honoured in the time of Augustus, for we find the Lupercal mentioned in the inscription of Ancyra as having been restored by that Emperor.[5]

Lupercal.

Another proof that the position of the Germalus and Lupercal must be sought at the western end of the Palatine is derived from the distinct assertion of Dionysius in speaking of the Casa Romuli. He says that the hut of Romulus lay in a hollow on the side of the Palatine which looks towards the Circus Maximus, and Plutarch places it on the descent from the Palatine to the Circus.[6] Now the Catalogue of the tenth region begins with the Casa Romuli, and ends with the Lupercal, apparently proceeding round the hill in an easterly direction from the western corner. Hence, as Schwegler remarks, the Lupercal must be placed nearer to the Circus than the Casa Romuli.[7] This latter was a hut made of wood and covered with reeds, representing the original habitation of the founder of Rome. It must have stood nearly at the western corner of the hill. A chapel of Romulus also stood on the Germalus.[8]

Casa Romuli.

Near the Lupercal and hut of Romulus was the Ruminal Fig-tree,[9] so called, according

[1] Festus, pp. 55, 340, 348; Müller, in Varr. loc. cit., thinks Cermalus the right form.

[2] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 3. Livy describes a wolf which happened to enter the city by the Esquiline gate as running through the Vicus Tuscus and the Germalus to the Porta Capena (Livy, xxxiii. 26).

[3] Dionys. i. 32, 79; Plutarch, Cæs. 61; see Paus. viii. 38, 5.

[4] The grotto of the Lupercal has lately, it is supposed, been discovered near the Church of S. Anastasia. It is, however, possible that the reservoir of an aqueduct may have been mistaken for it. See the *Athenæum* newspaper, No. 2,068, June 15, 1867.

[5] Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv.; Virg. Æn. viii. 343. Gibbon, chap. xxxvi., says that the Lupercalia were celebrated as late as the fifth century A.D.

[6] Dionys. i. 79; Plut. Rom. 20.

[7] Schwegler, Rom. Gesch. S. 391, An. 3.

[8] Merkel, Ad Ov. Fast. iii. 184; Solin. i. 18; Varro, L. L. v. § 54.

[9] Varro, L. L. v. 54; Plut. Rom. iii.; Müller, Ad Fest. p. 400.

to Festus, from *rumis*, the teat of the she-wolf which suckled the twins, or from *ruminari*, on account of the cattle which were fed there. This fig-tree was supposed to have stood on the spot where the children were first cast ashore. In the year B.C. 296 the Ædiles Cnæus and Quintus Ogulnius dedicated on this spot a bronze statue of the she-wolf giving suck to Romulus and Remus;[1] and it seems not improbable, from the style of workmanship and the place where it was found, that this bronze figure mentioned by Livy is actually the same with that now preserved in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol.[2] Another fig-tree on the Comitium has the same name given to it by later historians, and a legend is related by Pliny of its having been transplanted from the Palatine to the Comitium by a miracle of Attus Navius. But it is probable that the real name of this latter fig-tree was the Ficus Navia, and that after the disappearance of the original Ficus Ruminalis the name was transferred to it, as standing on one of the most ancient localities in Rome.[3] Rumina or Rumia was the ancient goddess who presided over the suckling and rearing of children, and is connected by Varro with Cunina, the deity of the cradle.[4] The fig-tree, as the symbol of fertility, was planted near her chapel, and hence obtained the name of Ruminalis.[5]

Ficus Ruminalis.

In the same neighbourhood were also the steps leading down from the Palatine, called by Plutarch the Shore of Cacus, by Solinus the Steps of Cacus,[6] and the sacred cornel-tree, supposed to have grown out of the lance of Romulus, which he threw across the valley of the Circus from the Aventine. This tree lasted longer than the fig-tree, for we find it mentioned as late as the time of Caligula. In his reign the Stairs of Cacus were repaired, and so much damage done to the roots of the sacred cornel-tree that it died.[7]

Scalæ Caci. Cornus Sacra.

All traces of the above-mentioned sacred spots have now long been obliterated, and the Lupercal is the only one of them which may possibly be discovered by excavation. We know from an epistle of Pope Gelasius that the Lupercalia were celebrated as late as the year A.D. 496, and it is probable that the grotto and altar were still in existence at that time, and possibly for some time afterwards.[8] Since the year 1846 considerable excavations have been carried on at this corner of the Palatine, in the Vigna Nussiner, between the foot of the hill and the Church of S. Anastasia, but no light has been thrown by them upon the more ancient sites of which I have been treating. The buildings discovered belong to the Imperial period, and were most probably inhabited by freedmen and other dependents attached to the Emperor's Court. They have been carefully described by Reber, and are also mentioned in the "Transactions" of the Roman Archæological Institute.[9] They consist of little more than the remains of a narrow court, with a corridor and seven small chambers on one side, a bath at one end, and offices of various kinds at the other. The florid ornamentation of the carved capitals and cornices which have been found here, and the style of the brick-

Ruins at the north-west corner.

[1] Livy, x. 23; Dionys. loc. cit.

[2] Rheinisches Museum, 1846, p. 519.

[3] See chap. vi. p. 79; Festus, p. 169; Müller, Ad Fest. p. 400; Tac. Ann. xiii. 58.

[4] Varro, Ap. Non. p. 167; Plut. Quæst. Rom. 57; Rom. 4. [5] See Schwegler, Rom. Gesch. S. 324, 422.

[6] Plut. Rom. 20, where read with Zinzow, De Sacr. Rom. p. 20, κάκου or κακίας ἀκτῆς. Solin. i. 18; Propert. v. 1, 9. [7] Plut. loc. cit.; Serv. Æn. iii. 46.

[8] Gibbon, chap. xxxvi.

[9] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 376; *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1846, 1847. At the point where these chambers are situated there was a communication with the upper part of the hill.

work, points to the age of Domitian, or a little later, and the graffiti upon the walls contain many Greek names, probably of Imperial freedmen. In one of these chambers was found the celebrated sketch (now in the Kircherian Museum at the Collegio Romano) of a crucified figure, with an inscription, which has been usually interpreted as drawn by a pagan in derision of a Christian fellow-slave;[1] and near the entrance to the excavations stands an altar, with an inscription, similar to that criticized by St. Paul at Athens, to an Unknown God. It was as follows: "SEI. (sive) DEO. SEI. (sive) DEIVAE. SAC. C. SEXTIVS. C. F. CALVINVS FR. DE SENATI SENTENTIA RESTITVIT."[2]

Other excavations under the Church of S. Anastasia, which stands close by, have resulted in the discovery of a portion of the ancient roadway which ran between the Circus Maximus and the outlying parts of the building just described. This roadway runs from north-west to south-east, nearly parallel to the Via dei Cerchi, and may be taken as the eastern boundary-line of the buildings attached to the Circus.[3]

The whole north-western side of the Palatine is now rendered steep and inaccessible by enormous walls, which must have served as substructions to the Palace of Tiberius. These walls are of various materials, some of brick, others of squared stones of tufa, laid alternately as headers and stretchers. The long piece of tufa-work nearest to the western corner of the hill has been supposed to be a part of the wall of Roma Quadrata, and is described in a note to a former chapter.[4]

The building mentioned next to the Casa Romuli in the Catalogue of the tenth region is the Temple of the Magna Mater Idæa, and as the enumeration appears to proceed along the north-western side of the hill, we may assume that this temple stood not far from the western angle. Whether it stood upon the top or at the foot is not known. The worship of this goddess was brought to Rome from Asia Minor by P. Cornelius Nasica in the year B.C. 205, and the temple was consecrated thirteen years later.[5] It is possible that Martial may allude to this temple when he speaks of the Dome of Cybele, and Ovid also mentions that one of the Metelli restored it after a fire.[6] The first destruction by fire took place in B.C. 111, and the second in A.D. 1. Augustus rebuilt it after the second destruction.[7] A Temple of Juno Sospita stood not far from it, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the modern Church of S. Teodoro.[8]

Temple of Magna Mater.

Temple of Juno Sospita.

At the western corner of the Palatine, near the point called by Solinus the Supercilium Scalarum Caci, are the ruins of a building of volcanic tufa, in the shape of a rectangular basement, which have generally been supposed to have formed the foundations of a temple. The recent excavations conducted by Signor Rosa have, however, shown that they were not intended to support the columns of a temple, and that their real shape is that of "a high terraced mound of masonry, closed in entirely

Auguratorium.

[1] This figure is, however, interpreted by Mr. C. W. King, Gnosticism, p. 90, to be the Gnostic Anubis-Christos. The inscription is Ἀλεξάμενος σέβεται θεόν.

[2] Gellius, ii. 28, explains the principle upon which such altars were erected, "Non esse compertum cui deo rem divinam fieri oporteat cum terra movet."

[3] *Bull. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1863, p. 113.

[4] Chap. iii. p. 40; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 324.

[5] Livy, xxix. 14, xxxvi. 35; Cic. De Har. Resp. 12; Dion Cass. xlvi. 43. The worship of Cybele was very popular at Rome. Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 437.

[6] Mart. i. 71, 10; Merkel, Ad Ov. Fasti, p. 129.

[7] Jul. Obs. 99; Mon. Ancyr. tab. 1; Val. Max. i. 8, 11.

[8] Ov. Fast. ii. 55; Cic. De Div. i. § 4, 99.

on the north side by a more elevated terrace of less breadth, in the centre of the south side of which stands a square projecting *ambo* or pulpit. The two longer sides of the basement project in front, and form two wings, enclosing a staircase occupying the whole breadth of the lower part of the terraced mound."[1] The building faces the south, and commands an extensive prospect over the Aventine and the Tiber valley. Now the ancient catalogues of the places situated in the tenth region, which contains the Palatine, place the Auguratorium near the rest of the sacred spots of the most ancient part of Rome, which we know to have been in this locality. Cavaliere Rosa has therefore conjectured that these are the ruins of the ancient Auguratorium, whence Romulus, as the legend runs, took the auspices when founding his city. He supposes that the raised square platform was the Augurale or augural seat, whence the augur took his observations, and that an altar stood upon the lower part of the terrace, on which sacrifices were offered before that solemn ceremony.[2]

At the back of this ruin we find a long row of chambers running across the hill from north-west to south-east, which have vaulted roofs, and are similar in construction to the chambers in the Vigna Nussiner. They seem to have formed a part of the back of the Palace of Tiberius, which occupied the large space now called the Jardins Supérieurs, and were possibly the stables and offices of the Emperor's domestics.[3] They are far too small and roughly-plastered to have formed any part of the Imperial suite of apartments. A number of curious inscriptions and scribblings are to be seen upon their walls, consisting chiefly of Greek and Latin names, rough sketches of ships, combats of gladiators, and soldiers under arms.

Domus Tiberiana.

Several passages of the Roman historians lead us to the conclusion that the Palace of Tiberius was situated on this part of the Palatine. It was from the Tiberiana Domus that Vitellius surveyed the conflagration of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and the engagement between his adherents and the Flavian party under Sabinus.[4] The palace must, therefore, have stood upon the north-western part of the hill towards the Capitoline. The same conclusion may be drawn from the description given by Tacitus, Plutarch, and Suetonius of the movements of Otho, when, after joining Galba at the morning sacrifice in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, he is said to have descended through the back of the Palace of Tiberius into the Velabrum, and thence to the Miliarium Aureum,[5] where the conspirators were awaiting his arrival. It seems possible that the Palace of Tiberius may have stood upon the site previously occupied by the house of his father Claudius Nero. During the reign of Augustus Tiberius lived first in Pompey's house in the Carinæ, and afterwards in the gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline.[6] The Tiberian Palace on the Palatine was in later times the favourite residence of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and it was probably during their reigns that the library which we find mentioned by Gellius was established there.[7]

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 362.

[2] A restoration of the Auguratorium is commemorated in an inscription of Hadrian's time. Orelli, No. 2,286.

[3] *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1862, p. 233; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 365.

[4] Suet. Vit. 15.

[5] Tac. Hist. i. 27; Suet. Oth. 6; Plut. Galb. 24. I do not suppose that he went through the Porta Romanula, but through a postern gate at the north-western corner, near the Auguratorium.

[6] Suet. Tib. 15.

[7] Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, cap. 10; Ant. Phil. 6; Verus, 2; Gell. xiii. 20; Vopisc. Prob. 2; Joseph. Ant. xix. 1, 15.

The northern corner of the hill is occupied by immense masses of brickwork, which formed the substructions of Caligula's Palace. He is said to have extended his additions to the palace as far as the Forum and the Temple of Castor. In his insane conceit this bloody monster caused the back wall of the Temple of Castor to be broken through, in order that he might appear between the statues of the twin gods to receive the worship of those who visited the temple. He also joined this corner of the Palatine with the Capitoline by a huge viaduct, passing above the roofs of the Temple of Augustus and the Basilica Julia, in order that thus he might make himself the *contubernalis* of Jupiter. During his sleepless nights, says Suetonius, he used to walk up and down through the endless porticoes and halls of the palace, crying aloud, and praying for the return of daylight.[1] A great part of Caligula's colossal substructions has lately been excavated, and a number of galleries and chambers cleared. The most interesting discovery made by the clearance is that of an ancient gateway, supposed to be one of the principal entrances to the Palatine. It stands under the enormous brickwork pillars of Caligula's palace, and leading from it is a road paved in the ancient style with basalt, which passes along the north-eastern slope of the hill. The archway of this gate is still perfect. It has been mentioned in a former chapter that Cav. Rosa supposes the Clivus Victoriæ to have led from this gate to the upper part of the Palatine.[2] Festus expressly mentions the connexion between the Clivus Victoriæ and the Porta Romana, adding that it was called Romana by the Sabines, because it was the gate by which they entered from their town on the Quirinal.[3] In the neighbourhood of the Clivus Victoriæ we must look for the Temple of Victory, whence it derived its name. Dionysius places this temple upon the top of the hill, but this is the only hint we have of its exact position, and all traces of it seem to disappear in the later ages of Rome. It was founded, according to the legend, by the Arcadian followers of Evander, and was therefore one of the most venerable relics of Ante-Romulean Rome.[4]

Domus Caligulæ.

Temple of Augustus.

Gateway at north-east corner.

Temple of Victory.

Following the slope of the Palatine from the northern corner, in a direction parallel to the Forum, we come to that part of the hill where the houses of many of the rich Romans were built in the later Republican days, when the foreign empire of Rome had so largely increased the wealth of proconsuls and successful generals. Among these were C. Gracchus,[5] Cn. Octavius, conqueror of Perseus, Q. Catulus, conqueror of the Cimbri, Crassus,[6] Cicero,[7] Clodius,[8] Scaurus,[9] Hortensius,[10] Drusus,[11] M. Antonius,[12] the fathers of Augustus and Tiberius, C. Octavius and Ti. Claudius Nero,[13] and others.

Houses of wealthy Romans.

[1] Suet. Cal. 21, 22, 50; Dion. Cass. lix. 7, 28, lx. 6; Tac. Ann. vi. 45. Nothing further is known of this Temple of Augustus. Caligula celebrated magnificent games at its dedication. (See Merivale, Hist. of the Romans, vol. v. p. 378; Dion. Cass. loc. cit.) The Church of S. Teodoro has been identified with this temple, but without good reason. (See chap. xii.)

[2] See chap. iii. p. 35. This conclusion is not, however, supported by any strong arguments, and it is not impossible that the road which led through this gate was the Via Nova.

[3] Festus, p. 262, ed. Müller.

[4] Dionys. i. 32; Livy, x. 33, xxix. 14, xxxv. 9.

[5] Plut. C. Gracch. 12.

[6] Cic. De Off. i. 39; Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 1.

[7] Cic. Pro Dom. § 116; De Har. Resp. § 16.

[8] Ibid. De Har. Resp. xv. § 33

[9] Ibid. De Off. i. 39.

[10] Suet. Aug. 72.

[11] Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

[12] Dion Cass. liii. 27.

[13] Suet. Aug. 5; Tib. 5.

Among these we can only arrive approximately at the situations of a few. Cicero's house overlooked the city, and was in a conspicuous place, and was therefore probably on the side towards the Forum.[1] The only passage in the whole of Cicero's extant works which seems to throw any light on the situation of his Palatine residence, is an epistle to Atticus, where he says that Vettius, who was supposed to be aware of a conspiracy against Cæsar's life, had abstained from accusing Cicero by name, but had said that an eloquent consular, a neighbour of Cæsar's, had expressed a wish that some Brutus or Ahala could be found equal to the occasion.[2] Now Cæsar lived at that time in the Regia, and we must therefore place Cicero's house somewhere on the slope of the Palatine at the back of the Regia. This house underwent many changes of ownership during the first century B.C. It passed from the possession of Drusus[3] the tribune, killed in the year 91, into the hands of one of the Crassi (not Crassus the orator), who sold it to Cicero.[4] It was demolished during his exile, and a Temple of Liberty built upon the site,[5] but restored on his return at the public cost.[6] After his death it was inhabited by Censorinus and Statilius Sisenna, partisans of Augustus.[7]

Cicero's house.

Near Cicero's house was that of Catulus, if we may infer so much as this from the fact that the Porticus Catuli, which was adorned with the spoils of the Cimbric war, was next to Cicero's house. The site of this Porticus Catuli had been previously occupied by the house of Flaccus.[8] The house of Clodius, previously owned by Scaurus, stood behind that of Cicero, for the orator threatens in one of his invectives to raise the roof of his house in order to prevent Clodius from looking down upon the city which he had wished to destroy.[9]

House of Catulus.

House of Clodius.

The splendour of these Palatine houses was a subject of remark even in Pliny's time, when luxury and wealth had become common at Rome. He notices the costly pillars of Hymettian marble, which Crassus imported to adorn the court of his house, but adds that the house of Q. Catulus surpassed even that of Crassus in magnificence.[10] The mansion of Scaurus contained, says Pliny, an immense number of columns of foreign marble, which had been originally brought to Rome for a temporary theatre, erected by him as Ædile. Some of these were thirty-eight feet in height, and such was their weight that the contractor for the repairs of the sewers compelled Scaurus to indemnify him for the damages caused by their transport along the streets to the Palatine.[11] Clodius gave the enormous sum of fourteen million eight hundred thousand sesterces for this house.[12]

Splendour of Palatine houses.

Proceeding along the side of the hill towards the Arch of Titus, we come to the spot at which the Nova Via and Sacra Via met, in the neighbourhood of which, as has been before mentioned, several most interesting buildings stood. Next to the north-western angle of the Palatine, the Summa Sacra Via and the immediate locality around it were

[1] Cic. Pro Dom. 37.
[2] Ibid. Ad Att. ii. 24.
[3] Vell. Pat. ii. 14, 3.
[4] Ep. ad Fam. v. 6; Plin. Nat. Hist xvii. 1, § 4.
[5] Plut. Cic. 33; Pro Dom. 44. &c.
[6] In Pis. 22; Har. Resp. 6, 8, 15; Ad Att. iv. 1, 2.
[7] Vell. Pat. loc. cit.
[8] Val. Max. vi. 3, 1; Cic. Pro Dom. 43.
[9] Cic. Har. Resp. xv. § 33.
[10] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 1, 2; xxxvi. 3, 7.
[11] Ibid. xxxvi. 2, 6. Reber's Ruinen Roms, p. 364, misinterprets this passage of Pliny, the purport of which is that it was a shame that such marbles should be used to decorate a private house, while the images of the gods were made of no better material than plaster.
[12] Plin. Nat. Hist. § xxxxi. 103.

perhaps the most intimately connected with the early history of the city. The Porta Mugionis or Porta Vetus Palatii, one of the gates of the original Romulean fortress, probably stood here, and its foundations, with those of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, are among those which Cavaliere Rosa claims to have discovered.

Porta Mugionis.

The so-called remains of the gate stand about sixty yards from the Arch of Titus, on the right of the road leading up towards the Convent of S. Bonaventura. The basaltic stones with which the road leading through it is paved are larger than those found in any other ancient street in Rome, and the style of workmanship points to an early date. Close to the gate are the foundations of a building, which Rosa marks in his plan as the Temple of Jupiter Stator.[1] These foundations are divided into three rectangular portions, the whole forming a rectangular basement of about fifty yards long by twenty-five wide. They have not the appearance of belonging to a temple, and the application of the name Jupiter Stator to them is very doubtful. The temple must, however, have stood very near the Porta Mugionis. The history of this temple is well known. It was vowed by Romulus in the Sabine war, and stood on the spot where the Roman army was rallied when on the point of being defeated by the Sabines.[2] An altar only was at first erected, and the temple added by M. Atilius Regulus in the first Samnite war. The Neronian fire consumed it, but it was rebuilt, and remained standing till the time of Constantine. The situation is determined by several passages of Livy, Plutarch, and Ovid, which place it close by the chief gate of the Palatine, at the junction of the Sacra Via with the Nova Via.[3] Near this gate of the Palatine, and looking out over the Nova Via, was the Palace of Tarquinius Priscus. Livy tells us that Tanaquil addressed the crowd from the windows of this house after the assassination of her husband.[4] Ancus Martius also is said to have lived here. It is most probable that in both cases the Regia is meant, which, as we have seen, stood near this spot.[5] The position of the Sacellum Larum, which also stood upon the Summa Sacra Via, has been previously mentioned.[6]

Temple of Jupiter Stator.

Palace of Tarquinius and Ancus.

Sacellum Larum.

It is at this point, where the Arch of Titus now stands, and where the ancient principal entrance to the Palatine palace was, that the hill, which on the northern and western sides is steep, runs out in a gradually sloping ridge towards the Esquiline. On one side of this ridge the ground sinks towards the Forum, and on the other towards the valley of the Coliseum. The level of the pavement under the Arch of Titus is fifty-three feet above the ancient pavement of the Forum. It seems most probable that this outlying part of the Palatine was that to which the name Velia was appropriated. For Dionysius says that the shrine of the Penates was not far from the Forum, and stood upon the shorter road by which the Carinæ was reached from thence.[7] Now we know that the Carinæ adjoined the Subura,[8] and was a district on the slope of the Esquiline.

Velia.

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1862, p. 225; 1865, p. 348.

[2] Livy, i. 12, 41, x. 36; Tac. Ann. x. 41; Regionar. x.

[3] Livy, i. 41; Plut. Cic. 16; Ov. Fast. vi. 793; Schwegler, Rom. Gesch. i. p. 463. "Inde petens dextram" (from the Via Sacra); "porta est ait ista Palati. Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est." Ov. Trist. iii. i. 31.

[4] Livy, i. 41.

[5] Chap. vi. p. 99.

[6] Chap. iii, p. 32.

[7] Dionys. i. 68.

[8] Varro, L. L. v. 8.

The road from the Forum to the Carinæ must therefore have crossed the raised ground in question, and it is upon this raised ground that we must place the Chapel of the Penates. Dionysius adds that the place where the chapel stood was called Hypelæa, a name which points probably to the Velia. But we have also the most direct evidence that the Chapel of the Penates was on the Velia, for Varro, Livy, Solinus, and the Monumentum Ancyranum all place it there.[1]

Ædes Penatium.

Further, the Velia was separate from the Palatine, for Varro places it in the fourth region of Servius, as an appendage of the Palatine, which it could not be called if it were, as the oldest and also the most recent topographers suppose, an integral part of that hill.[2] A difficulty has been found in the assumption that this was the position of the Chapel of the Penates, from the fact that Solinus identifies the spot on which the chapel stood with the house of Tullus Hostilius, while Cicero says that the house of Publicola was built on the place where the house of Tullus had stood, and adds that it overlooked the Forum, which it could hardly be said to have done if situate on the Velia.[3] It is evident that either some confusion must have crept in here, which in the case of a writer like Solinus is not surprising, or that an exact topographical accuracy must not be expected. At all events, this difficulty is not sufficient to counterbalance the proof as to the position of the Velia drawn from the passages previously quoted.

Houses of Tullus and Publicola.

The vestibule of the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano, next to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, is identified by most recent topographers with the Chapel of the Penates. It is a round building, the ancient door of which was turned more towards the Forum than the present. The exterior ornamental work of the temple has disappeared, and only the brickwork of the walls, and perhaps the bronze doors and the door-frame, which are very beautifully executed, formed a part of the ancient edifice. The position of this building answers tolerably well to the description given by Dionysius of the situation of the Chapel of the Penates, for it lies exactly upon the line which a road direct from the Forum to the Carinæ must have taken. It seems somewhat doubtful, however, whether the situation thus assigned to the temple be not too near the Forum. The old designation, "Temple of Romulus," applied by most Italian topographers to this temple, is certainly mistaken, and probably refers to some restoration of the temple by Romulus, son of Maxentius, a record of which may have been preserved in an inscription, and have given rise to the error of supposing that the temple was dedicated to Romulus.[4]

In the Church of S. Cosma e Damiano were found the fragments of the marble plan of the city of Rome, which are now fixed upon the walls of the staircase in the Capitoline Museum. The fragments of this plan had been used in the repair of the walls, and were discovered in the time of Pope Pius IV., about 1560, in the possession of a person named Torquato, who lived behind the basilica. A copy of them was drawn by Dosio, an architect, and a hundred years afterwards a description of them was first published in 1673 by Bellori; but it is doubtful whether he had all the actual fragments which he describes, or took in some cases the authority of others who had previously made drawings of them. Certain it is that, during

Marble plan of the city.

[1] Varro, L. L. v. 8, § 54; Livy, xlv. 16; Solin. i. 22; Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. 8.

[3] Solin. i. 22; Cic. De Rep. ii. 31; Livy, ii. 7.

[4] See Reber's Ruinen Roms, pp. 389, 390. Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte ii. Antica, p. 710, quotes a Vatican MS. of the sixteenth century assigning the erection of this temple to Constantine.

their transfer from one place to another, too many of the original pieces of this precious marble plan were lost. The fragments on the Capitoline staircase which have been lost and are restored from Bellori's description are distinguished from the original pieces by asterisks.[1] The plan was not found in the round temple, but near it or behind it, and was probably brought there from the neighbouring Temple of Venus and Rome. In the verification of the sites of the Basilica Julia, the Basilica Ulpia, and the Theatres of Pompey and Marcellus the importance of this plan has been very great, and a more accurate investigation might perhaps deduce other results from it. We have no knowledge of any other buildings which stood upon the Velia previous to Nero's time.

A statue of a female figure on horseback is mentioned by Pliny as having been placed near the Temple of Jupiter Stator, but whether it represented Clælia, the preserver of the hostages in the Etruscan war, or Valeria, daughter of Publicola, is uncertain.[2] Nero's enormous extension of the Palatine buildings must have occupied a great part of the Velia. He united the gardens of Mæcenas upon the Esquiline with the palace of the Palatine by a colossal range of porticoes and halls called the Domus Transitoria, which occupied not only the southern slope of the Velia, but also the site of the Coliseum and its surroundings. This was burnt down in the great Neronian fire in A.D. 65,[3] which began in the valley of the Circus, and devastated the whole of that valley, and the adjoining slopes of the Palatine, Cælian, Aventine, and Capitoline hills. It then spread along the sides of the Palatine to the Velia, and was only stopped on the sixth day, when it had reached the Esquiline, by the demolition of great masses of buildings. Three whole regions of the city were completely devastated, and seven more out of the fourteen were considerably injured.[4] The Temple of Jupiter Stator, the Regia, the Temple of Vesta, and the Chapel of the Penates, besides the Domus Transitoria, were all destroyed in this fire.

Neronian fire.

Nero took advantage of the wide and open gap made by the fire to enlarge his domains, and upon the slopes of the Palatine, Velia, Cælian, and Esquiline he built the celebrated Golden Palace, a residence, says Tacitus, not so wonderful for the precious stones and gold lavished upon it, with which the luxury of the times had become familiar, as for the amount of open unoccupied space, the parks, and lakes, and woods, which it comprehended.[5] The ground plan of this Golden Palace of Nero cannot be laid down with any accuracy, since the Flavian Emperors, Vespasian and Titus, swept the whole away, and replaced it with a totally different set of buildings, the ruins of which now occupy the ground. We can only conjecture that the entrance court was upon the Velia, with its front towards the Forum, and that it covered the ground where the foundations of the Temple of Venus and Rome and the Convent of S. Francesca Romana now stand; and that the celebrated Colossus of Nero stood originally upon or near the Conventual Church.

Domus Aurea.

Colossus of Nero.

[1] Fea, Miscell. i. p. 3; Gamucci, Antichità, p. 33. See Monatsbericht der preussischen Akademie, Berlin, 1867, p. 526, and Note A at the end of Part II. of this chapter. Dosio's drawings are in the Vatican Library, Cod. 3439. They came from the library of Fulvio Orsino. Some fragments are said to have been lately discovered (Aug. 1868) by the monks of S. Cosma e Damiano. See papers read by Mr. Parker at the Archæol. Society's meeting at Lancaster, 1868, and Archæologia of London Soc. of Antiq. vol. xlii. part 1, p. 11.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 6, 13; Dionys. v. 35.

[3] Suet. Nero, 31; Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

[4] Tac. Ann. xv. 40.

[5] Ibid. xv. 42.

This colossal statue was placed in the vestibule of Nero's palace. It was 120 feet high, according to Suetonius, and represented Nero himself.[1] The material was bronze, and the artist was one Zenodorus, who had become famous in Gaul by making a colossal statue of Mercury for the Arvernians. Pliny states that the likeness to Nero was very wonderful, but deplores the loss of the taste for bronze statuary which it exhibited, since the artist sought to produce an effect by the addition of gold and silver ornamentation.[2] Vespasian moved the enormous mass, probably at the time when he built his Temple of Peace, and placed it on the Sacred Way;[3] and Hadrian again removed it to make room for the Temple of Venus and Rome, and placed it to the north of the Coliseum, where the pedestal still remains, a massive block of brickwork about three feet high, doubtless formerly cased with marble.[4] That it actually stood upon this pedestal is proved by a coin of Alexander Severus, representing the Coliseum with the Colossus close to it.[5] After Nero's death it had been changed into a statue of the Sun, and the head adorned with a diadem of rays each twenty-two feet in length.[6] Commodus took the head off, and replaced it by a representation of his own in the character of Hercules, at the same time putting a club into the statue's hand and bronze lions at its feet. After his death it was restored to its previous state, and continued standing till the sixth century, when it was probably destroyed by the Goths under Totila, A.D. 546.[7]

The vestibule in which this tower-like statue at first stood was the entrance-hall to an enormous series of buildings and gardens, comprehending, according to Suetonius, three cloisters of a mile in length, a lake of great extent, surrounded with buildings intended to imitate cities, tracts of land covered with crops, vineyards, pastures, and groves, and filled with cattle and wild game of various kinds. Gold and gems were lavished in the decorations of the interior, and the banqueting-halls were so contrived that flowers and perfumes could be sprinkled on the guests as they reclined at table. The principal hall was hemispherical, and its walls revolved, representing day and night, like the heavens. Baths provided with mineral and sea water were also built.[8]

After the fall of Nero subsequent Emperors cleared the Velia and the adjoining valley of the Coliseum, and made them the sites of those magnificent structures which are among the most wonderful relics of antiquity. Of these the first was the Forum and Temple of Peace, built by Vespasian after the conquest of Jerusalem, when he celebrated his grand triumph, and when his empire was firmly established. The position and contents of this forum and temple have been already described,[9] and we may therefore pass on to the building which stood immediately to the south of it, the Basilica of Constantine. The ruins of this basilica form the most conspicuous object in the neighbourhood of the Forum, and were long mistaken for the remains of the Temple of Peace. Their shape, however, is such as sufficiently to refute the opinion that they belonged to the temple. The proof that they are a part of Constantine's basilica, which was first given by Nibby, is as follows. The plan of

Temple of Peace.

Basilica of Constantine.

[1] Suet. Nero, 31. [2] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 7, 18.
[3] Dion Cass. lxvi. 15; Hier. Chron. Ronc. i. 439; Suet. Vesp. 18. [4] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19.
[5] Eckhel, N. V. par. ii. tom. vii. p. 271; Mart. De Spect. ii. 3.
[6] Cur. Urb. Reg. iv.; Plin. xxxiv. 7, 18; Mart. i. 70, 6.
[7] Dion Cass. lxxii. 22; Hist. Aug. Comm. 17; Herodian i. 15; Chron. Ronc. 465, 205.
[8] Suet. Nero, 81. The Cænatio rotunda was spherical, and the floor divided it into two equal hemispheres. The walls then revolved by machinery, so as to present a different appearance every hour.
[9] Chap. vii. p. 139.

the foundations which have been excavated is that of a basilica, and not of a temple, and the brickwork, which resembles the masonry of the Baths of Diocletian, plainly belongs to a later date than that of Vespasian. The marble carving also, and the ornamentation of the few corbels which remain, bear indications of the decline of art which we know to have taken place at the era of Constantine. Further, a coin was found in 1828, sticking in a fragment of the ruin which had lately fallen, with the head and name of Maxentius upon it. The building therefore, unless this coin was found in a repaired part, which is not at all probable, cannot be earlier than Maxentius, the rival of Constantine.[1] Now the basilica called by the name of Constantine was begun by Maxentius and finished by

BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

Constantine,[2] and we learn with regard to its position that it was next to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina,[3] and on the site of the spice warehouses built by Domitian.[4] Dion Cassius, in describing the progress of the fire in the reign of Commodus, which destroyed these warehouses, says that it spread from the Forum Pacis across to the Palatine.[5] Hence it may be inferred that the warehouses lay between the Forum Pacis and the Palatine, and therefore upon the Velia.

The three gigantic arches now standing formed the roof of the eastern aisle of the basilica, which consisted, as the foundations clearly show, of a central nave and two side aisles. The arches are 80 feet high and 68 feet in breadth. Their interior is ornamented with octagonal coffers, containing central rosettes, and the interspaces are relieved by rhomboidal panel-work. The two side arches have their backs walled up, with six arched

[1] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte ii. Antica, pp. 246–249.

[2] Aur. Vict. Cæs. 40, 26.

[3] Curios. Reg. iv.

[4] Ronc. Chron. p. 243.

[5] Dion Cass. lxxii. 24.

windows in each wall. At the back of the central arch is a semicircular tribune, with niches for statues, and a central pedestal. Some of the marble ornaments of this tribune are still left, and show in their rude execution evidence of the decline of art under Constantine. The tribune seems not to have been open towards the interior of the building, as the remains of two piers of brickwork can be plainly seen in a line with the back walls of the side arches, showing that a screen separated it from the space immediately beneath the arch.

In front of the three great arches can be plainly seen the spring of the enormous vaulted roof which covered the central nave of the building. The nave must have been at least 80 feet wide and 115 feet high. The southern aisle was of the same size and construction as the northern, but in place of the tribune it had a grand entrance on the side towards the Palatine. A flight of steps, and a portico with porphyry columns, two of which were found on the spot and are now in the Conservators' Palace, formed the approach to the entrance.

At the western end of the central nave was a tribune, the ruins of which are now occupied by a warehouse, and at the eastern end an entrance in three divisions opened into the road which ran at the back of the Temple of Venus and Rome. In front of this entrance the foundations show that there was a kind of verandah or vestibule similar to that found in many Christian basilicas, as at S. Maria Maggiore and S. Giovanni in Laterano. It has been supposed that this is the part of a basilica to which Vitruvius has given the name of *chalcidicum*. It certainly answers to the rule he gives for the introduction of chalcidica, when he says that "if the space to be occupied be too long for the basilica, chalcidica can be added at the end."[1] A white marble column, the only relic of the former magnificence of the basilica, was left standing at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the central nave, but was removed by Paul V., and placed in front of S. Maria Maggiore.[2]

Arch of Titus.

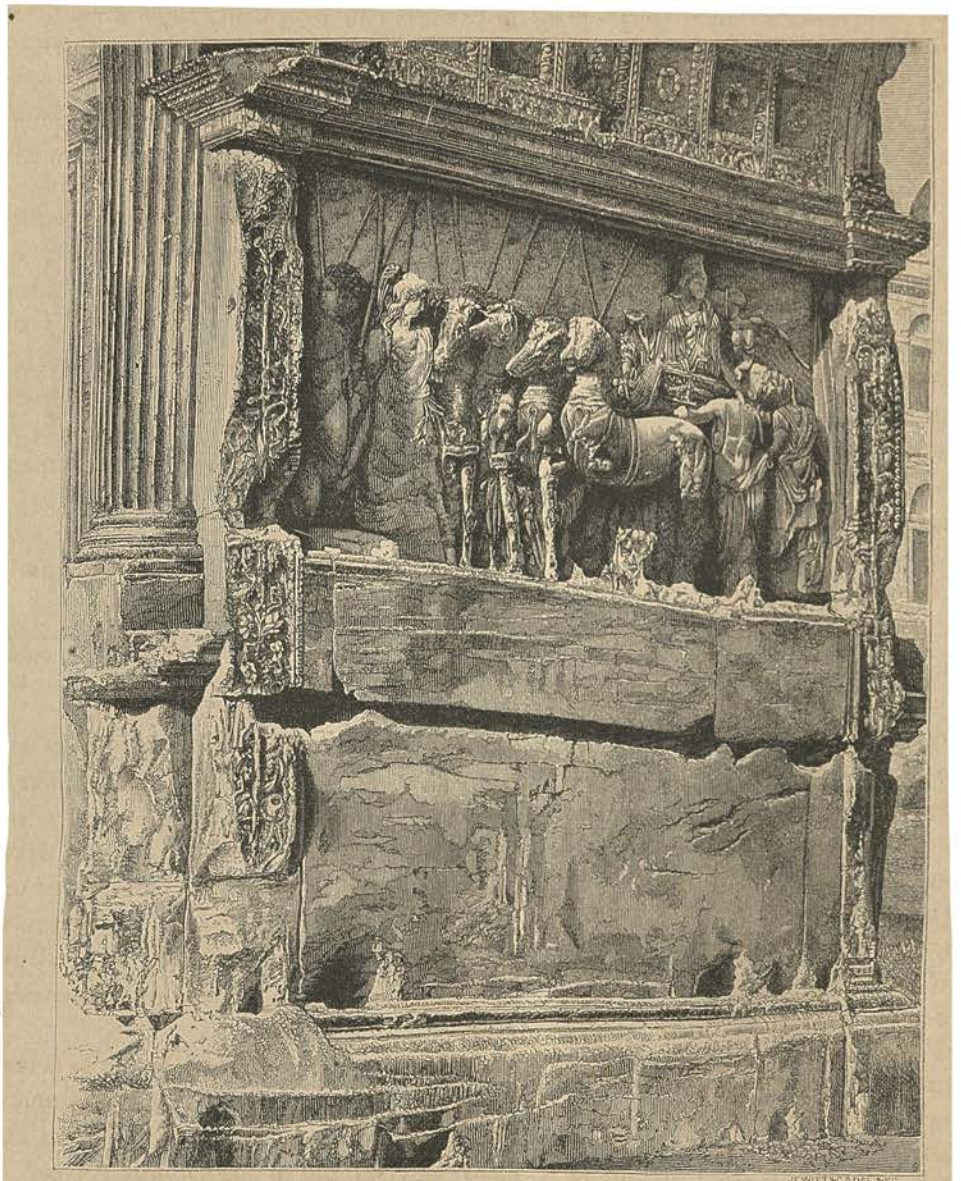
On the summit of the rising ground of the Velia, and marking the spot called the Summa Sacra Via, stands the Arch of Titus, small in comparison with the huge relics of the Basilica of Constantine, but preserving more of historical and artistic interest than any other relic of Imperial Rome. Only the central part of the original building, which was built of pentelic marble, remains, and the restorations are easily distinguishable from it, as they are executed in travertine. The height is 49 feet and the breadth 42 feet.

Originally there were two Corinthian fluted columns on each side of both faces of the arch, the two inner of which are now left, the outer being modern. Over the arch are two bas-reliefs of Victory, which, though much injured, are still remarkable for the beauty of their execution. On the keystone of the side towards the Coliseum is the figure of Rome, and on the other side Fortune with a cornucopia. The most interesting parts of the arch have fortunately been preserved by their position in the interior. On each side is a magnificent alto-relievo, representing the triumphal procession of Titus after the capture of Jerusalem. That on the south side shows a number of persons carrying the spoils of the Jewish Temple in triumph. The golden candlestick and the golden table for shew-bread, with two trumpets, are clearly recognisable, and are all the more valuable from the

[1] Vitruv. v. 1.

[2] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte ii. Antica, p. 240.

testimony of Josephus that these, among the other utensils of the Temple, were deposited in Vespasian's Temple of Peace.[1] The procession is represented as just about to march under a triumphal arch.



ARCH OF TITUS. (Triumphal Car and Procession.)

On the north side the relief represents the Emperor in his triumphal car drawn by four horses, and surrounded by his guards and suite. Victory is holding a crown over his head, and the goddess Roma guiding the reins.

[1] Jos. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, 7.

The interior of the arch is ornamented with richly-carved rosettes and coffers; and upon the crown is a representation of the apotheosis of the Emperor, who is being carried up to heaven astride, in a rather undignified way, upon an eagle's back. A small part only of the original entablature on the side towards the Coliseum is left. On the frieze the remains of a bas-relief may be traced, apparently representing a sacrificial procession. Over this the attica, with the exception of the inscription, is modern. We learn from the title "Divus" given to Titus in the inscription, as well as from the apotheosis represented under the archway, that the arch was erected after the Emperor's death; and it has been with much probability assigned to the first year of Domitian's reign, when the decree for the deification of the late Emperor would most naturally be passed.

We learn from an inscription preserved by the anonymous traveller of Einsiedlen, and printed in Gruter, and also in Orelli's collection,[1] that another arch had been previously erected in the Circus in honour of Titus's triumph over the Jews. The date of this arch is shown by the inscription to have been A.D. 80, ten years after the capture of Jerusalem, when Titus celebrated the completion of the Coliseum and of his baths by a great festival.

The arch on the Velia was restored to its present condition in 1822. It had been made use of during the Middle Ages by the Frangipani, for purposes of fortification, like so many other ancient buildings in Rome. A tower had been built upon it, and much damage done to the masonry, so that an entire rebuilding was necessary.

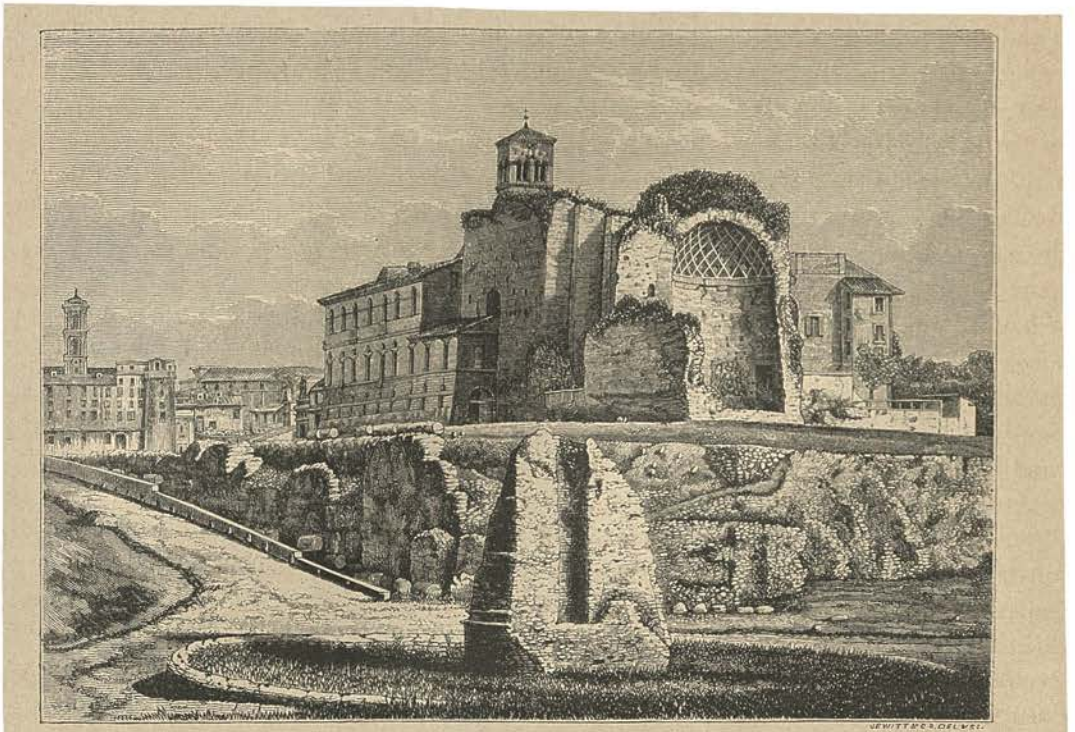
Almost the whole of the southern slope of the Velia towards the Coliseum was occupied by the spacious temple, with its court, built by Hadrian in honour of Venus and Roma. Though great part of the site is now occupied by the Church of S. Francesca Romana, enough remains outside its walls to show the shape and characteristics of the temple very plainly. The substructions, of which the inner core only, consisting of rubble work, is left, were originally cased with travertine blocks. They form an enormous terrace, 180 yards long and 110 broad, round which a portico with grey granite columns ran. The temple itself stood on a basement raised four or five feet higher, and was of a somewhat peculiar construction, having a double cella, of which the principal part is still standing. It appears from the ruins that there were semi-circular apses at the end of each cella, which stood back to back, the entrance of one cella facing towards the Forum, and that of the other towards the Coliseum.[2] The roofs of the tribunes are ornamented with large square coffers, and were probably originally gilded; the side walls of the cellæ have niches for statues in them, and the marble casing which covered them was of the richest kind.[3]

Temple of Venus and Roma.

That these substructions belonged to the Temple of Venus and Roma is certain from the description given by Dion Cassius, who speaks of it as near the Sacra Via and close to the Coliseum,[4] and also from the assertion of Spartianus, that it stood upon the place formerly occupied by the Colossus of Nero, in the vestibule of the Domus Aurea.[5] On the bricks of part of the original building have been found the stamps of the Consulships of Apronianus and Pætinus, 123 A.D. and Servianus III. and Varus, 134, A.D.[6] According to

[1] Gruter, p. ccxliv. 6; Orelli, vol. i. 759.
[2] Prudent. Contr. Symm. i. 214; Claud. de Laud. Stil. ii. 227.
[3] Fea, Miscell. p. 85, and Note A at the end of Part II. of this chapter.
[4] Dion Cass. lxix. 4.
[5] Spart. Hadr. 19.
[6] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, part ii. pp. 725, 732.

the chronologers it was built in A.D. 135.[1] Dion connects it with the fate of the celebrated architect of Trajan's Forum, Apollodorus of Damascus, to whom Hadrian, proud of his new design, sent a sketch of the intended temple. Apollodorus, so far from admiring, criticised the plans most severely, remarking that the temple was not sufficiently lofty, that it was only fit to serve as a machine-room for the mechanical contrivances used in the Coliseum, and that if the colossal images of the goddesses, which Hadrian had placed in a sitting position in the cellæ, wished to stand up and go out, they would not find the building high enough. Hadrian was so enraged at the architect's remarks, that he immediately ordered him to be put to death.[2]



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROMA, AND META SUDANS.

The completion and dedication of the temple were probably not accomplished before the time of Antoninus Pius.[3] It was afterwards adorned by the Senate with two silver statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, and an altar, upon which every newly-married pair in Rome were expected to offer sacrifice.[4] The subsequent history of this temple can be traced with more certainty than that of most others. In the reign of Maxentius it was burnt down, and was restored and dedicated by Constantine, to which restoration the

[1] Chron. Ronc. i. 455 ; ii. 201.

[2] Braun, in the *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1854, p. 70, conjectures that the Emperor followed the hint of Apollodorus, and made vaults under the terrace of the temple for the machines used in the Coliseum. He remarks that the temple is placed exactly on the line of the longer axis of the Coliseum.

[3] Nardini, vol. i. 296 seq [4] Dion Cass. lxxi. 31.

extant ruins of the walls, the stucco work, and fragments of carved work belong.[1] In the reign of Constantine, A.D. 356, it was pointed out as one of the greatest buildings in Rome, and seems at that time to have been called the Temple of the City.[2] Pope Honorius I. stripped the bronze tiles from the roof, in order to place them on the Basilica of St. Peter, whence they were taken in 846 by the Saracens.[3] Its final destruction was brought about, as in so many other cases, by the plundering hands of the Romans themselves, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, set up limekilns near the Arch of Titus, and, after burning the marbles into lime, stripped off the travertine and peperino from the basement, and left it a bare and unsightly core of rough masonry.[4]

Meta Sudans.

Close to the south-west corner of this mass of substructions is to be seen a conical column of brickwork, about thirty feet high, now called the Meta Sudans.[5] A large breach on the side towards the Coliseum shows that the centre was pierced with a perpendicular pipe, and the exterior exhibits traces of having been divided into three stages or ledges. This conical building stood in the centre of a circular basin, the rim of which has been distinctly traced and restored. The shape would of itself point to the purpose which the building served, even if this were not rendered certain by the discovery of a conduit, which descends to it from the neighbouring height of the Esquiline.[6] The name Meta Sudans is derived partly from the conical shape, resembling the *meta* of a circus, and partly from the water which trickled down its sides. The earliest mention we have of the Meta Sudans is in Seneca,[7] and it must therefore have been built by Nero in his pleasure grounds. It seems to have been subsequently destroyed, as it does not appear upon the coins of Titus which represent the Coliseum; but the chronologers record that it was rebuilt by Domitian in the year 95, and a representation of it is found upon the coins of Alexander Severus.[8]

Arch of Constantine.

At the entrance of the Via di S. Gregorio, close to the Meta Sudans, stands the Arch of Constantine, the most completely preserved of all ancient Roman buildings. The name of Constantine, revered by subsequent ages as the first nominally Christian Emperor, seems to have defended the archway from the barbarous spoliation which other monuments of ancient Rome have undergone. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this arch is the proof it gives of the decline of art in the fourth century. A large proportion of the reliefs with which it is ornamented have been removed from some older building, probably the arch which formed the entrance to Trajan's Forum,[9] and those which are of Constantine's date show a coarse and harsh style of execution, in lamentable contrast with the flowing and delicate lines of the more ancient work.

Among the sculptures which belong to the earlier and better period are the large reliefs under the central arch, and those which are placed on either end of the attica. These four were originally parts of a larger relief, which has been sawn into four equal pieces for the purpose of adorning Constantine's Arch. The order in which they stood in the original design has been pointed out by Bellori.[10] The first part is that now placed on the inside

[1] Chron. Ronc. p. 248; Aur. Vict. Cæs. 26, 40.
[2] Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10.
[3] Anast. Vit. Hon. p. 46; Muratori, Rer. It. Scr. i. p. ii. p. 390.
[4] See Nardini, loc. cit.
[5] Curios. Urb. Reg. iv.
[6] Fea, Misc. p. 160, No. 81.
[7] Seneca, Ep. lib. vi. Ep. 4 (56).
[8] Eckhel, Vet. Num. P. ii. vol. vi. p. 357, vol. vii. p. 270; Chron. Ronc. ii. 197, 243.
[9] Gibbon, chap. xiv.; see ch. vii. p. 143.
[10] Bellori, Vet. Arc. Aug. pl. 42—45.

of the middle archway towards the Coliseum, the second stands on the side of the attica towards the Cælian, the third on the inside of the middle archway towards the Palatine, and the fourth upon the side of the attica towards the Palatine. When united they represented Trajan crowned by Victory, with the goddess Roma standing near, and a battle between Dacians and Romans ending in the defeat and submission of the barbarian army. The dress of the Roman soldiers and of the Dacians is similar to that represented on Trajan's Column, and quite different from the Roman military habit in the age of Con-

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, SOUTH SIDE.

stantine. Besides these four rectangular reliefs, the eight circular sculptures which stand over the smaller archways belong to the time of Trajan. They represent hunting scenes and sacrificial ceremonies. One of them, the second from the left upon the side towards the Coliseum, has a remarkable figure of the Emperor, with a nimbus encircling his head, exactly similar to those round the heads of modern saints.

The eight large reliefs upon the attica over the side archways are also of the workmanship of Trajan's time, and commemorate some of the exploits of that Emperor, among which may be mentioned the construction of a road through the Pontine marshes, repre-

sented upon the second relief from the left on the side of the attica towards the Coliseum.[1] The other reliefs upon the sides of the attica represent interviews of Trajan with the barbarian princes, and the usual sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, so frequently depicted on the reliefs of the column of that Emperor.

The remainder of the sculptures belong to the Constantinian era, and contain, viewed as works of art, nothing worth attention. One of them on the side next to the Coliseum is, however, of great interest to the antiquarian, as it represents the Rostra of the later Empire, and the northern end of the Forum with the Arches of Severus and Tiberius, and the façade of the Basilica Julia;[2] and another on the side towards the Via di S. Gregorio, representing the victory of Constantine over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge, is historically valuable.

The figures which stand in front of the attica wear the Dacian costume, and have been removed from some one of Trajan's buildings.[3] Upon the sides of the central archway can be still seen the traces of nails which fastened some Roman ensigns to the stones. Similar traces of nails are to be seen upon the Arch of Severus.[4]

The inscriptions over the smaller arches refer to the Decennalia, or Vicennalia, a festival celebrated, after the time of Augustus, every tenth year of an Emperor's reign, when he was supposed to have the Imperium conferred upon him afresh.[5] The meaning of the expressions, "Votis X, Votis XX," seems to be, that these inscriptions were put up on the *vota*, or day when vows were made for the Emperor's safety, at the beginning of the tenth and twentieth years of his reign. This is not an uncommon signification of the word *vota* in later Latin. The day which was usually called *vota* was either the first or third of January, and the custom of offering these vows was retained long after Christianity had been nominally made the State religion, so that it is not surprising to find it alluded to on Constantine's Arch.[6] The words on the other side of the arch, "SIC X SIC XX," may be interpreted as the form of words used in making vows for the Emperor, "Sic X annos regnet, Sic XX annos regnet."

The longer inscription, which is cut upon the attica on both sides, shows that the arch was erected in honour of the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, and the union of the Empire under one sovereign. It is not, however, certain that the arch was built in the first year of Constantine's sole reign, for not only do the words *instinctu Divinitatis*—"by inspiration of the Deity"—seem to indicate a more decided leaning to Christianity than Constantine showed at the beginning of his reign, but the title of Maximus, which is found in the inscription, does not occur on the coins of Constantine before the tenth year of his reign.

The solid contents of this arch, as may be seen by ascending the staircase, which is entered by a door at some height from the ground at the end nearest the Palatine hill, are mainly composed of pieces of marble taken from other buildings;[7] and it has even been suspected that the plan itself of the arch, which in beauty of proportion exceeds the Arch of Severus, was borrowed, together with the materials, from Trajan's Arch or some older building now destroyed.

[1] Dion Cass. Xiph. lxviii. 15. A reclining figure with a wheel represents the road, and other figures the surveyors, one of which is perhaps Apollodorus, the famous Greek architect of Damascus.

[2] See chap. vi. p. 115. [3] See chap. vii. pp. 143, 149.

[4] See chap. vi. p. 120.

[5] Dion Cass. liii. 13; Hist. Aug. 184, 6.

[6] See Casaubon's note on Spartian. Hist. Aug. p. 40, *b*, *c*.

[7] Beschreibung Roms, vol. iii. part i. p. 314.

Returning now to the north-eastern part of the Palatine, which adjoins the Velia, we find a long row of arched substructions running along the edge of the hill parallel to the Sacra Via. These may have belonged to the Domus Aurea of Nero, but there is not the least indication of their age or destination. There seem to be three different levels, or terraces, both here and along the south-eastern side of the hill: one nearly level with the modern road, a second about thirty feet higher, and a third on the crown of the hill. From the Arch of Titus a narrow road now leads to the Church of S. Sebastian and the Convent of S. Bonaventura, and on the left of this are some small brick chambers, which belonged to the same part of the palace as the substructions just mentioned.

Substructions on the south-east side of hill.

The road also leads to the Villa Mills, now a French nunnery, and therefore inaccessible to antiquarian researches. The ruins upon which the villa stands were explored in 1777 by the then owner, a Frenchman named Rancoureil, and some plans and a few sketches taken. From these it may be gathered that the shape of the ruins is that of a court surrounded with buildings of two stories, and with a portico. Unfortunately, the greater part of these remains have been again covered with rubbish, and made the foundation of the present villa.[1] Cav. Rosa and other topographers place the palace of Augustus here, inferring from the similarity of the brickwork of these ruins in the Villa Mills to that of the Pantheon that these must belong to the era of Augustus. But this argument, in the absence of all other proof, is not by any means conclusive, as the evidence of style in masonry is vague, and cannot be trusted to define the date of a building with even tolerable exactness. Reber opposes to the testimony of the brickwork that of the catalogue given by the Notitia, in which the Palace of Augustus is placed between the Casa Romuli and the Temple of Jupiter Stator, and therefore on the side of the hill towards the Capitol. But as no topographical order is uniformly followed by the Notitia, this also fails to give us any real indication.

Palace of Augustus.

A passage of Suetonius, in which it is related that Augustus used to survey the games in the Circus from the apartments of his friends and freedmen, is often quoted to show that the palace could not have been on the site of the Villa Mills, since Augustus might then have seen the races from his own windows.[2] This is, however, a very negative indication at the best, and it is not at all certain that the cœnacula mentioned in this passage may not have been actually rooms built at the edge of the Circus itself for the express purpose of seeing the games. We are absolutely without any means of determining the position of Augustus's palace with any accuracy. It is known from Suetonius and Dion Cassius that he first lived at a place near the Forum, called Scalæ Anulariæ, that he afterwards occupied the house which was before in the possession of Hortensius, and that when it was struck by lightning, he consecrated the spot to Apollo, and bought some neighbouring buildings for his residence. At a subsequent time he gave this residence to the nation for the transaction of public business.[3] It seems probable, therefore, that the house was near the Forum, or his donation would not have been of much value; and it may possibly have been where Becker places it, upon that side of the

[1] Guattani, Monumenti, pp. 1—7, 83—87, &c. See Note B at the end of Part II. of this chapter.

[2] Suet. Aug. 45.

[3] Suet. Aug. 72; Vell. Pat. ii. 81; Dion Cass. xlix. 15, liv. 27, lv. 12.

hill which slopes towards the Forum. The words of Ovid, in his "Tristia," where his book is conducted to the Palace of Augustus, seem certainly to imply that it was not far from the old gate of the Palatine, which, as we know, stood near the Arch of Titus and the Temple of Vesta.[1] It is not, therefore, improbable that it stood upon the site afterwards occupied by the atrium of the larger palace, the ground plan of which has been lately discovered by the French excavators.

At the same time, and as a part of his palace, Augustus built a new Temple of Vesta. This temple must have been separate from the older temple on the side of the Forum. It was dedicated, according to the "Fasti Prænestini," in the year 12 B.C.[2] But the building attached to the new palace which attracted most attention was the Temple of Apollo.[3] This was either first built or very much enlarged after the battle of Actium, in pursuance of a vow made to Apollo by Augustus on that occasion. It was dedicated in the year 28 B.C., four years after the battle.[4] Hence we find Apollo called Actius, Actiacus, and Navalis, by the Augustan poets.[5] The stone used in this temple, which was built with great magnificence, was the marble of Luna[6] (Carrara), and it was surrounded, like the temples of the Imperial Fora, and the Temple of Venus and Roma, with a cloister. A statue of Apollo stood in it, between those of Latona and Diana; and it contained also statues of Augustus himself, and of the Muses; and on the summit was a group representing the Sun-god in his chariot.[7] Other treasures of art mentioned by Pliny as contained in this temple were a collection of gems presented by Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, and a magnificent stand for lamps in the shape of a bronze tree, from the branches of which the lamps were hung. The Sibylline books were also kept there.[8]

Temple of Vesta.

Temple of Apollo.

The cloisters which surrounded the temple united it with the famous Greek and Latin Library. The Senate was frequently summoned to meet in the temple precincts. Ovid describes these as being behind the palace to any one coming from the Porta Palatii, and they must therefore probably have been about the middle of the hill.[9] The magnificence of the interior of the colonnades has been described by the poets and historians of the time with great admiration. Pillars of giallo antico supported the roof, and between them stood hundreds of statues. Tacitus mentions those of the famous orators of Rome, Ovid and Propertius speak of statues of the fifty Danaïdes and fifty sons of Ægyptus, while Pliny mentions a colossal statue of Apollo in bronze, the work of a Tuscan artist, placed in the Library.[10] The memory of some of the officials connected with this library has been preserved in inscriptions, and from them we may gather that it had a regularly-organized staff of transcribers and curators.[11]

Library.

[1] Ov. Trist. iii. 1.

[2] Ov. Fast. iv. 949; Met. xv. 864; Fast. Præn. iv. Kal. Mai., Merkel; Ov. Fast. xlix.

[3] Suet. Aug. 29; Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iv. Zumpt.

[4] Dion. Cass. liii. 1.

[5] Æn. viii. 704; Propert. v. 6, 67, v. 1, 3; Ov. Met. xiii. 714.

[6] Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 720.

[7] Propert. iii. 29; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 7, 18; Juv. vii. 37; Mart. xii. 3, 9; Schol. ad Hor. Ep. i. 3, 17; Serv. Ad Ecl. iv. 10.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 3, 8, 14, xxxvii. 1, 5, 11; Suet. Aug. 31; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 3.

[9] Dion Cass. liii. 1; Tac. Ann. ii. 37; Hor. Ep. i. 3, 17; Juv. i. 128; Ov. Trist. iii. 1, 61.

[10] Propert. ii. 31, 3; Ov. Trist. loc. cit.; Ars. Am. i. 73; Amor. ii. 2, 4; Schol. ad Pers. ii. 56; Tac. loc. cit.; Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. § 210, xxxiv. 7, 18.

[11] See Græv. Thes. vol. iii. p. 305; Gruter, Inscr. 576, 9, 577, 8, 578, 5; Orell. 40, 41.

Roma Quadrata. Area Apollinis.

The Mundus, or Roma Quadrata, which commemorated the ceremonies observed at the definition of the pomœrium, was near the Temple of Apollo, and stood in a spot called Area Apollinis, probably an open space nearly in the centre of the Palatine hill.[1]

The whole of this central part of the hill is buried in ruins thirty or forty feet deep, and the excavations hitherto carried on have not been sufficient to reveal to us the original shape of the hill, or to disentangle the different strata of rubbish belonging to more or less remote eras which lie one above the other in confused masses. The most important result of the latest researches, conducted at the expense of the Emperor Napoleon III., is the further exploration of the ground plan of an extensive and magnificent range of buildings, reaching from the point at which we have placed the old gate of the Palatine across the hill in a direction nearly south-west to the edge of the hill over the Circus Maximus.[2] These buildings show by their perfect symmetry and correspondence in all parts that they were planned and erected at the same time without deviation or subsequent addition.[3] Cav. Rosa has shown strong reasons for assigning them to the era of the Flavian Emperors. The style of the brickwork is that of the Flavian period; the stamps of some of the bricks contain the name of Domitian, and we know from Plutarch, Martial, and Statius that a splendid palace for public use was finished in Domitian's reign.[4]

Ædes Publicæ.

No separate name was attached to this edifice, but, in allusion to its purpose, it seems to have been called Ædes Publicæ,[5] Ædes Aulicæ, Ædes Imperatoriæ,[6] and is probably indicated by the expression "Sedes Imperii Romani" in the Catalogues of the Regionarii.[7] These names were given from motives of policy similar to those which induced Augustus to throw open his palace.[8]

The palace of Augustus had probably been burnt, or at least much damaged, by the fire in Nero's reign, and it is not unlikely that these public halls were built to replace it, and as a pledge that the government of Augustus was to be restored, and the Emperor once more to live as the father of his country. No more convenient position could be fixed upon, nor any which would appeal more strongly to the feelings of the nation than this. It adjoined the Forum and Amphitheatre, and stood close to the most venerated temples of Rome, within the most ancient pomœrium. The arrangement of the different halls is similar to that of an ordinary Roman mansion on a large scale. At the same time there is apparently no provision for domestic life, and all the parts of the building seem to have been public audience or banqueting chambers.

Atrium.

The first of these, which we enter from the back of the substructions now said to belong to the Temple of Jupiter Stator, corresponds in its arrangements to the atrium of a Roman

[1] Festus, p. 258. See chap. iii. p. 34.

[2] The principal outlines of these halls were traced by Bianchini in 1726 (Rovine del Palazzo dei Cesari, Verona, 1738); but Cav. Rosa has explored them more accurately. The statues of Hercules by Lysippus now in the Pitti at Florence, of Bacchus and a youthful Hercules now at Naples, were found here. Fea, Misc. i. p. 87.

[3] See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 346, and an article in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, 1869, vol. ii. p. 82.

[4] Plut. Publ. 15; Mart. viii. 36; Stat. Silv. iv. 2, iii. 4, 47. Domitian had the cloisters cased with Cappadocian stone, which when polished acted as a mirror. Suet. Dom. 14.

[5] Plin. Panegyr. 47.

[6] Hist. Aug. Lamprid. Heliog. 3, 8.

[7] Reg. x. [8] Suet. Aug. 57; Dion Cass. lv. 12.

house.[1] It measures fifty paces in length and forty in breadth, and has a tribune at the further end, where doubtless the Emperor sat when meetings of the Senate or other public bodies were held here. Portions of the pavement and the wall decorations, consisting of the most costly marbles, are still remaining.

Basilica.

On the north-west side of this atrium is a basilica, with a tribune and podium for a court of judges, two rows of columns disposed in the usual manner, and some remains of a white marble railing used for fencing off one part of the court from the other. It is possible that this may be the Basilica Jovis mentioned as the place where S. Lorenzo and S. Silvestro were tried and sentenced to martyrdom. On the opposite side of the atrium is a Lararium or shrine of the gods of the house, where the sacrifices were offered before the meetings of the Senate or other solemn occasions.[2]

Lararium.

Peristylium.

Next to the atrium we find the peristylium, a very large court, seventy-seven paces by seventy, surrounded by a cloister, of which only about a third part has been excavated. The cloister pillars, fragments of which remain, were of the richest marbles, and the pavement and decorations of this splendid quadrangle were most superb. On the north-west side of it are a number of rooms, intended to serve as waiting-rooms and offices of various kinds in connexion with the basilica and peristylium.[3]

Triclinium.

Beyond the peristylium are found the foundations of the room called the triclinium in Roman houses, and used as a dining-room.[4] In addition to the two usual spaces for tables, this must have contained a third in the semicircular apse at the south-western end, possibly intended for the Emperor's use. The remains of columns of granite and a very elegantly-designed floor in porphyry and other costly stones have been found here, and this may be the very room which Statius describes with such enthusiasm in the account of his dinner with the Emperor.[5] At the side of this triclinium was a Nymphæum or viridarium, consisting of an elliptical basin and fountain of marble, with niches for statues and bas-reliefs, and ledges for ornamental flowers and plants; and close to it stands a large octagonal building, with four large doors and four corresponding niches, which seems to have been a kind of entrance-hall or lobby.

Nymphæum.

Along the whole north-west side of the halls just described ran a long portico, which seems to have formed one side of the large central court of the Palatine, on the opposite side of which was the Palace of Tiberius. Gellius describes himself as waiting here to attend the Emperor's levee, and conversing with his literary friends.[6]

Portico.

Behind the apse of the triclinium are the remains of a large portico, built upon deep substructions of an earlier period, and some rooms now below the level of the ground ornamented with paintings and stucco work. These show very plainly the enormous changes in the level of the hill which had taken place even before

[1] Vitruv. vi. 3, 5; Festus, pp. 356, 357. Becker's Gallus, Th. ii. S. 172. Cav. Rosa thinks that this may be the "solium augustale" where Heraclius was crowned. Muratori, Epit. Chron. Cassin. R. It. Scr. tom. ii. p. 1.

[2] Lamprid. Sev. Alex. 29, 31; Jul. Cap. Ant. Phil. 3.

[3] Cav. Rosa applies the name Sicilia, found in Julius Capitolinus, to this room. Hist. Aug. Jul. Cap. Pert. 2. Pertinax was murdered here. Piranesi, De Rom. Magn. tab. xiv. xv. xix. gives some drawings of the elaborately-carved marbles found here.

[4] Vitruv. vi. 5. Cav. Rosa thinks that this is the "Jovis cœnatio" mentioned by Jul. Cap. Pert. 2. See also Nardini, vol. iii. p. 176.

[5] Stat. Silv. iv. 2. Suet. Vesp. 19 says of Vespasian, "Convivabatur assidue."

[6] Gell. N. A. xx. 1, 2.

the time of the Flavian Emperors. Behind them, on the edge of the hill overlooking the Circus, are two rooms, from the remains of which it may be conjectured that the one nearer to the triclinium served as a library, while the other seems to have been fitted up as a lecture-room, with semicircular ranges of seats and a lecturer's platform. Here may have taken place the recitations and discussions mentioned by Pliny as constantly kept up in the Imperial palace.[1]

Library. Academia.

Almost close to the above-mentioned Nymphæum, or viridarium, the foundations of a temple have been discovered, which Cav. Rosa assigns to the ancient Temple of Jupiter Victor. Livy relates that Q. Fabius Rullianus vowed this temple in the first Samnite war, B.C. 295; and Ovid speaks of it as having been dedicated on the Ides of April. It is also mentioned in the Notitia in connexion with the Area Palatina, or Great Court of the Palatine.[2] From this last mention of the temple we know that it must have been one of those ancient edifices which the Emperors spared in their wholesale evictions. The style of building in the foundations belongs to a date not later than the fifth century of Rome, and is probably much more ancient, consisting of squared masses of volcanic tufa, which, as we have seen, were used in most of the older buildings in Rome. The front of the building was turned to the south, overlooking the Circus Maximus and the Aventine, and the arrangement is precisely that of a temple raised on a basement, with high flights of steps alternating with terraces in front. These steps and terraces, or landings, ascended the side of the hill towards the Circus, just as in the Temples of Hercules Victor at Tibur, and Castor and Pollux at Tusculum, we find high flights of steps ascending to the front of the temple.[3]

Temple of Jupiter Victor.

The southern end of the Palatine hill, lying between the Convent of S. Bonaventura, the grounds of the Villa Mills, and the angle formed by the Via dei Cerchi and the Via di S. Gregorio, is occupied by the Vineyard of the Collegio Inglese, in which stand the ruins commonly called the Palace of the Cæsars. Such a scene of chaotic desolation as they present is hardly to be met with elsewhere; and when to the picturesque grandeur of the vast masses of masonry piled up in shapeless wreck is added the recollection of the power and magnificence once enthroned here, perhaps no sight in the whole world can be more deeply interesting to the student of ancient Roman history. Even the higher portions of many of these buildings have been left standing, and we can trace the second floor in some of them; but scarcely a vestige of ornamentation or a fragment of inscription remains to tell the tale of their construction. In the absence of all proof, the conjecture has been hazarded that they belong to the Antonine era. It is known that Septimius Severus rebuilt a part of the Imperial residence after the fire in the time of Commodus, and that Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus enlarged and improved it.[4]

Palace of the Cæsars.

On the edge of the hill overlooking the Circus stands a curved terrace, along which apparently there ran a portico commanding a fine view over the southern part of Rome and the Trastevere district. No further indication is dis-

Terrace.

[1] Plin. Ep. i. 13.

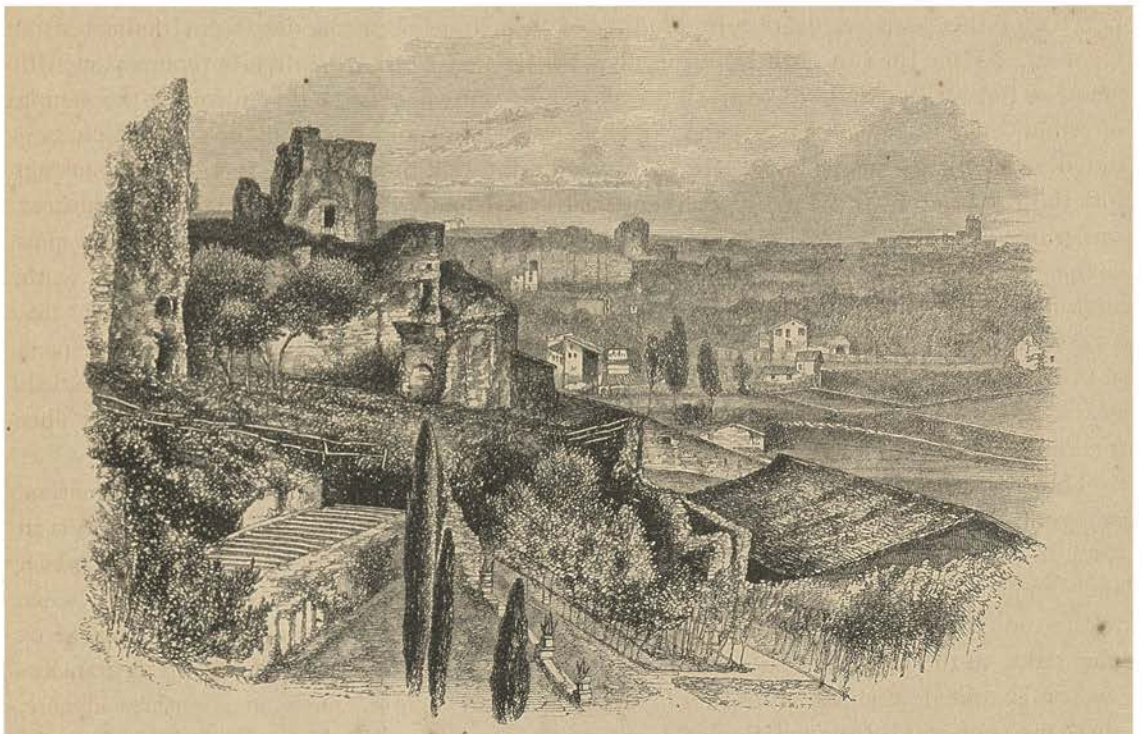
[2] Livy, x. 29; Ov. Fast. iv. 621; Notitia Reg. x. See also Dion Cass. xlvii. 40; lx. 35.

[3] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 363. See also Romische Ausgrabungen im letzen decennium, Hildburghausen, 1870, S. 71.

[4] Dion Cass. lxxii. 24; Hist. Aug. Sept. Sev. 19, 24; Alex. Sev. 24, 25; Heliog. 3, 8, 24. Bricks with the stamp of Commodus have been lately found here. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1866, p. 162.

coverable of the purpose which this served, and it may possibly have been one of the porticoes in which the Emperors used to walk for exercise.[1] Near the southern end of this is a round tower, probably of mediæval construction, at the back of which are the ruins of a semicircular corridor running round one end of a space now a vegetable garden, enclosed by walls on all sides, and presenting the exact shape of a stadium, about 180 yards long and 60 wide. This was possibly the private racecourse of the Emperor's palace. At one side of it is a semicircular ruin, apparently

Stadium.



PALACE OF THE CÆSARS, WITH THE BATHS OF CARACALLA IN THE BACKGROUND.

(The valley on the right is the Circus valley, and the Monastery on the hill to the right is S. Balbina on the pseudo-Aventine.)

part of a stand from which the games in the stadium might be seen ;[2] and at the foot of the hill towards the Cælian are four arches of an aqueduct by which water was brought from the Claudian aqueduct for the supply of the baths in the palace.[3] Further to the south, and near the entrance stairs, are two enormous halls of arched brickwork.[4]

Aqueduct.

[1] Suet. Cal. 50 ; Dom. 14.

[2] It is now established by excavations in the centre of this area that it was not a stadium, but a part of the palace occupied by rooms on the second floor. *Bull. dell' Inst.* July 1866, p. 163.

[3] Frontin. 20.

[4] Some of the ruins of this part of the Imperial palace have lately (1869) been partially cleared of rubbish by the Papal Government, but I cannot learn that any valuable discoveries have been made.

Septizonium.

Septimius Severus bestowed more pains than most of the other Emperors after Nero upon this part of the Palatine residence, and until the sixteenth century, when Sixtus V. pulled it down, and used the stone in building the Vatican, a structure called the Septizonium stood at the angle of the hill, pictures of which are to be found in the older books of views of Rome by Du Perac and Gamucci.[1] Spartianus, in his "Life of Severus," says that Severus bestowed particular pains on this part of the hill, in order to make it the chief entrance to the Imperial palace, and that his reason for doing so was to produce an impression of his magnificence upon his African countrymen, who, when visiting Rome, would naturally enter by the Porta Capena.[2] What was the purpose of the building, beyond that of mere ornament, is not at all apparent, as the pictures of it represent merely three terraces, or floors, supported by columns, forming a kind of triple balcony. The name appears to have been applied to other buildings in Rome, as we find Suetonius mentioning a septizonium near which Titus was born,[3] and the anonymous MS. of Einsiedlen contains a copy of a sepulchral inscription from a septizonium on the Appian Road, relating, apparently, to a brother of Commodus, whose name is not known, but who may be supposed to have been the Antoninus who, as Lampridius relates, died in his fourth year.[4] The epithet "Divus" attached to the name of Commodus in this inscription shows that it could not have been put up till after his death, and Reber suggests that the tomb where it was found, near the Porta Capena, was the family tomb of the Antonines, which may have been rebuilt and beautified by Severus.[5] In the sixteenth century a fragmentary inscription was still left upon the Palatine Septizonium, containing the words "fortunatissimus nobilissimusque," which are to be found on other inscriptions applied to Severus and his sons; as, for instance, on the arch in the Forum.[6] That "septizonium" was the term given to a particular kind of building is the most probable solution of the difficulties which beset the name, and seems to be indicated by the words of Spartianus, who relates that Geta was buried in the tomb of his ancestors, which Severus had beautified during his lifetime, situated on the right of the Appian road on approaching the gate (Porta Capena), and constructed in the shape of a septizonium.[7]

Temple of Heliogabalus.

The Temple of Heliogabalus may have been somewhere in this part of the hill, for the public baths which he built were for the convenience of obtaining water probably placed near the aqueduct. This fanatical voluptuary endeavoured to remove the most holy relics of ancient Rome, the Ancilia and Palladium, into his temple, and caused himself to be worshipped there as the Sun-god, with Astarte, the Syrian goddess, as his *contubernalis*. The public baths during his reign were dens of the foulest immorality and debauchery, and he squandered the public revenues in decorating the palace of the Antonines with costly pavements of serpentine and porphyry.[8]

Alexander Severus.

His successor, Alexander Severus, had a rage for expensive mosaics and pavements of serpentine and porphyry, and from this peculiar taste of his the name "Opus Alexandrinum" was applied in the Middle Ages to pave-

[1] Gamucci, Libri quattro dell' Antichità, p. 82; Du Perac, Vestigj, tab. 13; Marliani, in Græv. Thes. tom. iii. p. 137.

[2] Hist. Aug. Severus, 19, 24.

[3] Sueton. Titus 1.

[4] Lamprid. Comm. 1.

[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 370

[6] Marliani, Top. iv. x.

[7] Spart. Geta, 7.

[8] Aur. Vict. Cæs. 23; Lamprid. Heliog. 3, 8, 24; Chr. Ronc. 471, 208; Herodian, v. 5; Gibbon, ch. vi.

ments of two kinds of marble.[1] He also built apartments of the kind called *diætæ* for his mother upon the Palatine. The last building attributed to an emperor on this hill is the Thermæ of Maxentius mentioned by the chronologers, which was possibly only a restoration of the building of Heliogabalus;[2] and the last notice we have of the use of the palace by an emperor is at the coronation of Heraclius in 629.[3]

Baths of Maxentius.

We know from various passages of ancient writers that the following buildings were situated on the Palatine, but their exact situation remains undetermined:—

The Temple of Victoria, which, according to Dionysius, was founded by the Arcadians under Evander, and afterwards restored by L. Postumius, may most probably be placed on the north-western part of the hill, near the other most ancient localities.[4] The Notitia mentions a place called Fortuna Respiciens, between the Curiæ Veteres and the Septizonium; but there is absolutely no indication of the sites of the Curia Saliorum,[5] where the Ancilia were kept, of the Ara Febris,[6] the Sacellum Deæ Viriplacæ,[7] the Domus Flaminis Dialis,[8] the Temple of Bacchus,[9] the Ἀφροδίσιον,[10] the Temple of Jupiter Propugnator,[11] the Domus Germanici,[12] or the Domus Gelotiana. The last-mentioned was possibly an outlying part of the palace on the side of the Circus valley, for Caligula viewed the preparations for the games from it.[13]

Remaining buildings on the Palatine.

[1] Hist. Aug. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 24.
[2] Chron. Ronc. ii. 248.
[3] Muratori, R. It. Scr. tom. ii. p. 1.
[4] Dionys. i. 32; Livy, x. 33, xxix. 14, xxxv. 9.
[5] Cic. De Div. i. 17; Dionys. Frag. xiv. 5; Mommsen, vol. i. p. 52.
[6] Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. 25, De Legg. ii. 11; Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 7, 6; Val. Max. ii. 5, 6.
[7] Val. Max. ii. 1, 6.
[8] Dion Cass. liv. 24.
[9] Mart. i. 70, 9.
[10] Dion Cass. lxxiv. 3.
[11] Orelli, Inscr. 42.
[12] Joseph. Ant. xix. 1, 15.
[13] Suet. Cal. 18; Grut. Inscr. 598, 7.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART II.

THE CAPITOLINE HILL.

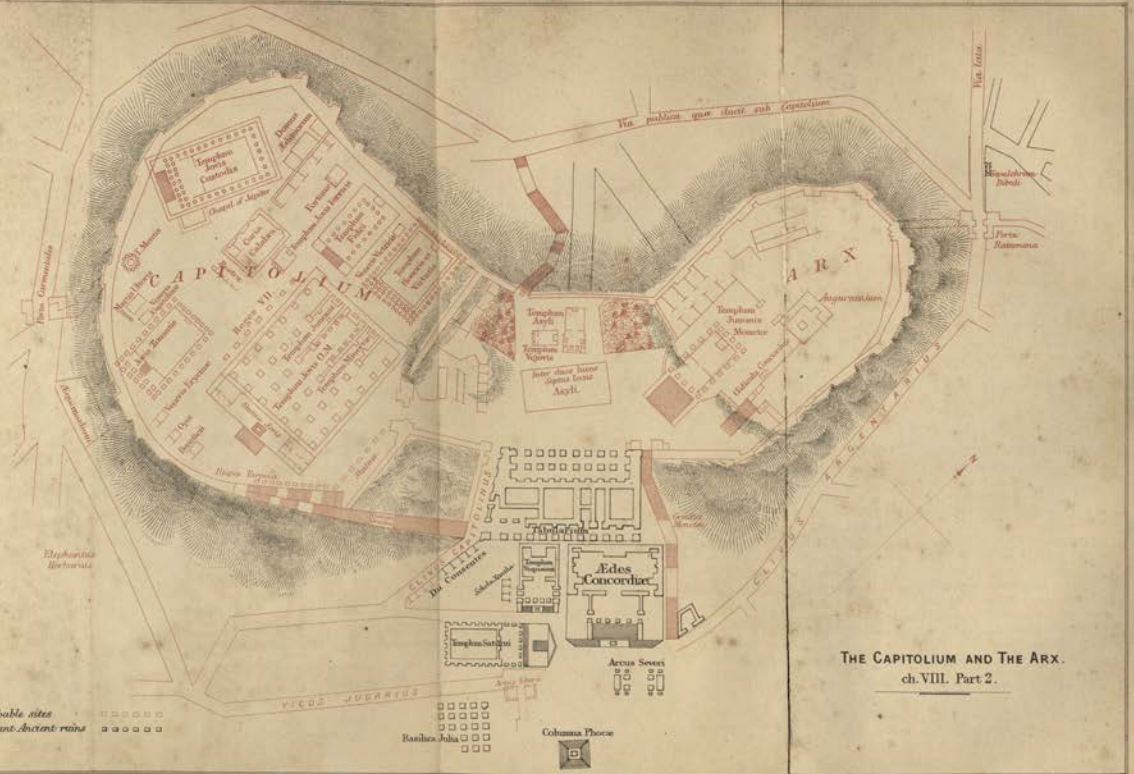
NATURAL FEATURES—SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBERS—WELLS—FAVISÆ—HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS—NAMES OF THE HILL—SITUATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER—BRIDGE OF CALIGULA—STATUE OF JUPITER NUMBER OF SANCTUARIES ON THE CAPITOL—CURIA CALABRA—ROSTRA—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CUSTOS—ATTACKS UPON AND CAPTURES OF THE CAPITOL—STORY OF HERDONIUS—STORY OF COMINIUS AND THE GAULS—THE VITELLIANS—SUBSTRUCTIONS OF THE TEMPLE—MODERN EXCAVATIONS—ARGUMENT FROM RECEIVED IDEAS—HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER—FOUNDATIONS—CAPITOLINE ERA CELLÆ OF TEMPLE—ARRANGEMENT OF COLUMNS—RESTORATIONS BY SYLLA, VESPASIAN, AND DOMITIAN LATER HISTORY LEGEND OF BELLS—CORSI PALACE AND CASTLE—S. SALVATORE IN MAXIMIS—JUPITER FERETRIUS—JUPITER TONANS MARS ULTOR—TEMPLES OF FIDES, MENS, VENUS ERYCINA, CAPITOLINA, VICTRIX, AND OPS CHAPELS OF JUPITER—TEMPLE OF HONOUR AND VIRTUE—FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA—BENEFICIUM—STATUES, ETC.—TEMPLE OF JUNO MONETA—CHAPEL OF CONCORD—VERBENÆ—NONALIA—AUGURACULUM—TERMINUS OF SACRA VIA—ASYLUM TEMPLE OF VEJUPITER—TARPEIAN ROCK—CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS—CLIVUS ARGENTARIUS—TOMB OF BIBULUS—ARCUS MANUS CARNEÆ—VIA PUBLICA—ÆQUIMÆLIUM—ELEPHANTUS HERBARIUS—PORTICUS CRINORUM—CENTUM GRADUS—TROPHIES OF MARIUS.

> "Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
> Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis."
>
> *Æn.* vii. 347.

THE natural features of the Capitoline hill could hardly have been more completely concealed than they are by the present situation of the buildings upon it, even if those buildings had been erected with the express purpose of changing the appearance of the hill. For the Convent of Ara Cæli and the Palazzo Caffarelli, which occupy respectively the north-eastern and south-western summits of the hill, are comparatively low and unconspicuous, while the Tabularium, and above it the Palace of the Senator, compose a lofty pile which nearly fills up the depression between these two heights. To the spectator looking at the Capitoline hill from the Forum the higher part of the hill appears to lie nearly in the centre, whereas in reality the shape is that of a double hill rising at each end. The north-eastern end is somewhat curved round towards the north, while the south-western approaches within 300 paces of the river. The whole core of the hill is formed of the harder volcanic tufa, a section of which may be plainly seen, forming the face of the low precipice now shown as the Tarpeian Rock in the Caffarelli Gardens, and also in a courtyard surrounded by cottages, near the spot called Palazzaccio.[1] This tufa was, as has been frequently mentioned, used as a building stone

Natural features.

[1] Niebuhr, Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 230.


CAPITOLIUM
ARX
Via publica quae ducit sub Capitolium
Via lata
Porta Carmentalis
Porta Ratumena
Aedes Concordiae
Arcus Severi
Basilica Julia
Columna Phocae
Templum Saturni
Templum Junonis Monetae
Templum Veiovis
Templum Asyli
Templum Fidei
Templum Jovis Custodis
Templum Jovis Optimi Maximi
Templum Honoris et Virtutis
Templum Apollinis
Templum Concordiae
Templum Castoris
Templum Victoriae
Templum Minervae
Templum Herculis Custodis
Templum Jovis Tonantis
Templum Jovis Feretrii
Templum Jovis Victoris
Templum Jovis Statoris
Templum Romae
Templum Veneris Victricis
Templum Veneris Genetricis
Templum Divi Augusti
Templum Divi Claudii
Templum Divi Vespasiani
Templum Divi Titi
Templum Divi Antonini et Faustinae
Templum Divi Hadriani
Templum Divi Trajani
Templum Divi Nervae
Templum Divi Julii
Templum Divi Augusti
Templum Divi Caesaris
Templum Divi Romuli
Templum Divae Matris
Templum Deae Diae
Templum Deae Tellurae
Templum Deae Rutiliae
Templum Deae Fortunae
Templum Deae Fortunae Reducis
Templum Deae Fortunae Virilis
Templum Deae Pietatis
Templum Deae Salutis
Templum Deae Fidei
Templum Deae Cloacinae
Templum Deae Bonae Deae
Templum Deae Vestae
Templum Deae Dianae
Templum Deae Isidis
Templum Deae Minervae
Templum Deae Junonis Reginae
Templum Deae Junonis Lucinae
Templum Deae Junonis Sospitae
Templum Deae Junonis Monetae
Templum Deae Junonis Matris
Templum Deae Junonis Juventatis
Templum Deae Junonis Libertatis
Templum Deae Junonis Fortunae
Templum Deae Junonis Veneris
Templum Deae Junonis Cybeles
Templum Deae Junonis Isidis
Templum Deae Junonis Minervae
Templum Deae Junonis Dianae
Templum Deae Junonis Vestae
Templum Deae Junonis Cloacinae
Templum Deae Junonis Bonae Deae
Templum Deae Junonis Tellurae
Templum Deae Junonis Rutiliae
Templum Deae Junonis Fortunae Reducis
Templum Deae Junonis Fortunae Virilis
Templum Deae Junonis Pietatis
Templum Deae Junonis Salutis
Templum Deae Junonis Fidei

in the early ages of Rome, before the Lapis Gabinus or Albanus (*peperino*) or the Lapis Tiburtinus (*travertino*) had been introduced.

Hence it was extensively quarried in various parts of Rome, and large subterranean chambers excavated in the hills. There are many of them still extant in the Capitoline hill. Some of the largest pointed out by Brocchi are in the cellars of the houses No. 8, Vicolo della Bufala, and No. 10, Via della Pedacchia, and Donati speaks of some as having been open caves in his time.[1] *Subterranean chambers.*

Besides these cavities the hill was also penetrated with wells of great depth, some of which reached down to the level of the surrounding low ground, and were connected by arched conduits. They were used to supply water before the Aqua Tepula was carried to the Capitol in the year A.U.C. 628. The subterranean chambers seem to have been used as prisons, and also as cellars, where the treasures of the temples, under which they were, might be deposited. Thus Gellius says that the Favisæ Capitolinæ were used for the purpose of storing away the worn-out statues of the gods, and the disused vessels and utensils employed in the temple service, and that many of these hollows were so near the surface of the ground that Q. Catulus, when he restored the Capitoline temple, was afraid to lower the level of the Area Capitolina as he had wished to do in order to make the approach more imposing.[2] Niebuhr visited one of these, and relates a curious legend which he heard from some of the guides, how the fair Tarpeia still sits in the heart of the hill, covered with gold and jewels, and bound by a spell.[3] *Wells.* *Favisæ.*

Besides the great masses of hard tufa composing the hill, on the side towards the Palatine there are some beds of granular tufa, and in the vaults under the Hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione Brocchi found a stratum of marine limestone, underlying the hard tufa and composing the lower base of the hill.[4] This was the only spot where he succeeded in reaching the marine formations which most probably underlie all the volcanic rock of Rome.

The depression between the two summits of the hill offers a curious proof of the high level at which the water of the Tiber, or of a lake through which it ran, must have stood in very remote times. For the ground under the equestrian statue of M. Aurelius is composed of fluviatile or lacustrine sediment, containing shells of fresh-water bivalves and univalves, showing that fresh water probably once rose as high as the present level of the Piazza del Campidoglio.

Great alterations have been made in the shape of the Capitoline hill, not only on the side towards the Forum, but also on that towards the Campus. In its original state as a fortress, it was an isolated hill, cut off by walls or precipices on all sides except that towards the Forum, and neither the approach which leads up to the Piazza del Campidoglio nor that which passes up to the Palace of the Conservators existed, but the whole side towards the Campus Martius was closed by the city wall, which ran along the edge of the cliff.

Historically the Capitoline does not come into prominence so early as the Quirinal.

[1] Brocchi, p. 151; Donati, Roma Vetus, ii. 19.

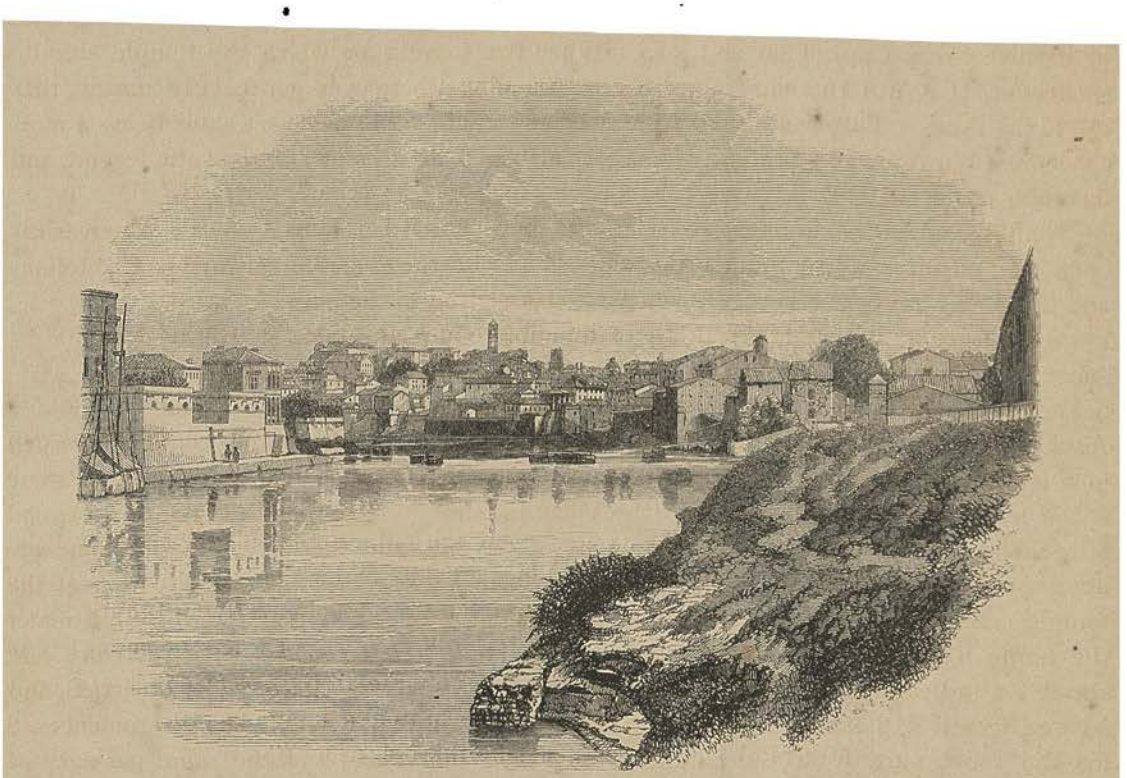
[2] Paul. Diac. p. 88; Gellius, N. A. ii. 10. Under the north-eastern part of Jerusalem are enormous subterranean chambers, from whence the stone with which the Temple was built was probably taken. These cavities extend under the whole eastern part of the city.

[3] Niebuhr, Eng. trans. vol i. p. 230.

[4] Brocchi, p. 155.

For it was not till after the two settlements had coexisted for some time upon the Palatine and Quirinal that the Capitoline was taken within the pomœrium.[1] It is difficult to determine when the Capitoline was formally added to the city on the Palatine. Tacitus ascribes its enclosure to Titus Tatius,[2] and we are certain that it was included within the walls of Servius, though it is not mentioned in the Varronian account of the four Servian regions.[3] But on the other hand, in the enumeration

History of settlements.



CAPITOLINE HILL FROM THE MARMORATA, LOOKING NORTHWARDS UP THE STREAM.
(The lofty tower in the centre of the view stands on the Intermontium of the Capitol, and the buildings on the left of it are upon the Caffarelli height.)

at the Argeian chapels, no mention is made of any as situated on the Capitoline hill. The most ancient name of the hill was Saturnius, and a legend was connected with it to the effect that the god Saturn had founded a city upon the hill in the golden age. An altar was dedicated to him, and afterwards the famous temple built at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus.[4] Another name applied to the whole hill was Tarpeius, in allusion to the vestal virgin Tarpeia, whose fate has been immortalized by Propertius.[5] Occasionally we have also the name Arx applied to the whole hill, and not restricted to the fortress alone.[6]

Names of the hill.

[1] Tac. Ann. xii. 24. [2] Ibid. xii. 24.
[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 45. See chap. iv. p. 39.
[4] Ibid. v. 42, 45; Festus, p. 322; Dionys. i. 34; Virg. Æn. viii. 357; Ov. Fasti, vi. 31.
[5] Varro, L. L. v. 41; Propert. (iv.) v. 4. "Inter duos lucos" does not appear to have been a name, but merely a descriptive expression. Livy, i. 8; Dionys. ii. 15. "Intermontium" is first found in And. Fulvius, De Urb. Ant. p. 85, and is not a classical expression. [6] Cic. De Rep. ii. 6; Livy, i. 11.

But though a few passages may undoubtedly be quoted in which the names Capitolium, Arx, and Mons Tarpeius are used, especially by the poets, to denote the whole hill,[1] yet there can be no question that the more usual practice of the best prose writers is to separate the Capitolium, Arx, and Rupes Tarpeia, and to assign these names to different parts of the hill. Thus in speaking of the Asylum both Strabo and Dionysius describe it as situated between the Arx and Capitolium, and Festus restricts the Saxum Tarpeium to one part of the hill.[2] In most passages of Cicero and Livy the whole hill is designated by its two parts, Capitolium and Arx. When the summit on which the temple stood is spoken of, they use the name Capitolium; when the fortress is particularly meant, they call it the Arx.[3] Tarpeius appears to be chiefly used by the poets either as being a more convenient word for versification, or as connected with an ancient and romantic legend, and therefore more poetical.

With these few preliminary remarks, we proceed at once to make some observations upon the question as to the respective positions of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Arx. After the summary which has been given of the usage followed by the classical writers in speaking of the Capitolium and Arx, it will at once be seen that great care is needed before appealing to their authority, because in some passages the name Capitolium, and in others the name Arx, is clearly used to denote the whole hill. Were it not so, the matter could be decided in a few words, for, as Preller remarks, Livy distinctly asserts that a large block of stone fell in B.C. 192 from the Capitol into the Vicus Jugarius.[4] Now the Vicus Jugarius beyond all doubt was under the south-western part of the hill, and therefore, if Capitolium were here used in the restricted sense, we should have a clear proof of the situation of the temple. But it is not at all certain that Livy is not here speaking of the whole hill under the name Capitolium, and thus the argument fails. Topographers have therefore cast about for indications of the sites of the temple and Arx not liable to this objection, and have collected a great mass of information bearing on the subject. Their arguments are for the most part, from the nature of the case, indecisive, and the same passages of ancient writers have frequently been adduced as evidence on both sides of the question. There are some few, however, which have never been fairly discussed, and these appear to point so plainly to the conclusion that the Capitoline temple must have been upon the south-western height, that it seems surprising to find the contrary any longer maintained.

Situation of the Temple of Jupiter.

I. In the first place the evidence derived from the Bridge of Caligula, mentioned by Suetonius, seems decisive as to the situation of the Temple of Jupiter. Suetonius says that Caligula in his madness imagined that he held conversations with the Capitoline Jupiter, and used to whisper in his ear and apply his own ear to the lips of the statue for the answer. He is said to have threatened to expel Jupiter from the Capitol unless he listened to his advances, and the monarch of gods was at last obliged to appease the Emperor's anger by inviting him to share his temple.[5] Caligula then, in order to connect his palace with the

Decisive arguments.

Bridge of Caligula.

[1] Such are Varro, L. L. v. 41; Tac. Ann. xii. 24; Livy, i. 10, ii. 10. See also Virg. Æn. viii. 652—658.

[2] Strabo, v. 3; Dionys. ii. 15; Festus, p. 343; Livy, vi. 20; Gell. v. 12.

[3] See the passages quoted by Becker, Note 744.

[4] Livy, xxxv. 21; Preller, Philologus, 1846, p. 70.

[5] Suet. Cal. 22. It was plainly the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter to which Caligula made his bridge, and Dr. Dyer is mistaken in contradicting Becker. Dict. Ant. vol. ii. p. 766.

temple, built a bridge across the intervening valley over the Temple of Augustus. Now it is allowed on all hands that this bridge could not have been thrown across to the height of Ara Cæli, as it would then have passed over a part of the Forum, and no alternative is therefore left us but to conclude that it was carried from the northern corner of the Palatine to the Caffarelli height, and that the Temple of Jupiter stood upon that height.

Statue of Jupiter.

II. A second argument, which appears strongly to support the same conclusion, may be drawn from Cicero's account of the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Capitol had been struck by lightning, and the statues and other works of art, especially that of the Capitoline Jupiter, placed on a column, had been much injured. The Haruspices, when consulted as to the means to be taken in order to avert the calamities thus portended, advised that a larger statue of Jupiter should be made and placed on a higher pedestal, and that the face should be turned towards the East,[1] "in the hope that if the statue which *you see before you*," says Cicero, addressing the people in the Forum from the Rostra, "should overlook the Forum and Curia, the designs of traitors against the State would be brought to light and discovered." The alteration, he adds, had only just been completed during his own consulship, and on the same day the Catilinarian conspiracy had been detected.[2]

If we place the statue on the Ara Cæli height, and draw a line eastwards from it, the line will not pass through any part of the Forum, whereas, if turned to the south, it would have overlooked at least that angle of the Forum where the Temple of Saturn stands. But by placing the statue on the Caffarelli height, with its face eastwards, it is at once seen that the Forum and Curia would lie nearly in a direct line opposite to it, and Cicero's words became at once intelligible.[3] That the alteration of position was scientifically and carefully made cannot be doubted, as it was done under the inspection of the Haruspices, and in consequence of a general consultation among the most learned members of that body, and there is no reason whatever for supposing, as Preller does, that the orientation of the statue was not accurate.[4] Dion Cassius, a careful and critical writer, gives exactly the same account of the change of position made in the statue. It was made "to face the East," he says, "and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies then causing so much agitation in Rome might be detected."[5]

Number of sanctuaries on the Capitol.

III. A third most important proof that the temple was situated on the south-western height is derived from the number of less prominent sanctuaries which we know to have stood there, and for which the space upon the Ara Cæli height affords no room. Not only was the Temple of Jupiter itself of large size, but it stood upon a basement, nearly square, of 200 feet in length;[6] and in front of it was an area large enough to allow of meetings and elections, and even of horse-races.[7] It is probable that the Curia Calabra, where the Pontifices announced

[1] Dion Cass. xxxvii. 9 : Τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα μεῖζον πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον ἱδρυθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

[2] In Catil. iii. 8, § 20. The whole context shows that the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus is intended. See also De Div. i. 12, § 20, 21.

[3] Dr. Dyer, who supports the Italian opinion as to the Arx and Capitol, appeals to a personal inspection as conclusive. I can only state that I have carefully surveyed the ground several times, and have found my opinion in every way confirmed as to the position of the temple and Arx. Bunsen, who held the German view, lived for some time upon the hill itself.

[4] Schneidewin's Philologus, 1846, p. 87.

[5] Dion Cass. xxxvii. 9.

[6] Dionys. iv. 61.

[7] Livy, xxv. 3 ; xxxiv. 53 ; Plut. Æm. Paull. 30, 31 ; App. B. C. i, 25 ; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxvii. 7, 45.

the day on which the Nones would fall in each month,[1] and the Rostra, of which Cicero speaks in one of his letters to Brutus, were here.[2] When we add to the space required for these the sites of at least five or six temples, among which those of Fides and Mens were large enough for meetings of the Senate,[3] and that of Jupiter Custos, built by Domitian, was called a "huge" temple by Tacitus,[4] it will be seen that the area of the northern height is not sufficiently extensive to contain them all. The advocates of the opposite hypothesis have had recourse to very unsatisfactory arguments in order to weaken the force of this proof that the temple stood on the Caffarelli height. Canina undertakes to show that some of the temples were small chapels, and converts the Templum Ingens of Domitian into a *piccolo sacello*, while he transplants the Temple of Fides to the Palatine.[5]

Curia Calabra.
Rostra.
Temple of Jupiter Custos.

Dr. Dyer avoids the difficulty by an argument which has been also forcibly stated by Preller in Schneidewin's "Philologus." In order to gain room for the additional temples, he thinks that the Area Capitolina in which the meetings were held, and on which the other temples stood, was on the intermontium where the present Piazza del Campidoglio is situated, and that the temple stood above on the Ara Cæli. But though there is much plausibility in this supposition, yet it is shown to be unlikely by the statements of Pliny and Solinus, who assert that a chariot could be driven round the temple,[6] so that the area can hardly be supposed to have been so far below the level of the temple as the intermontium is below the Ara Cæli, and would seem to have been a space extending all round the temple, but on the same level, and wider in front.

The above arguments in favour of the south-western summit have never yet been satisfactorily answered, while all the rest, numerous as they are, appear to be capable of being so handled as to suit either hypothesis.

I. Thus, for example, the descriptions of the various attacks and captures of the Capitol and Arx given by Roman historians, the seizure of the fortress by Herdonius,[7] the bold adventure of Cominius,[8] the famous night attack of the Gauls repulsed by Manlius,[9] and the storming of the Capitol by the Vitellians,[10] have been claimed as proving that the temple lay on the south-western height by Niebuhr, Bunsen, Becker, Preller, Bunbury, and Reber; while Nardini, Canina, Nibby, Göttling, Braun, and Dyer, have made use of them in support of the opposite view. It is in fact quite possible, if we grant, as we must, a certain laxity in the use of the terms Capitolium, Arx, and Mons Tarpeius, to explain these passages so as to suit either hypothesis. Dionysius renders his description unintelligible to us by the strange statement that the gate which was always left open on the Capitol was called the Carmentine gate, whereas all the information we have goes to show that the Carmentine or Carmental gate was the gate of the Servian wall, which stood between the Tiber and the Capitoline hill. He also introduces the ambiguous word *φρούριον*, which may apply to either summit of the hill or to an outwork at its foot.[11]

Undecisive arguments.
Story of Herdonius.
Attacks upon and captures of the Capitol.

[1] Varro, L. L. vi. 27; Macr. Sat. i. 15. See Becker, note 796. In Martial viii. 80, Æn. viii. 654, the Curia Calabra is probably alluded to.
[2] Cic. Ad Brut. i. 3.
[3] App. B. C. i. 16.
[4] Tac. Hist. iii. 74; Suet. Dom. 5.
[5] Canina, Indicazione, p. 306; Tac. Hist. loc. cit.
[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 42, 161; Solin. 45, 15, p. 195, ed. Mommsen.
[7] Dionys. x. 14; Livy, iii. 15.
[8] Livy, v. 46.
[9] Ibid. v. 47.
[10] Tac. Hist. iii. 71.
[11] Dionys. x. 14.

Livy also, in relating the adventures of Cominius and of the Gauls, uses the ambiguous terms Capitolium and Rupes Tarpeia, which leave us doubtful whether the summit nearest to the river, which Cominius and the Gauls climbed, was the temple height or the fortress. So, also, in the history of the storming of the Capitol by the Vitellian party, the words of Tacitus leave it uncertain whether the first attack was made upon the Arx or the temple, because the historian uses the ambiguous terms Capitolina Arx and Capitolium.

Story of Cominius and the Gauls.

The Vitellians.

II. Nor has the description by Dionysius of the substructions of the temple afforded any surer ground upon which to found an argument than the above-mentioned historical narratives.[1] Dionysius makes use of general terms, which will apply to either portion of the hill, and cannot with any certainty, in the present state at least of our knowledge of the original shape of the hill, be adduced in favour of either hypothesis. The remains which have been at various times laid bare by excavation have only served to perplex the question still more. Foundations and fragments of buildings have been found on both summits, but no clue to their identification has been yet discovered. While Nibby and Casimiro on the one hand describe the ruins of substructions on the Ara Cæli, extensive and ancient enough to answer to the statements of Dionysius,[2] Fabretti on the other hand gives an account of certain foundations brought to light in the Caffarelli Gardens, from which he draws the following conclusion in favour of the Caffarelli height:[3]—"Thus from Dionysius's accurate description of the locality, which agrees exactly with the position of these ruins, we can now without further trouble decide the controversy between Alexander Donati and Famiano Nardini about the site of the Temple of Jupiter." Fabretti's assertions are confirmed by Bartoli in Fea's "Miscellanea," and by Bunsen in the "Beschreibung Roms," both of whom speak as eye-witnesses of very extensive substructions having been laid open upon the Caffarelli height.[4]

Substructions of the Temple.

The latest excavations on this spot have brought to light the ground plan of a building, the foundations of which consist of tufa blocks fitted together without mortar, and in an irregular manner, forming a rectangular basement of about 120 feet by 80 feet.[5] From the size of the basement it is clear that this cannot be the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The front of the building appears to face the south-west, and looks over the Tiber and Janiculum. This information is, however, based upon a necessarily imperfect and partial excavation on the spot, the greater part being covered by the Caffarelli Palace and Gardens; and therefore satisfactory conclusions can hardly be drawn from it. Whether the foundations thus described be those of Domitian's Temple of Jupiter Custos, or must be ascribed to the more ancient Temple of Fides, cannot be at present decided.[6]

Modern excavations.

[1] Dionys. iii. 69.

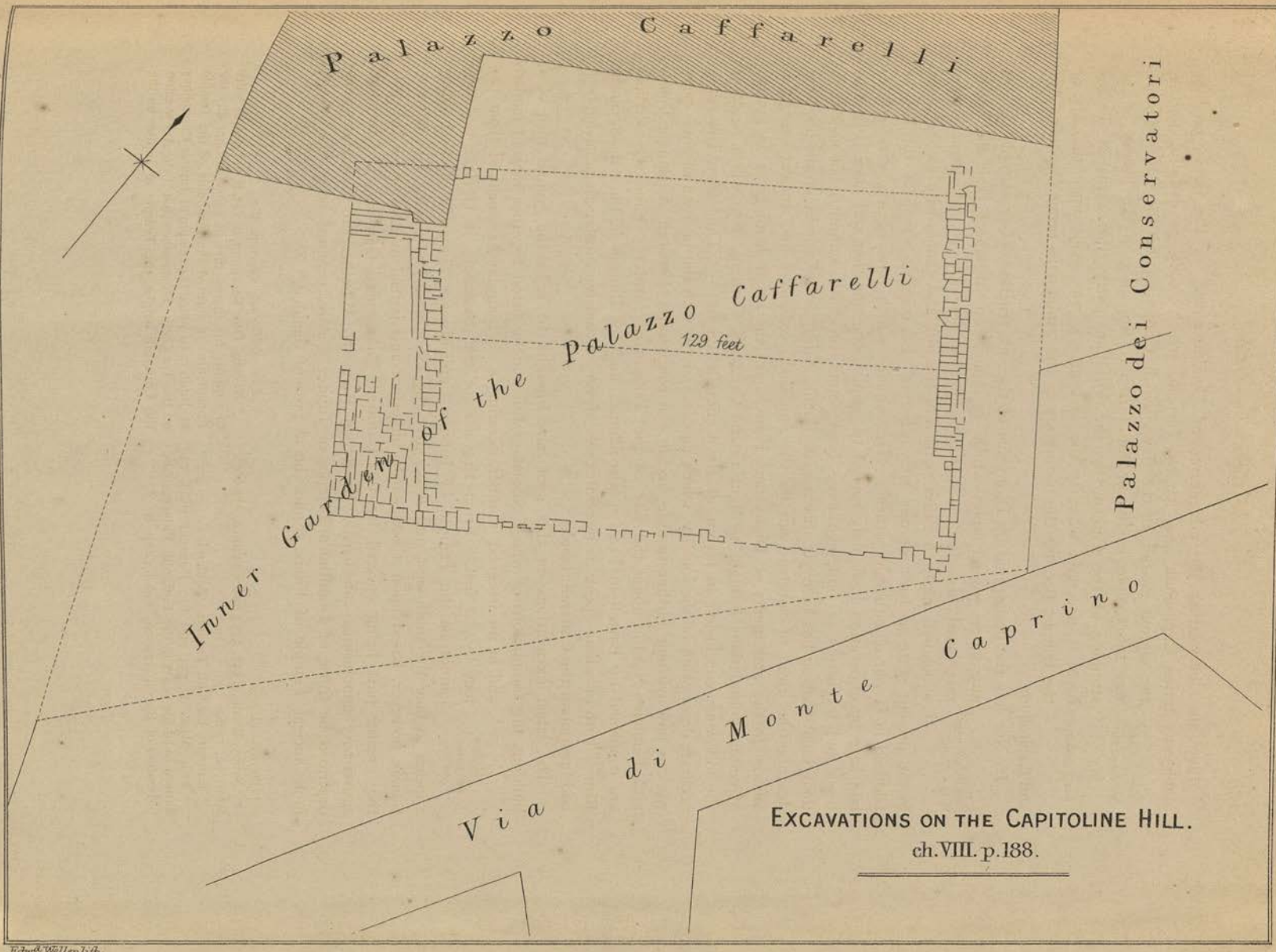
[2] Nibby, Roma, i. 557, 571; and Casimiro, Memorie Istoriche, 1736.

[3] Fabretti, De Col. Trajani. Addenda.

[4] Fea, Misc. i. 253 and 81; Bunsen, iii. i. 23. Bunsen lived for years in the Caffarelli Palace. See "Memoirs of Baron Bunsen," vol. i. chap. iv.

[5] *Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxvi. p. 382.

[6] Nissen, Das Templum, p. 143, is obliged, in order to support his theory that in every ancient city the Forum always formed the peribolus of the Temple of Jupiter, to place the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Ara Cæli. He assumes that if the Arx were on the Caffarelli height, the Temple of Jupiter on the



EXCAVATIONS ON THE CAPITOLINE HILL.

ch. VIII. p. 188.

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III. Among the arguments which cannot be called decisive we may place that drawn from the received ideas as to the proper position of the principal temple of a city. Vitruvius lays down the rule that the temple of the tutelary deity ought to be placed on the highest point, whence the widest view of the walls could be obtained.[1] Now in this respect there does not seem to be much difference between the two summits of the Capitoline hill. The difference in height is about fifteen feet only in favour of the Ara Cæli; and the view from the latter is very much the same as that obtained from the former, though I should be inclined to think that, from its proximity to the Quirinal, the view from Ara Cæli was the less extensive. In the same way the statement of Dionysius, that the temple faced the south, may be made to favour either side of the question. For if the temple was upon the Ara Cæli, it then looked towards the Forum and the Palatine; and if it was upon the Caffarelli height, it still looked down upon the Forum Boarium, the Ara Maxima, the Circus Maximus, and the Germalus,—places which at the time of the foundation of the temple by Tarquinius had the greatest importance in Rome. Rules about the orientation and arrangement of buildings must always be considered as subordinate to the exigencies of the site. St. Peter's Basilica at Rome and many other churches are instances of the neglect of such rules; and doubtless in cases where they proved inconvenient the ancient augurs had many ways of evading them.

Argument from received ideas.

Before we proceed to speak of the inference which may be drawn from the later history of the temple and the mediæval traditions concerning its situation it will be most convenient to collect the various facts known about its history and architecture. It was originally begun in consequence of a vow made by Tarquinius Priscus in the Sabine War, and that king prepared the foundations.[2] Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus carried on the work, but it was not finished until after the expulsion of the latter and the establishment of the Republic.[3] Horatius Pulvillus, in his second consulship, dedicated it on the Ides of September, B.C. 509, and a nail was then driven into the right hand wall of the temple to mark the beginning of a new era. A similar nail was afterwards fixed here yearly by the prætor on the Ides of September, and thus every year was marked and remembered; and the era so reckoned from the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter was used at Rome in ritual matters for more than two hundred years at least.[4] The temple was placed upon an elevated platform 800 feet in circumference, and was itself nearly as broad as its length. The great breadth was caused by the admission of the goddesses Juno and Minerva to share the temple with Jupiter.[5] In order to accommodate the trio, three cellæ were built side by side, thus giving a triple breadth to the front. The cella of Minerva was on the right, and that

History and architecture of Temple of Jupiter.

Foundations.

Capitoline era.

Cellæ of Temple.

Ara Cæli would be to the left of it, *i.e.* on the auspicious side. But this is a mistake, for the Temple of Jupiter, if placed on the Ara Cæli, would be behind the Arx, and not on the left of it.

[1] Vitruv. Arch. i. 7. It must particularly be borne in mind that the temple was founded when the Palatine and the Circus Maximus were the most important parts of Rome.

[2] Cic. De Rep. ii. 20, 24; Livy, i. 38; Dionys. iv. 59.

[3] Tac. Hist. iii. 72.

[4] Livy, vii. 3; Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 266, 280; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 19.

[5] Dionys. iv. 61. The same trio were worshipped at the Capitolium Vetus on the Quirinal.

of Juno on the left of the central one occupied by Jupiter. The same proportions were retained from religious scruples in every subsequent restoration, and the only difference in the later structures arose from the more costly nature of the materials. In front there were three rows of pillars, and along the sides a double row. The whole was crowned, notwithstanding its breadth, with one pediment and a single roof. This singular arrangement, which impaired the general effect of the temple by making the breadth out of proportion to the height and length, was according to the Etruscan rule, which forbade the consecration of the same temple to more than one god. In the representations of the temple which we have upon coins it is hexastyle, but in a basso-rilievo taken from an arch of M. Aurelius tetrastyle only. Canina thinks that it was hexastyle—*i.e.* that it had only six columns—in front, but that the side rows of columns were double, according to the description of Dionysius, for a part of the distance along the sides.[1] The lateral cellæ of Juno and Minerva stood farther back than the central cella of Jupiter, and the porticoes along their sides consisted of a single row of pillars.

Arrangement of columns.

As marble was entirely unknown in Roman buildings at the time of the first erection of this temple, it must have been built of peperino or travertine, and the interior covered with plaster. The statues of the deities were of terra-cotta, and so also was the famous Quadriga, which stood upon the summit. They were the work of Etruscan artists at Veii.[2] The style of architecture in which the temple was built was Italian Doric, which approaches to the Tuscan order of Vitruvius. The immense breadth of the spaces between the pillars, nearly thirty feet, must have required a wooden architrave, and the cornice must have projected very considerably more than in a Greek temple, in order to shelter the beams and the ornamental plaster-work. Thus the aspect of the temple would be heavy and low, the breadth being excessive, and the spaces between the columns out of proportion to the size of the whole.

The original temple stood for four hundred and twenty-five years, and it was then consumed by fire, in A.U.C. 670, and rebuilt by Sylla, who brought the columns of the Temple of Zeus Olympius from Athens to adorn it.[3] These columns were Corinthian, and we must therefore suppose that the architecture was altered to suit them, and remodelled in agreement with most Roman buildings of that period. Sylla did not live to complete the temple, and it was dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Restoration by Sylla.

In this restoration marble was substituted for stone and stucco, and bronze for terra-cotta. Cicero praises the exquisite proportions of the pediment and roof, and we may infer from his words that the proportions of this part were somewhat changed, though the area remained the same as before. Catulus's restorations lasted until the desperate attack of the Vitellians, in A.D. 70, again caused the destruction of the temple by fire in the same year as the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. Vespasian undertook to rebuild it.[4] The Emperor himself

Restoration by Vespasian.

[1] Canina, Arch. Ant. tom. ix. p. 197. See a restoration of the front in *Monumenti dell' Inst.* v. tav. xxxvi.; Annali, 1851, p. 289.

[2] Plut. Popl. 13; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxviii. 2, 4; xxxv. 12, 45.

[3] Appian, B. C. i. 83; Tac. Hist. iii. 72; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 25.

[4] Dion Cass. lxvi. 10; Suet. Vesp. 8; Tac. Hist. iv. 53.

with his own hands was the first to commence the work of removing the rubbish, and to carry some of it away on his shoulders. Tacitus says that in the restoration by Vespasian the religious scruples of the priests only allowed an enlargement of the temple in height, and this must have been effected by elevating the level and heightening the columns, since, as we have seen in the case of Catulus, the subterranean chambers prevented any lowering of the base.

Restoration by Domitian.

At Vespasian's death the temple was again burnt, and restored by Domitian with still greater magnificence. The columns erected by him were of pentelic marble brought from Athens, and the gilding of the temple alone cost 2,500,000*l.*[1] Martial jocularly says, in speaking of the enormous expenditure, that if Domitian were to call in his debts Jupiter himself, even if he were to put up Olympus to auction, would not have been able to pay a shilling in the pound.[2]

The columns brought by Domitian from Athens were recut at Rome, and Plutarch thinks that they did not gain so much in beauty of polish as they lost in symmetry of proportion. Canina has recognised in this criticism of Plutarch a confirmation of the representations on coins of the temple as hexastyle. He thinks that the width of the intercolumniations gave rise to Plutarch's notion that the columns were too slender.[3]

Later history.

But few notices of the later history of the temple can be gathered from various sources. After its restoration by Domitian it seems to have retained its splendour. The fire in the Capitol during the reign of Commodus[4] may have injured it, but as it was still one of the most splendid sights in Rome in the time of Constantine the injury cannot have been considerable.[5] Stilicho about A.D. 390 took off the gold plates from the doors of the temple,[6] and Genseric the Vandal removed one half of the gilt bronze tiles from the roof.[7] Hieronymus at this time speaks of the decay and neglect into which the temple and its ceremonies had fallen, but Cassiodorus, in the following century, still finds enough of its former grandeur left to excite his astonishment.[8] The remaining half of the bronze gilt tiles is said to have been removed in 630 by Pope Honorius, who used them for the roof of the Basilica of St. Peter, then in course of construction.[9]

Legend of bells.

In the eighth century the famous legend seems to have been invented, in which it was related how, in the Capitol at Rome, statues representing each nation in the Empire were placed, and bells hung from their hands; and how, whenever any commotion or rebellion took place among the subject nations, the statue of that nation immediately rang its bell, and gave the alarm to the central government.[10] This story is to be found in most of the absurd collections of strange wonders written in these times under the name of Mirabilia. Louis the Second, the grandson of Charlemagne, was crowned in the Capitol by Pope Adrian II. in the year 850, and thenceforward throughout the Middle Ages the Capitol became the seat of the civil government at Rome. It was in the ninth century that the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS. visited Rome, and he mentions on the road from the Circus Flaminius, passing between the Capitoline hill and the Tiber, a theatre, undoubtedly that of Marcellus, on the right, and a Temple of Jupiter,

[1] Plut. Publ. 15.
[2] Martial, ix. 4.
[3] Canina, Arch. Ant. tom. iii. p. 203.
[4] Ronc. Chron. p. 465; Oros. vii. 16.
[5] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10, 14.
[6] Zosim. v. 38.
[7] Procop. De Bell. Vand. i. 5.
[8] Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. ii. extr.; Cassiod. Var. lib. vii. 6.
[9] Matliani, Topog. ii. 1.
[10] Mai. Spicileg. Rom. tom. ii. p. 221.

probably the Capitoline, on the left. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the powerful family of the Corsi held the south-western part of the hill, and, as was so common at that period, converted the ancient buildings into fortresses and defensible towers. These strongholds were taken and retaken, demolished and rebuilt again and again during those dark and turbulent ages; and thus the Capitoline Temple, like other great edifices in Rome, disappeared stone by stone. Yet the mention in a Bull of Anacletus II. about the year 1134,[1] and in the "Mirabilia Urbis," a work of the twelfth century, of a Temple of Jupiter on the western height, seems to show that the ruins at least were recognisable as late as the twelfth century. The last remains we hear of are those mentioned by Poggio and Flavio Blondo, who speak of a huge portion of a gateway and some columns near the Church of S. Salvatore in Maximis.[2] The site of this church is well known, as it was not demolished till 1587. It stood at the upper edge of the Caffarelli height, near a road leading from the hill to the Velabrum, probably the Via di Monte Caprino. The testimony of the ancient Italian topographers is almost unanimous in identifying this church with the temple, and the name "in Maximis" seems to be derived from the title of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[3]

Corsi Palace and Castle.

S. Salvatore in Maximis.

With the exception of the Temples of Fides and of Honour and Virtue, the utmost uncertainty prevails about the position of most of the minor temples situated on the Capitoline hill, in consequence of the unfortunate ambiguity of the names Capitolium, Arx, and Mons Tarpeius. The most ancient of all was the small Chapel of Jupiter Feretrius, founded by Romulus on occasion of his having slain with his own hand the king of the Cæninenses.[4] Dionysius states that the base of the chapel, which was still extant in his time, was not more than fifteen feet in length.[5] But though this building is always said to be "in Capitolio," we cannot feel sure that it was upon the south-western height.[6]

Jupiter Feretrius.

The same may be said of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus in gratitude for his preservation, when a servant carrying a torch before his litter in Spain was struck down by lightning.[7] This temple was certainly upon the same part of the hill as the Temple of Jupiter, and not far distant from it, for Augustus, in consequence of a dream, placed a bell upon the top of it, meaning to signify that Jupiter Tonans was intended to act as porter at the gate of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[8] Augustus appears also to have built a small chapel to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, besides that in his Forum, in commemoration of the recapture of the military eagles lost by Crassus.[9]

Jupiter Tonans.

Mars Ultor.

The Temple of Fides is one of the larger and most frequently mentioned temples of the Capitol. It was first built by Numa, and then restored in the First Punic War by

[1] See Preller, in Schneid. Philologus, 1846, p. 104.

[2] Poggio, De Var. Urb. Rom.; Flav. Blondus, Inst. Rom. i. 74, in Græv. Thesaurus. Gamucci, the second edition of whose book, "Antichita di Roma," was published in 1569, says: "Il Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo edificato da Tarquinio Superbo, era dalla parte del Campidoglio che risguarda la piazza montanara" [S.W. summit]. He also mentions the church of S. Salvatore in Maximis as at the S.W. end of the hill in his time: "Alle radici del Campidoglio, ove hora si vede la Chiesa di San Salvador in Massimi."

[3] Albertini, De Mirab. Rom. lib. ii.; Marl. ii. 4.

[4] Livy, i. 10, 33; iv. 20.

[5] Dionys. ii. 34.

[6] Monum. Ancyr. tab. iv.

[7] Suet. Oct. 29; Mon. Anc. iv; Plin. xxxvi. 6, 8; Dion Cass. liv. 4.

[8] Suet. Oct. 91.

[9] Dion Cass. liv. 8; Ov. Fast. v. 579.

Atilius Calatinus and Æmilius Scaurus.[1] Meetings of the Senate could be held in it, and it was here that, during the Gracchan tumults, the sitting was held when, gradually excited by vehement denunciatory speeches, the Senators at last rushed out, headed by Scipio Nasica, and murdered Tiberius Gracchus, near the statues of the seven kings, which stood at the door of the temple.[2] Canina, seeing that the existence of this large temple on the Capitol near the Temple of Jupiter was fatal to the hypothesis that the latter temple was on the Ara Cæli, has made an attempt to transplant it to the Palatine, but without any success. The passages of Cicero and Appian, which vouch for its situation, are too distinct to be explained away. With this Temple of Fides Cicero mentions also a Temple of Mens as restored by Scaurus.[3] L. Otacilius Crassus, Prætor in B.C. 217, had vowed this temple, and it was built close to another sacred to Venus Erycina, vowed at the same time by Q. Fabius Maximus after the battle of Trasimenus.[4] Chapels of Venus Capitolina, Venus Victrix, and Ops are also mentioned as having been built on the Capitol, and two Chapels of Jupiter without further titles.[5]

Temple of Fides.

Temples of Mens, Venus Erycina, Capitolina, Victrix, and Ops.

Chapels of Jupiter.

The Temple of Honour and Virtue, dedicated by Marius, must also have stood upon the south-western summit, for Festus says that Marius was obliged to build it of rather low dimensions, lest the augurs should order its demolition if it obscured the view from the Auguraculum.[6] Now, as the augurs always faced the south or east in taking the auspices, this temple could not well have stood in their way if it had been on the northern part of the hill, even if we place the Auguraculum as far north as possible. It was also of considerable size, for one of the decrees respecting Cicero's return was passed in it by the Senate.[7] The building is mentioned by Vitruvius, and also in two inscriptions, as the work of Marius.[8] He had erected two trophies at Rome, one in commemoration of his Jugurthine, the other of his Cimbric victories;[9] and it is probable that the Jugurthine trophy stood near or in the Temple of Honour and Virtue on the Capitol, and the other on the Esquiline, for we find that Propertius and Dion Cassius, speaking of Cleopatra's ambition to preside in the Capitoline law-courts, connect these with the statues and arms of Marius, evidently alluding to a trophy.[10]

Temple of Honour and Virtue.

The principal Temple of Fortune was upon the Quirinal, but there was also a Temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol, near the Porta Stercoraria, if we are to accept Nibby's ingenious conjecture, that Clemens Alexandrinus alludes to this temple when he says that the Romans thought a dunghill the proper place for the fickle goddess.[11] The Temple of Jupiter Custos, erected by Domitian, has been previously mentioned; and there was also a Temple of Beneficium, built by Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol.[12] When to all these temples and chapels of

Fortuna Primigenia.

Beneficium.

[1] Plut. Num. 16; Livy, i. 21; Cic. De Nat. Deor. ii. 23. [2] Appian, B. C. i. 16; Val. Max. iii. 2, 17.

[3] Cicero, loc. cit.; Plut. De Fort. Rom. 10.

[4] Livy, xxii. 10, xxiii. 31; Ov. Fast. vi. 241.

[5] Suet. Cal. 7; Galb. 18; Fast. Amit. viii. Id. Oct.; Livy, xxxix. 32; xxxv. 41. [6] Festus, p. 322.

[7] Cic. Pro Sest. 54; De Div. i. 28; Val. Max. i. 7, 5. Valerius confounds the Temple of Jupiter with this temple.

[8] Vitruv. Præf. vii. 17, iii. 2, 5; Orelli, Inscr. 543; Nardini. Rom. Ant. iii. p. 138.

[9] Val. Max. vi. 9, 14.

[10] Dion Cass. l. 4; Propert. iii. (iv.) 11, 45; Merivale, Hist. of Romans, vol. ii. p. 114.

[11] Livy, xxix. 36; Plut. De Fort. Rom. 10; Nibby, Foro Romano, p. 145; Clem. Alex. Protrept. iv. 51, p. 56, ed. Dindorf.

[12] Dion Cass. lxxi. 34.

the gods, glittering with gold and marble, we add a countless host of statues, monuments, and trophies, commemorating all the principal persons and events of Roman history, the space of the Ara Cæli seems far too small for their reception. Servius says that the statues of all the gods were placed in the Capitol.[1] The seven kings of Rome were commemorated in like manner,[2] and the colossal figures of Jupiter and Apollo, the former of which was visible from the Alban mount, towered above the rest.[3] It is to be observed that all these are spoken of as situated "in Capitolio," and none of them "in Arce;" and though it must be acknowledged that the words "in Capitolio" are sometimes ambiguous, yet it seems more natural that these various minor buildings and monuments should cluster immediately round the great national temple than that they should be placed in the citadel. It may be, at all events, fairly concluded from the evidence before us, that the number of buildings immediately surrounding the Temple of Jupiter was far greater than that of those in the Arx, and that the larger summit of the hill ought therefore to be assigned to the former.

Statues, &c.

Only two temples are known to have stood upon the north-eastern height, the Temple of Juno Moneta and a small Chapel of Concord. Of these the former was originally vowed by Camillus, and built on the site of the house of Titus Tatius and Manlius, the preserver of the Capitol.[4] The latter was vowed by L. Manlius, Prætor in Gaul in B.C. 215, on occasion of a mutiny among his troops, and was built two years afterwards in the citadel.[5] This Chapel of Concord was, so far as we can judge from the brief mention of it by Livy, a different building from the much more important Temple of Concord on the slope of the hill near the Forum, the ruins of which have been described above.[6] It is to this latter and larger temple that Ovid alludes in the well-known passage of his "Fasti," where he describes its restoration, and adds the most important fact, that it stood under the Temple of Juno Moneta.[7] Such at least seems to be the natural interpretation of the passage, and thus understood it furnishes us with a valuable confirmatory proof that the Arx was upon the Ara Cæli height. For we know, by the positive testimony of Livy and Ovid,[8] that the Temple of Juno Moneta was on the Arx, and the site of the Temple of Concord at the head of the Forum and its connexion with Camillus are not open to any reasonable doubt. It is only in order to meet the exigencies of the untenable hypothesis that the Arx was on the Caffarelli height, that the groundless assumption has been made that there were two considerable Temples of Concord, the one upon the Arx, the other at the head of the Forum; for there is positively no evidence for placing the Temple of Concord built by Camillus upon the Arx, and separating it from the temple at the head of the Forum. The importance of the occasion which it commemorated, and the suitability of a situation near the old meeting-place (Comitium) of the Gentes, seem to confirm the opinion that it was identical with the temple the ruins of which have been found behind the Arch of Severus. The steps mentioned by Ovid led up from this spot, past the Carcer and the Basilica

Temple of Juno Moneta.

Chapel of Concord.

[1] Serv. Ad Æn. ii. 319. [2] App. B. C. i. 16.
[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 7, 18. A statue of Scipio Asiaticus in Greek dress stood on the Capitol (Mommsen, book ii. chap. ix. p. 494), and a triumphal arch of Nero (Tac. Ann. xv. 18). Occasional clearances were made, and some of the statues, &c. removed. Livy, xl. 51; Suet. Cal. 34. See Propert. iv. 11, 46: "Jura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari."
[4] Livy, vi. 20; Plut. Cam. 36; Ov. Fasti, vi. 183.
[5] Livy, xxii. 33. [6] Chap. vi. p. 90.
[7] Ov. Fasti, i. 637.
[8] Livy, vi. 20; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 183.

Opimia, to the Temple of Juno Moneta on the Ara Cæli height. The title "Moneta" appears to be a translation of the Greek Μνημοσύνη.[1] The temple became in later times the Mint of Rome.[2]

The above-mentioned temples are the only buildings on the Arx of which we have positive information. There were also some consecrated localities there, the exact situation of which cannot be determined. Livy mentions the custom observed by the Fetiales when concluding a treaty of taking consecrated boughs (*verbenæ*) from the Arx; and doubtless there were some trees set apart for this purpose, and enclosed.[3] *Verbenæ.*

There was also a place where the Rex sacrificulus, at the feast of the Nonalia on the nones of the month, proclaimed the feast days to be observed in the following month.[4] *Nonalia.*

But the most sacred spot upon the Arx was the Auguraculum, whence from the days of T. Tatius or of Numa the augurs were accustomed to observe the heavens for signs of the Divine will.[5] *Auguraculum.* This was probably a lofty platform or pulpit of stone, raised above the surrounding buildings so as to afford a wide prospect, where the augur, looking generally towards the south, marked out his templum and took his observations. An argument not without weight has been drawn from this position of the Auguraculum in favour of the opinion that the Arx was upon the Caffarelli height. For, it is urged, the view from the Ara Cæli would be seriously interfered with by the temples upon the other height, which lies nearly due south. There is not, however, much reality in this objection. The Ara Cæli height is about fifteen feet higher than the Caffarelli, and as the Temple of Jupiter upon the latter is known to have been a comparatively low structure, perhaps partly in order not to obstruct the view from the opposite height, and the Auguraculum was most likely raised upon a tower, the augurs may easily have been able to see over the temple roof.[6] Even if this be not admitted, is there any impossibility in the supposition that the Temple of Jupiter enjoyed an exemption from the rules applied to ordinary temples and houses? Marius, it is true, was obliged to make his Temple of Honour and Virtue of low proportions, in order not to obscure the view of the augurs; and the case of Claudius Centumalus, who was ordered by the augurs to lower his house on the Cælian, is well known.[7] But it is probable that in the case of Marius, at least, their jealousy of a *parvenu* induced the aristocratic College of Augurs to raise the objection.

The Sacra Via is said by Varro to have had one termination in the Arx, while the other was at the Chapel of Strenia, near the Coliseum, whence the sacred boughs were brought on New Year's Day, originally to Titus Tatius, at his house in the Arx. Hence afterwards the annual custom of the *auguriùm salutis* and the New Year's gifts to the Emperor arose, which was then extended to private life, and survives in the French *étrennes* (*streniæ*).[8] Augustus, who gradually *Terminus of Sacra Via.*

[1] Cic. De Div. i. 45, 101; De Nat. Deor. iii. 18.
[2] Livy, vi. 20; Suidas *in voc.*
[3] Livy, i. 24; xxx. 43.
[4] Varro, L. L. vi. 28.
[5] Paul. Diac. p. 18.
[6] See Becker, Handb. Rom. Ant. Th. ii. 1, S. 313, Note. The Auguraculum was the place from which the limits of the city were defined, and according to the Etruscan rites the augur in so doing faced to the west. He would thus have the Temple of Jupiter on the left, which was the lucky side. Becker, Handb. iv. S. 357. This explains Nissen's difficulty. See Das Templum, § 143, 211.
[7] Festus, p. 322; Cic. De Off. iii. 16, 66; Val. Max. viii. 2, 1.
[8] Varro, v. 47; Symmach. Ep. x. 35; Cicero, Legg. ii. 8; Tac. Ann. xii. 23; Suet. Tib. 34, &c.

united in himself all priestly as well as political functions, seems to have transferred the Auguraculum to the Palatine (possibly to the ancient site whence Romulus was said to have seen the vultures in his contest with Remus for the supremacy), for we find it mentioned in the Catalogues of the Regionarii as situated on the Palatine.[1] This removal of the Auguraculum, as Preller remarks, was one cause of the disuse of the name "Arx" in later times, and the application of the name "Capitolium" to the whole hill.

Asylum.

Between the two summits of the hill was a space enclosed with a wall, supposed to be the site of the Asylum opened by Romulus, whatever that may have been.[2] It was possibly a temple of refuge, the safety of which Romulus undertook to guarantee. At all events there was a temple near the same place, according to Dionysius and Livy, but the name of the god to whom it was dedicated was not known even in their time.[3] Besides this temple of an unknown deity, there stood also in the depression between the two summits the Temple of Vejupiter, with a very ancient statue of that god made of cypress wood.[4]

Temple of Asylum.

Temple of Vejupiter.

The Tarpeian Rock, whence criminals were hurled, was, according to the older Italian topographers, down to the time of Nardini, placed at the western edge of the hill towards the Tiber, where the Piazza Montanara now is. But Dureau de la Malle, in the "Mémoires de l'Académie" for 1819, pointed out that this was inconsistent with the statements of Dionysius, who says that it was over the Forum, and that the executions took place in full view of all the people.[5] This would seem to place it on the south-east side towards the Palatine, near S. Maria della Consolazione. Becker's objection that the hill is less steep there than at the western edge may be met by the fact that several large masses of rock are recorded to have fallen down from this spot, and therefore the face of the cliff is entirely changed.[6] The further objection, that the criminals would have fallen into the Vicus Jugarius, instead of which they ought, according to custom, to have been cast over the city walls, seems to rest on the assumption that criminals were always thrown over the walls, no proof of which has been adduced. Tradition is equally divided between the two localities, and therefore the passages of Dionysius above quoted must be held at present decisive in favour of the side towards the Palatine and Forum.

Tarpeian Rock.

Some of the streets and localities in the immediate neighbourhood of the hill can be partially identified. The Clivus Capitolinus began to ascend the hill near the Temple of Saturn, which is now proved to be the ruin with eight columns still standing.[7] Ascending along the northern side of the temple, the road, after joining the street which led up from the Vicus Jugarius, turned to the right, and wound up to the Capitol, passing over a part of the Intermontium. The outer gates of the Capitol were possibly near the corner of the Tabularium, where the modern road ascends to the Piazza del Campidoglio.

Clivus Capitolinus.

[1] See above, chap. viii. p. 158.
[2] See Classical Museum, vol. iii. p. 190; Livy, i. 8; Dion Cass. xlvii. 19; Vell. i. 8, 6.
[3] Dionys. ii. 15; Livy, ii. 1.
[4] Vitruv. iv. 8, 4; Gell. v. 12; Plin. N. H. xvi. 40, 79.
[5] Dionys. viii. 78; vii. 35.
[6] Livy, xxxv. 21; Flav. Blond. Inst. Rom. ii. 58.
[7] Serv. Ad Æn. ii. 116, viii. 319; Festus, p. 322.

On the other side of the Tabularium, and near the Carcer and Temple of Concord, there was a block of houses called the Insula Argentaria;[1] and hence a street led over the shoulder of the hill, called the Clivus Argentarius, nearly corresponding to the present Salita di Marforio. It ran past the Tomb of Bibulus and the Arcus Manus Carneæ, into the main street called the Via Lata, which was nearly identical in direction with the modern Corso. The Tomb of Bibulus and the other anonymous tomb near it, situated in the line of this ancient street, are only interesting as marking the former limits of the city. Both tombs were probably outside the ancient walls, not far from the Porta Ratumena. On this road, opposite to the Carcer, stood, according to the "Mirabilia," the reclining statue of the river-god now in the Capitoline Museum. It was called "Marforio," a corruption of "Mars in Foro," and gave the name to the street.[2]

Clivus Argentarius.
Tomb of Bibulus.
Arcus Manus Carneæ.

The Tomb of Bibulus stands close by the junction of the modern streets of Macel de' Corvi and Marforio. The front of it only can be seen, as the rest is built into the wall of a house. The inscription is as follows:—

C. POPLICIO. L. F. BIBVLO. AED. PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE CAVSSA SENATVS
CONSVLTO POPVLIQVE JVSSV LOCVS
MONVMENTO QVO IPSE POSTEREIQVE
EJVS INFERRENTVR PVBLICE DATVS EST.

The same inscription was also placed on the side of the tomb, where the beginning of it may still be seen. It must not be inferred that the privilege of being buried within the walls was granted to Bibulus contrary to the regulations of the Twelve Tables, which forbade any corpse to be buried or burnt within the city walls. Had this been the case, the exemption would have been expressly mentioned in the inscription; and besides this, the course of the Servian wall, which crossed the depression between the Quirinal and Capitoline, would naturally exclude the tomb. An Ædile, of the name C. Bibulus, is mentioned in the "Annals" of Tacitus in the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 22,[3] and the mixed Italo-Grecian style of the tomb agrees tolerably well with this date. The whole is built of travertine, and the basement is of the simplest description possible. Four Doric pilasters, with Attic bases, surmounted by an Ionic entablature ornamented with wreaths of fruit and ox-skulls, form the whole decoration of the front.

From the Via Argentaria, which passed over the eastern shoulder of the hill, another street branched off near the Tomb of Bibulus, nearly in the direction of the Via Pedacchia, and passed under the northern side of the hill. This is called in a Bull of Anacletus the "Via Publica quæ ducit sub Capitolium." Many of the houses on the side of the Via Pedacchia next to the hill have portions of walls of great antiquity about them, and chambers excavated in the tufa of the hill behind them to a great depth, showing that the direction of the ancient street was not far from that of the modern

Via Publica.

[1] Ordo Benedicti, § 51, in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. tom. ii. p. 143; Mirabilia Romæ, ed. Parthey, Berlin, 1869, p. 19; Bulla Anacleti, ap. Preller, in Schneidewin's Philologus, 1846, p. 104.

[2] Mirabilia Romæ, ed. Parthey, p. 20.

[3] Tac. Ann. iii. 52.

Via Pedacchia.[1] The Clivus Asyli possibly led up to the Intermontium from this street The same street was probably continued along the north-eastern foot of the hill until, near the Tor di Specchi, it met the principal road which entered the city from the Circus Flaminius passing through the Carmental gate. Near this gate, which must be placed between the Theatrum Marcelli and the hill, was the open space of the Æquimælium, where a lamb-market was held for the supply of sacrificial victims to the numerous temples in the neighbourhood.[2] It occupied the site of the house of Sp. Mælius, which had been razed to the ground for his political offences.[3] From the Æquimælium the Vicus Jugarius passed along the southern foot of the hill to the Arch of Tiberius.

Æquimælium.

In the neighbourhood of the Æquimælium stood the Elephantus Herbarius, mentioned by the "Regionarii" and the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen, and some other mediæval writers. The Bull of Anacletus above quoted describes a large temple as standing just above this statue of an Elephant on the hill, a notice which has been supposed by Preller to point to the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[4] Not far from the Æquimælium, and somewhere near the modern Piazza Montanara, was a cloister or portico bordering the street, called Porticus Crinorum. We have a Basilica Jovis mentioned in the "Ordo Benedicti" near this, but whether there is here any allusion to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter is very uncertain.[5]

Elephantus Herbarius.

Porticus Crinorum.

The position of the Centum Gradus spoken of by Tacitus in his account of the attack of the Vitellians is quite uncertain. I should be inclined to place them somewhere on the southern slope of the hill near the Via di Monte Tarpeio, since Tacitus connects them with the Tarpeian Rock.[6]

Trophies of Marius.

[1] Bunsen, Beschr. Rom. iii. 1, 43; Preller, loc. cit.; Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 201.

[2] Cic. De Div. ii. 17, 38; Livy, xxxviii. 28, "in Capitolio."

[3] Varro, L. L. v. 157; Livy, iv. 16.

[4] Preller, loc. cit. p. 102.

[5] Preller, Note 102. Mirabilia Romæ, ed. Parthey, p. 18. An account of the various treatises which are comprised under the name of "Mirabilia" will be found in Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe's "Beitrage zur Literatur und Sage des Mittelalters." Dresden, 1850.

[6] Tac. Hist. iii. 71.

NOTE A, pp. 164, 169.—THE CAPITOLINE PLAN.[1]

Panvinius, in Mai's "Spicilegium," viii. 654, in the introduction to his "Imago Antiquæ Urbis," 1558, gives the following account of the discovery of the Pianta Capitolina:—"Severi Imperatoris principatu ut ex marmorea inscriptione liquet lapideis tabulis accuratam totius urbis ichnographiam inciderunt, quæ portico Templi Urbis Romæ longo tempore affixa cum imperii et urbis interitu ignis vi conscissa corruit. Cujus infinita pœne marmorea frustula, et aliquot tabulas triennio ante *in campo qui basilicæ SS. Cosmæ et Damiani adjacet*, quam Urbis Templum fuisse præter scriptorum auctoritatem eo etiam testimonio confirmari potest, ruderibus alte egestis, casu aliquot fossores terræ viscera lucri causa perscrutantes invenere. Ea fragmenta a Torquato comite, ejus campi possessore, Alexandro Cardinali Farnesio dono data, in ejus ædibus me custode diligenter asservantur."

[1] See Becker, Handb. i. S. xii. and 74; Jordan, in Monatsbericht der Preussisch. Akad. 1867, p. 526; Canina, Indicazione, Pref. p. 25; Archæologia of the London Soc. of Ant. vol. xlii. pt. i. p. 11.

Gamucci, in his "Antichità di Roma," p. 33, says of the Pianta :—"S' e ritrovato nei tempi nostri per M. Giovanni Antonio Dosi da San Geminiano, giovanè virtuoso, architetto ed antiquario di non poca espettazione *dentro* al detto tempio (S. Cosma e Damiano) una facciata nella quale era il disegno della città di Roma con parte degli edifizi più antichi di quei tempi." Flaminio Vacca, "Memorie," No. 1 (Nardini's "Roma Antica," vol. iv.) says :—"Mi ricorda aver veduto cavare *dietro* alla Chiesa de' SS. Cosma e Damiano e vi fu trovata la pianta di Roma profilata in marmo, e detta pianta serviva per incrostatura al muro ; certa cosa e che detto tempio fosse edificato ad onore di Romolo e Remo fabbricatori di Roma : ed al presente detta pianta si ritrova nell' antiquario del Cardinal Farnese."

It is to be observed that Panvinius speaks of the plan as found near the church, Gamucci in the church, and Vacca behind the church on a wall. Jordan thinks that the plan was lying about near the place where the church was to be built, in fragments, the most considerable of which were used to cover part of the walls when the church was built.

The date of this discovery is fixed to the interval between 1558 and 1565. It is not mentioned by Panvinius in his edition of 1558, but he speaks of it in his second edition as having been discovered "triennio ante." Gamucci, whose book was published 1565, mentions the discovery, as we have seen.

The plan was first published by Bellori in 1673. He says that the fragments were kept in the Farnese palace, but that Fulvius Orsinus had a copy on paper of them, which afterwards was placed in the Vatican library. Jordan gives an account of this MS. (Cod. Vat. 3439). Some parts of it were apparently lost in binding up the sheets on which the plan was sketched. Seventy-four out of the 167 fragments given by Bellori are wanting. There can be no doubt that Bellori copied the MS. of Fulvius Ursinus, and it seems strange that he does not mention the large number of portions which are wanting. The architect Dosi, mentioned by Gamucci, may possibly have made the original plan, soon after the discovery, at the desire of Torquato or Cardinal Alex. Farnese.

Bellori's copy is reproduced in Grævius' Thesaurus, tome iv. 1732. The fragments were placed by Benedict XIV. in 1742 on the walls of the staircase of the Capitoline Museum in twenty-six groups. Engravings of them have since been published at the Calcografia Camerale.

The inscription by Piranesi at the Capitoline Museum speaks of some fragments, published by Bellori, having been lost since his time. These are restored from his book, and marked with an asterisk in the Capitoline collection. Six groups are placed there which are not contained in Bellori's copy or in the Vatican MS. These six must therefore have been lost before the plan in the Vatican library was made, and have now been found by accident or by further search. Piranesi gives the whole twenty-six groups in his first volume of "Antiquities," Rome, 1756.

The six groups of fragments mentioned in the inscription at the Capitoline Museum as not contained in Bellori were engraved for the Calcografia Camerale in 1764 by Canale. The twenty groups of Bellori are published by Canina on the margin of his map of Rome on a reduced scale.

Unfortunately Bellori's copy of the Vatican drawing is not always accurate. Jordan has pointed out several instances in which he has made unwarranted assumptions or omitted parts of the original. The restorations on the Capitoline staircase partake of course of this uncertainty. (Monatsbericht der preussisch. Akad. 1867, p. 540.)

The marble used in the plan is an inferior kind of white Carrara, with bluish veins. The average thickness of the plates can hardly be determined with accuracy. There is no trace of any border or division into sections, so that M. Jordan thinks that it cannot have been fastened upon the wall like Agrippa's map of the world or the Fasti Consulares, but was more probably used as a pavement.

The size of the whole can only be approximately ascertained. The twenty-six large frames which now contain the fragments, but are not quite filled by them, occupy an area of about 162 square feet. The radius of the Rotunda of SS. Cosma e Damiano is about twenty-three feet, so that it is large enough to have contained a plan three times the size. The plan included all the fourteen regions, fragments of all except the second, sixth, and seventh are still remaining, and the scale was about (Canina, "Indicaz." p. 29) $\frac{1}{250}$th of the actual size of the localities represented. Buildings and

streets of all kinds, and not only the principal buildings of the city, are represented. We possess but a small part of the whole. M. Jordan thinks that it was probably placed on the pavement of the courtyard of the Templum Pacis or that of Venus and Rome, and protected by a railing.

Canina's opinion was that it formed the pavement of the round temple, now the porch of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

Becker has shown that in all probability the orientation of the Capitoline plan was arranged with reference to the division of the horizon as a *templum* in the art of augury. The augur looked towards the south, and from a comparison of the extant ruins of the Theatre of Marcellus, the Theatre of Pompey, the Hecatostylon, and the Porticus Octaviæ with the plan, we find that in each case the names are placed so as to be read by a person looking towards the southern point of the plan. This has been confirmed by an observation of Jordan's on the fragment (Tab. xi.) containing the words "mutatorium" on the left, and "area radicaria" on the right. The first of these places was in the first region, and the second in the twelfth. As the twelfth region lies to the west of the first, the spectator looking towards the south has the twelfth, in which the Area radicaria lay, to the right, and the first to the left. Canina also confirms Becker's opinion. (Indicazione, p. 30.)

The inscription on the plan which fixes the date is upon a fragment representing the Clivus Victoriæ, and runs as follows: "Severi et Antonini (Caracalla) Augg. N.N. (nostrorum)." The city had been surveyed in the reign of Vespasian (Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 66), and this survey was probably used for the plan of Severus. That Emperor and Caracalla rebuilt nearly all the edifices in the neighbourhood of the Clivus Victoriæ, which had been destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus, and their names were probably placed on that part of the plan to indicate this fact. Spart. Sept. Sev. c. 23 says that Severus did not place his own name on the buildings he restored, but this would not prevent him from placing it on the plan. A special monument, the inscriptions on which are partially preserved (see Canina, "Indicaz." p. 27), was erected in commemoration of the restorations of these Emperors.

Two fragments of the Pianta Capitolina were discovered in 1867, during an excavation undertaken by the monks of SS. Cosma e Damiano. They represent the ground plan of the Porticus Liviæ, an oblong space surrounded by double colonnades. Mr. J. H. Parker (Archæologia of the London Soc. of Antiq. xlii. pt. i. p. 11) seeks to identify this ground plan with the great platform between the Velia and Coliseum, commonly supposed to be the platform of the Temple of Venus and Rome. It is, however, quite a sufficient refutation of his view to point out that the remains of the central building now existing on the platform differ entirely from the plan represented on the new fragments. It is stated that the new fragments were discovered in a pit dug in a courtyard behind the Church and Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, at the foot of a long lofty wall of brick, on which numerous small bronze hooks, such as were used for securing a facing of marble slabs, were found. These hooks do not necessarily indicate, as Mr. Parker thinks, that the marble plan of Rome was attached to the wall by means of them, for such hooks or rivets were frequently used to attach ordinary marble facing to brick walls.

NOTE B, p. 174.—PALATINE EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE VILLA SPADA OR MILLS.

See Guattani's "Monumenti Antichi inediti ovvèro Notizie sulle Antichità e belle arti di Roma per l'anni 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, dedicati alla santità di nostro signore Papa Pio VI. felicemente regnante. In Roma nella stamperia Pagliarini 1784—1788." Tom. I. 1785, p. 20. Avanzi Palatini.

Flaminio Vacca, in his "Memorie," mentions some discoveries made in his time which formed the basis of the plan of the Palatine ruins published by Bufalini, in the time of Julius III. Onofrius Panvinius published a more complete plan. After his time excavations on the Palatine were under-

taken by Bianchini in 1725 (Bianchini, Palazzo dei Cæsari, Opera postuma). About 1775 Signor Abate Rancoureil undertook some excavations on his property at the eastern end of the Palatine in the gardens formerly called Orti Magnani. The ground had been previously excavated by the Spada family, who found many of the sculptures (now in their palace) there. Sig. Rancoureil discovered many more fragments of architecture and sculpture, a great quantity of marble, two statues of Leda, one of which was taken to England, (where it now is ?) the Apollo Sauroktonos of the Vatican, and others. Piranesi took the pains to send persons at night to explore these excavations, in spite of a fierce mastiff which the owner had chained there. They took baskets of meat and bread with them to quiet the mastiff. Two plans are given by Barberi, one of the surveyors who explored these excavations, of an upper and lower series of buildings. The upper series was marked by walls above the level of the soil; the lower was buried under the soil. Guattani thinks that the building called Siracusa in Augustus's time was here. The upper tier was a cavædium, with columns (peristylium) and a number of large rooms and *salons*, and eight smaller annexes. The lower part belonged to the under part of the same peristylium, with two wings towards the east and west.

CHAPTER IX.

PART I.

THE AVENTINE AND CÆLIAN HILLS.

AVENTINE: NATURAL FEATURES—EXTENT—SEAT OF THE MONTANI—SEAT OF THE PLEBS—ALTARS OF EVANDER, JUPITER INVENTOR, JUPITER ELICIUS, AND CONSUS—CAVE OF CACUS—REMURIA, LAURETUM, ARMILUSTRIUM—TEMPLE OF DIANA—TEMPLE OF JUNO REGINA—CLIVUS PUBLICIUS—TEMPLE OF MINERVA—TEMPLES OF LIBERTAS, BONA DEA SUBSAXANA, VORTUMNUS, AND LUNA—THERMÆ SURANÆ, DECIANÆ, AND VARIANÆ—MAGAZINES—PORTICUS ÆMILIA, TUCCIA, AND JUNIA—HORREA GALBES ET ANICIANA—EMPORIUM—MONTE TESTACCIO—PYRAMID OF CESTIUS—THERMÆ ANTONINIANÆ.

CÆLIAN: NATURAL FEATURES—NAME CÆLIUS—TOMB OF SCIPIOS—COLUMBARIA—ARCH OF DRUSUS—VALLEY OF EGERIA—AQUA MERCURII—FOSSA QUIRITIUM—SESSORIUM—AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE—NERONIAN AQUEDUCT—LATERAN PALACE—CAMPUS MARTIALIS—S. STEFANO ROTONDO—MACELLUM MAGNUM—TEMPLE OF CLAUDIUS—ÆDES VECTILIANÆ—ARCH OF DOLABELLA AND CLIVUS SCAURI—DEA CARNA—MINERVA CAPTA—ISIUM METELLINUM—CASTRA PEREGRINA—CAPUT AFRICÆ—MICA AUREA—JUPITER REDUX—NAVICELLA—HOUSES OF CENTUMALUS, MAMURRA, VERUS, AND TETRICUS.

"Hæc duo præterea disjectis culmina muris
Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum."

Æn. viii. 355.

THE Aventine hill is for the most part composed of volcanic granular tufa similar to that of the Palatine, with a bed of harder tufa occupying the central part of the hill round S. Sabina. But it also differs from the other hills in having along its western edge a series of fluviatile deposits, which are remarkable on account of the height at which they now stand above the level of the river. These deposits are described as follows by Brocchi:—

Natural features.

"The lowest consists of a very friable greyish tufa, compounded of fine volcanic sand with small grains of *pyroxène* and vitreous *amphigène*, scarcely discernible by the naked eye. Above this lies a second bed of siliceo-argillaceous sand, of a yellowish hue, one foot and a half in depth, and hardly separable by any distinct line from the tufa below. This seems to indicate that they were deposited at the same time. There is clear proof that the tufa was deposited in water, for in the cave commonly called the Cave of Cacus it is divided into strata, each of which has its surface covered with scales of mica, showing by their position that they have settled down after suspension in a fluid. Above the siliceo-argillaceous sand lies a very large accumulation of tufaceous matter, consisting of granular tufa mixed with fragments of lava, nodules of lime, and of harder tufa. This tufaceous bed is covered by a series of beds of calcareous sand and travertine, which rise to the upper edge of the hill above the Tiber.

"There is a good deal of difference in the structure of these various beds of travertine, some being compact, others cellular, and a third kind nodular. In some parts they are rich in fossils, and contain numerous impressions of imbedded reeds, leaves, and branches.

"They rise to the height of ninety feet above the present bed of the Tiber, showing the immense alteration of level which has taken place either by the subsidence of the water or by the elevation of the land, and extend along the edge of the hill from the Arco di Salara to the Bastione di Paolo, a space of nearly half a mile.[1] There are many points along the public road passing between the river and the Aventine from which this immense mass of travertine may be viewed. Near the Arco di Salara it assumes the character of a less compact stone, and is penetrated with numerous cylindrical holes, the remains of vegetable stalks round which the stone has formed itself."

Extent of hill.

The highest point of the Aventine, at the Church of S. Alessio, is 146 feet above the level of the sea. The side towards the Tiber, where the great bed of travertine lies, is precipitous, but on the south the hill slopes more gradually down to the Via di Porta S. Paolo, which passes along the valley separating the Aventine proper from the hill on which S. Saba and S. Balbina stand. That this latter hill, which is nearly half as large as and quite distinctly separate from the hill of S. Alessio and S. Prisca, was not included in ancient times under the name Aventine, seems to be shown by the fact that the gates of the Servian wall, the Porta Nævia and the Porta Rauduscula, which stood on or near this hill, belonged to the twelfth region, called Piscina Publica, and not to the thirteenth, which was named after the Aventine.[2]

Nor does the hill of S. Saba and S. Balbina appear to have had any distinctive appellation; and it therefore seems doubtful whether it should be included within the Servian walls or not. The question might be set at rest by a thorough investigation of the remains of the Servian walls between the two hills; but until this has been done we must be content to remain in uncertainty. The inference to be derived from the absence of all mention of this hill seems to point to its exclusion; while the remains of an ancient wall upon the height itself near S. Balbina, and the direction of the ruins found in the vineyard of the Collegio Romano, would lead us to include it.[3]

The Aventine was not enclosed within the pomœrium until the time of Claudius. It was a subject of discussion even in the time of the Antonine Emperors whence this exclusion arose. Both Sylla and Julius Cæsar, when they extended the pomœrium of the city, had deliberately excluded the Aventine. The explanation may possibly be that the Aventine was considered an unlucky hill, because Remus, the rival of the national hero, had chosen it as his station to observe the auspices, and had failed to obtain a favourable omen.[4]

Other historical peculiarities besides that of the exclusion from the pomœrium have been observed in this hill, which seem to distinguish it from the rest of the hills of Rome. In the first place, in conjunction with the Capitoline, it was at an early period separated from the rest of the hills for strictly

Seat of the Montani.

[1] See above, chap. ii. p. 20.

[2] Grut. Inscr. p. ccxlix. 8; Orell. Inscr. 5. Dionys. x. 31, gives the circumference at twelve stadia only, which would exclude the hill of S. Saba and Balbina.

[3] See chap. iv. p. 50.

[4] Gell. xiii. 14.

urban purposes, such as the distribution of water from the aqueducts. Local matters of this kind were settled by the division before mentioned of the citizens into Montani and Pagani. The Montani were the inhabitants of the Palatine district and the four local tribes of Servius, while the Pagani were those who lived upon the Capitol and Aventine.[1] Mommsen has therefore conjectured that a second fortified height existed upon the Aventine similar to that upon the Capitoline, forming a guild or separate parish for all local arrangements.[2] Cicero certainly speaks of the Pagani and Montani, the Mercuriales, and the Capitolini as local boards for the administration of the affairs of different districts,[3] but the further inference which Mommsen seems to draw as to the existence of a citadel on the Aventine is without reasonable evidence to support it.

Seat of the Plebs.

A second characteristic of the Aventine was its connexion with the plebeian order in the Roman state. The legend represented it as connected with the indigenous Latin tribes, and derived its name Aventinus from a king of the Alban dynasty, whereas it had been in more remote times called Murcius. Most of the plebeian families were derived from the Latin section of the Roman people, and the connexion thus begun was maintained through the long struggles between the two orders. The Aventine always remained the hill of the opposition party, from the time when Servius Tullius built upon it the Temple of Diana,[4] the sanctuary of the Latin League. The inhabitants established upon it by Ancus Marcius from the captured towns of Politorium, Tellena, and Ficana do not appear to have remained there,[5] for in the year B.C. 456 it had become again public property, and was distributed among the poorer plebeian families by the Icilian law.[6] After the murder of Virginia the plebs occupied the Aventine, and forced the Decemvirate to resign; and from that time to the age of the Gracchan disturbances it remained the stronghold of the liberal party. The Gracchi themselves lived here, and Tiberius Gracchus, evidently, in allusion to his political principles, founded a Temple of Liberty upon it. His brother's melancholy fate is also connected with this hill, for it was on the Aventine that Caius and his friend Flaccus endeavoured to organize their unsuccessful resistance to the Consul Opimius, which ended in the death of both the leaders and the annihilation of the hopes of the popular party.[7]

Altars of Evander, Jupiter Inventor, Jupiter Elicius, and Consus.

The plebeian character of the Aventine was doubtless one reason why its topography is so little noticed in history, since the buildings upon it shared the obscurity of its inhabitants. Another more serious reason was the late date at which it became an integral part of the city. Owing to these causes we scarcely know the site of a single temple or building of any kind upon it. The earliest sanctuaries planted here were the Altars of Evander,[8] Jupiter Inventor, Elicius, and Consus,[9] near the northern point of the hill. The so-called Cave

[1] The origin of the name Aventinus is unknown. Varro, L. L. v. § 43; Livy, i. 3; Paul. Diac. p. 19; Hier. ap. Ronc. p. 265. See also Virgil, Æn. vii. 656. Varro suggests a number of derivations, none of which seem very probable. Livy, Paulus Diaconus, and Hieronymus trace it to one of the Alban kings who is said to have been buried here.

[2] Mommsen, book i. chap. vii.

[3] Cic. Ad Q. Fratrem, ii. 5; Pro Dom. xxviii. 74; Festus, p. 340.

[4] Livy, i. 45.

[5] Livy, i. 33; Dionys. iii. 44.

[6] Ibid. iii. 31; Ibid. x. 31.

[7] Bunsen adds the fact that Cola di Rienzi assembled his friends and supporters on this hill. Beschreibung, vol. iii. part i. p. 398; Mommsen, book iv. chap. iii.

[8] Dionys. i. 32.

[9] Dionys. i. 39; Ov. Fasti, iii. 327; Varro, vi. § 94; Fast. Capr. xii. Kal. Sep.

of Cacus[1] was also on the northern side; and with it as equally mythical may be mentioned the Remuria,[2] where Remus is said to have seen the vultures, and afterwards to have been buried, and the Lauretum, a district apparently named from an ancient laurel-wood.[3] Plutarch names a place called the Armilustrium on the Aventine, where he says that Tatius, the Sabine king, was buried. Varro, on the other hand, identifies the Armilustrium with the Circus Maximus, and says that Tatius was buried in the Lauretum.[4] Unfortunately we have no means of tracing the sites of these most ancient localities by which the Aventine was connected with the oldest traditions of Rome.

Cave of Cacus.
Remuria.
Armilustrium.

The most famous of all the buildings on the Aventine was the Temple of Diana, built by Servius from the contributions of the Latin states as a common temple for the Latin League.[5] The temple seems to have been intended by Servius to prevent the rival sanctuary upon the Alban hill from becoming the natural centre of the League, and to secure the hegemony to Rome. Whether, as Dionysius and Livy relate, the structure of the temple itself, as well as the organization of the League, resembled that of the Ionians at Ephesus is a matter of doubt.[6] Becker rejects the idea as a mere fancy of the historians, while Mommsen finds in it a trustworthy instance of transplanted worship.[7] Some confirmation of the statement is certainly to be found in the fact mentioned by Strabo, that the wooden statue of Diana in the Romano-Latin Federal Temple of Diana was a copy of the Massiliot statue of Artemis, for there can be no doubt that the statue at Massilia was similar to the Ephesian statue. The connexion of the two is plainly shown by the great reverence paid by the Phocæan Massiliots to the Ephesian Artemis, as stated by Strabo.[8]

Temple of Diana.

From a passage of Martial we learn that the temple stood near the house of Licinius Sura, and that this commanded a good view of the Circus;[9] whence it may naturally be inferred that the Temple of Diana stood in the neighbourhood of the modern S. Prisca. Martial also informs us that the festival of Diana was held on the Ides of August;[10] and, from his mention of it as one of the principal festivals, we may conclude that, long after the entire absorption of the Latin confederacy in the Roman Empire, the worship of Diana retained its celebrity. In the time of Augustus the original terms of the Latin League, engraved in Greek letters on bronze pillars, and also the Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando, were seen in this temple by Dionysius.[11] About the same time L. Cornificius seems to have restored the building,[12] and it was still standing in the later times of the Empire, for we find it mentioned in the "Curiosum."[13]

Second in importance among the Aventine temples was that of the Veientine goddess Juno Regina, dedicated by Camillus after the conquest of Veii.[14] Livy gives an account of certain ceremonies performed in honour of this goddess, by order of the haruspices, on account of her temple having been struck by lightning. The matrons on this occasion made a public collection among themselves,

Temple of Juno Regina.

[1] Solin. i. 8; Virg. Æn. viii. 190; Ov. Fast. i. 551.
[2] Paul. Diac. p. 276; Dionys. i. 85–87.
[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 152; Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 30, 40; Dionys. iii. 43.
[4] Plut. Rom. 23; Varro, v. 153.
[5] Hence the Aventine is called Collis Dianæ by Martial, vii. 73, xii. 18.
[6] Livy, i. 45; Dionys. iv. 26.
[7] Becker, Handb. vol. i. p. 451; Mommsen, book i. chap. vii.
[8] Strabo, iv. 1, 4, 5, pp. 179, 180.
[9] Mart. vi. 64, 12.
[10] Ibid. xii. 67.
[11] Dionys. iv. 26, x. 32.
[12] Suet. Aug. 29.
[13] Curios. Reg. xiii.; Becker, Handb. p. 715.
[14] Livy, v. 22, 23, 31, xxi. 62; Plut. Cam. 6.

and presented the goddess with a golden basin, which was solemnly offered at the Aventine Temple. A processional hymn in honour of Juno Regina was also performed by seven and twenty virgins, the account of which, as it gives important information about the streets of the city, is here translated at length:—"Two white heifers were led at the head of the procession from the Temple of Apollo through the Carmental gate; behind them two cypress-wood statues of Juno were carried; then seven and twenty virgins, clothed in long robes, marched singing a hymn in honour of Juno Regina. The line of virgins was followed by the Decemvirs, crowned with laurel and wearing the striped gown. They went from the gate along the Vicus Jugarius into the Forum, where the procession halted, and a choral ode was performed by the virgins. Thence they passed by way of the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum into the Forum Boarium, and then ascended the Clivus Publicius to the Temple of Juno Regina."[1] The Temple of Juno was one of those restored and beautified by Augustus,[2] and the Clivus Publicius here mentioned can be placed without doubt near the Porta Trigemina, the situation of which has already been determined.[3] It was so called from the Ædiles L. and M. Publicius Malleolus, who had widened and paved it, and made it the chief approach to the Aventine.[4]

Clivus Publicius.

Near the Temple of Diana there stood a Temple of Minerva, in which, according to some authors, Caius Gracchus took refuge immediately before his flight and death.[5] Its restoration by Augustus, together with the Temple of Juno Regina, is recorded in the "Monumentum Ancyranum."[6] Canina has ingeniously conjectured that a fragment of the Capitoline plan belongs to this temple, which contains the ground plan of a temple with the inscription "Minervæ," and a portico near it with the name "Cornifici," perhaps alluding to some portico erected by Cornificius in commemoration of his labour in restoring the Temple of Diana.[7] The guild of poets and actors of Rome had a part of this temple assigned to them for their common worship, a privilege granted to them by the Roman state in gratitude for the service rendered by the poet Livius Andronicus in composing a thanksgiving ode after the fortunate turn taken by the Hannibalian war B.C. 272.[8]

Temple of Minerva.

The notices we have of the Temples of Liberty, of the Bona Dea Subsaxana, and of Vortumnus are almost more scanty even than those which relate to the above-mentioned. The first was founded by Tib. Gracchus, and contained a painting which was placed in it by his son. There is a doubt whether it is identical or not with the Atrium Libertatis mentioned in Livy and Cicero; but the most probable conclusion seems to be that it was not, and that the Atrium Libertatis was on the site afterwards occupied by a part of Trajan's Forum.[9] The second of the above-mentioned temples is placed by Ovid near the Sacrum Saxum, where Remus took the auspices; and as it was in accordance with religious rules that he should look towards the south in so doing, we may conclude that it was on the south-eastern side near

Temples of Libertas, Bona Dea Subsaxana, and Vortumnus.

[1] Livy, xxvii. 37.
[2] Monum. Ancyr. tab. iv.
[3] Chap. iv. p. 51; Frontin. De Aquæd. 5.
[4] Festus, p. 231; Varro, v. p. 158; Fasti, v. 287.
[5] Festus, pp. 257, 333; Ov. Fasti, vi. 727; Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 129.
[6] Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv.
[7] Canina, Indic. Top. p. 532.
[8] Festus, loc. cit.
[9] Livy, xxiv. 16; Suet. Aug. 29; Paul. Diac. pp. 121, 241; Mon. Ancyr.; Livy, xxv. 7, xxxiv. 44; Cic. Ad Att. iv. 16; Pro Mil. 22. See above, chap. vii. p. 144.

S. Prisca. This is confirmed by the "Notitia," which places it in the twelfth region.[1] The third temple, together with a Temple of Jupiter, is only mentioned by the "Monumentum Ancyranum" and the "Fasti Amiterni."

Temple of Luna.

A Temple of Luna on the Aventine is mentioned by Livy, and as the "Notitia" includes this temple in the region called Circus Maximus, we may suppose it to have been near the northern corner. Caius Gracchus in his flight leaped down from the walls of this temple, in order to reach the Sublician bridge and escape across the Tiber; whence it seems probable that the Sublician bridge was north of the Porta Trigemina.[2] Considerable damage was done to the buildings on the Aventine by a fire in the time of Tiberius, and in the Neronian fire the Temple of Luna was destroyed.[3]

Thermæ Suranæ, Varianæ, Decianæ.

Besides these temples we find public thermæ mentioned as situated in the Aventine region. One of them was built by L. Sura, a friend of Trajan, who also had a splendid house on the hill. Elagabalus seems to have enlarged and beautified the thermæ, and they were afterwards called after his family name, the Varian Baths.[4] Decius also built thermæ here.[5] It is likely that such buildings would be placed on the lower part of the Aventine region, for convenience of obtaining water.

Magazines.

Horrea Galbes et Aniciana.

Porticus Æmilia, Tuccia, and Junia.

Along the strip of ground between the hill and the river were also a great number of warehouses and magazines, especially for storing corn, among which we have especial mention in the "Notitia" of the Horrea Galbes et Aniciana, and in Livy of the Porticus Æmilia and Porticus Tuccia et Junia.[6] The valley between the Aventine proper and the hill of SS. Saba and Balbina belonged to the twelfth region. This appears as well from what has previously been mentioned with respect to the position of the gates and of the Temple of the Bona Dea in the twelfth region, as also from the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus, of the carriage of an obelisk from the Porta Ostiensis to the Circus Maximus through the twelfth region; for no other road between those two points could be taken except the road lying along this valley.[7] The twelfth region also contained all the wide district, in which the Baths of Caracalla lie, extending south-west of the Via Appia to the walls of Aurelian. The Monte Testaccio and the district along the river-bank appear on the other hand to have belonged to the thirteenth region.

The "Notitia" mentions, besides the Horrea Galbes et Aniciana, thirty-five other public storehouses in the Aventine district. The ruins of a part of these are still to be seen near the Via della Marmorata, where some brickwork chambers are still used as storehouses. Other ruins of the same kind may be found in the Vigna Cesarini, further down the river. The pillars of these are still standing, and though they are now choked with rubbish, yet it is plain that they formerly belonged to one of the goods' sheds which were ranged along

[1] Ov. Fast. v. 148; Cic. Pro Dom. 63; Spart. Hadr. 19; Propert. v. 9; Macrob. Sat. i. 12.

[2] Livy, xl. 2; Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 65; Ov. Fasti, iii. 883.

[3] Tac. Ann. vi. 45, xv. 41.

[4] Mart. vi. 64, 12; Dion Cass. lxviii. 15; Canina, Indic. Top. p. 583; Curios. Reg. xiii.

[5] Eutrop. ix. 4; Ronc. Chron. ii. 212.

[6] Curios. Reg. xiii.; Livy, xxxv. 10, 41.

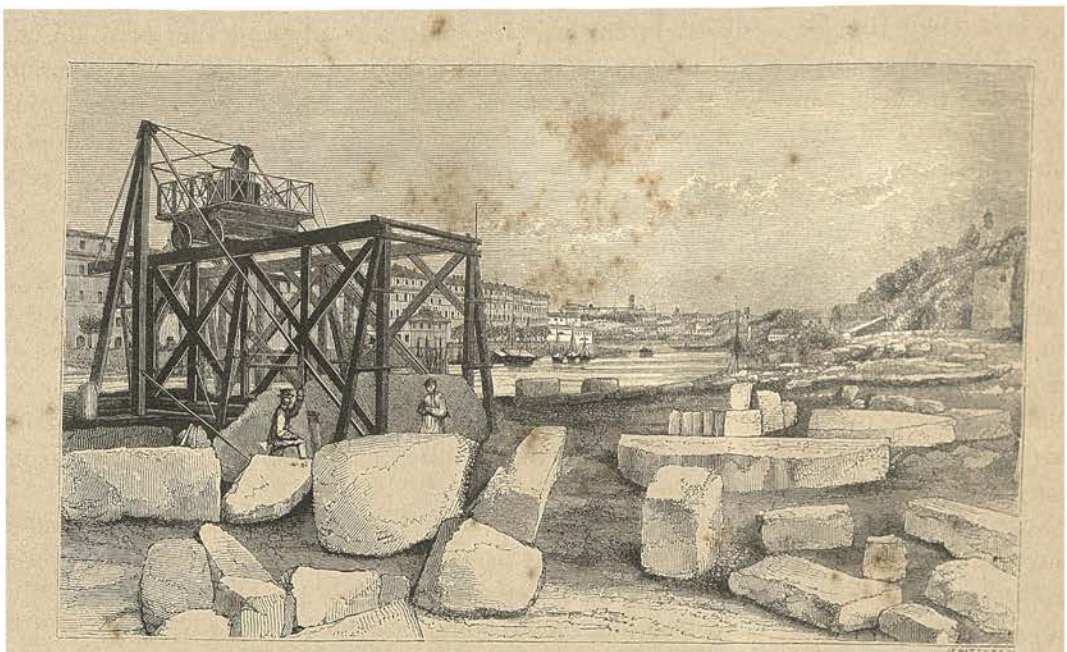
[7] Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4.

the quay. The passages of Livy just quoted, with respect to the Porticus Æmilia and Porticus Tuccia et Junia, authorize us in giving the name of Emporium to this quarter; and the same historian further informs us that the Censors in 174 B.C., Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus, improved the Emporium and constructed additional warehouses for goods.[1]

Emporium.

Nearly in the centre of the vineyards which occupy the ground between these ruins of a part of the ancient Emporium and the city walls stands the hill called Monte Testaccio, from its being composed almost entirely of potsherds mixed with rubbish. The hill is 150 feet high, and one third of a mile in circumference. Many conjectures have been hazarded about its origin, which still, however, remains a

Monte Testaccio.



THE TIBER AND THE MARMORATA, WITH THE CAPITOLINE HILL IN THE DISTANCE, AND THE AVENTINE ON THE RIGHT.

mystery. The hypothesis which has gained most credit rests upon a passage in Tacitus, in which that historian, after giving an account of the Neronian fire, proceeds to say that Nero intended to have the rubbish carried to the Ostian marshes, and therefore gave orders that the corn ships, after discharging their freight at the Emporium, should take a load of rubbish on their return to Ostia.[2] This explanation appears satisfactory until the peculiar composition of the hill is examined. Nearly the whole mass consists of pieces of broken earthenware, and is not such as we should expect the rubbish left after a fire to be. The absence of bricks may perhaps be explained by the supposition that they were saved in order to be used a second time, but the immense quantity of potsherds still

[1] Livy, xli. 27. Bunsen's Beschreibung, vol. iii. p. 432. Se Note A at the end of Part I. of this chapter.

[2] Tac. Ann. xv. 43.

remains to be accounted for. Further, it is said that a coin of Gallienus has been found in such a position on the smaller portion of the hill as to leave no doubt that the accumulation of that part could not have been anterior to Gallienus. A medal of Constantine has also been found in the interior of the larger portion.[1] The same objections apply to Bunsen's explanation, that the hill is composed of the rubbish cleared away by Honorius when he restored the walls of Aurelian, and to other ingenious hypotheses of the same kind, none of which account for the peculiar composition of the hill.

M. Reifferscheid, in a paper communicated to the Roman Archæological Institute, has propounded the most natural and proper solution of the problem.[2] He observes that it is not necessary to go further than the magazines of the neighbouring Emporium for an explanation of this immense mass of potsherds. Every kind of provisions brought to Rome in ancient times was stored in earthenware jars; not only wine, but corn, oil, and other articles of commerce. A fire, therefore, which consumed any part of the Emporium, would leave rubbish composed in great part of fragments of earthen jars (*dolia*); and since many such fires must have happened in the course of ages, and immense quantities of earthen jars must have been broken in the process of unloading, it does not seem at all impossible that so large an accumulation of matter should have taken place.

At Alexandria and at Cairo similar heaps of potsherds are to be seen outside the walls, and their extent, though less, as might be expected, than at Rome, is such as to create the greatest astonishment in the traveller's mind when he sees them for the first time. An attempt has been made by M. Reifferscheid to determine the earliest date at which we can suppose this gradual deposition of potsherds to have taken place, but the data upon which he builds his conclusion that the accumulations forming the Monte Testaccio first began to be deposited in the time of the decay of the Empire, about the third century, are not by any means such as to produce conviction.[3]

Near the Monte Testaccio, and close to the Porta S. Paolo, stands a pyramidal monument, measuring about 97 feet on each side at the base, and 120 feet in height. It is placed upon a square basement of travertine, and the rest of the building is of rubble, with a casing of white marble. It is built into the Aurelian wall, no pains having been taken to avoid the injury which this might cause to the pyramid. It has, however, suffered but little from this, except in appearance. The ancient entrance, which was probably on the north-east side, has been walled up. No trace is now to be seen of it, and the present entrance on the north-west was made in 1663. The interior consists of a small plastered chamber, 16 feet long by 13, and 12 feet high, the corners of which are ornamented with paintings of winged genii.[4] No coffin or sarcophagus was found when the tomb was opened, but an inscription on the outside gives the name of C. Cestius, the son of L. Cestius, of the Publilian tribe, as the person who was buried in it. It further appears that this C. Cestius had been Prætor and Tribune of the Commons, and one of the seven Epulones who superintended the sacrificial banquets to the gods. The date of his burial has been discovered by means of two marble

Pyramid of Cestius.

[1] *Bulletino dell' Inst.* xxv. pp. 85, 116.

[2] Ibid. xxxvii. p. 235.

[3] It is possible that the potsherds may have been placed in a heap as a store for making the foundations of pavements and roads. The upper layer of a Roman pavement next beneath the actual paving stones always consisted of a nucleus (Vitruv. vii. 1) of pounded potsherds mixed with lime.

[4] Falconieri, Piramide di C. Cestio, Roma, 1704, p. 564, in Nardini's Roma Antica.

pedestals containing inscriptions, which were found near the pyramid. On one of these the foot of a colossal bronze statue is still fixed. They show that C. Cestius' death took place in the time of M. Agrippa, and therefore during the reign of Augustus, and that the statues were erected from the proceeds of the sale of some costly robes of cloth of gold (*attalica*)[1] which Cestius had by his will ordered to be buried with him. Such burial being forbidden by law, the robes were sold, and the statues erected from the proceeds by order of his heirs.[2] They probably stood at the corners of the pyramid. Two fluted Doric pillars, the fragments of which were found near the spot, have now been placed at these corners. Cestius may possibly have been the same person who is mentioned as a Roman knight by Cicero.[3]

PYRAMID OF CESTIUS AND PORTA S. PAOLO.

To the south-east of the hill of S. Saba and S. Balbina, between the Aurelian walls and the Via Appia, lie the most colossal ruins in Rome, covering a space each side of which measures more than a thousand feet. It is certain from the arrangement of these buildings that they were destined for public baths; and as tradition and the Catalogue of the twelfth region both assign the name of the Thermæ Antoninianæ to them, and the style of the masonry is that of the Antonine era, we may feel satisfied that they belonged to the baths mentioned by Cassiodorus and Hieronymus as already partially built by Caracalla in the year A.D. 216,[4] and finished by Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus.[5]

Thermæ Antoninianæ.

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 196.
[2] Cic. De Legg. ii. 24, § 60.
[3] Cic. Pro Flacc. xiii.; Ad Att. v. 13.
[4] Ronc. Chron. i. 472, ii. 238; Hist. Aug. Carac. 9.
[5] Lampr. Hel. 17; Alex. Sev. 25.

This enormous mass of building consisted of a central oblong block containing all the halls and chambers appropriated more immediately to the baths, and a surrounding court, the sides of which were formed by gymnasia and other places of amusement, and the area of which was laid out in gardens, with shrubberies, ornamental colonnades (*xysti*, *περιδρομίδαι*), and fountains. A similar arrangement is found in the Thermæ of Titus and Diocletian.

The central block of buildings contained four immense halls and a rotunda, around which numerous smaller rooms were grouped. The first of these large halls (*a*) was entered from the north-eastern side by two wide doorways. Rows of niches for sculpture broke the broad inner surfaces of its walls, and it communicated with the chambers on each side by open passages filled with columns of splendid marble and granite. The floor formed an immense basin-shaped hollow, showing that the purpose for which it was used was that of a cold swimming-bath (*frigidarium* or *natatio*). The steps by which the bathers descended into it have been found at the two shorter sides, and on both sides are chambers for dressing and undressing (*apodyteria*).

In the centre of the group of buildings is another hall (*b*), of nearly the same dimensions as the cold bath, with large recesses at both ends, and a pavement of the richest varieties of marble. The four lateral circular recesses formed hot baths, and were fitted with steps and seats of various kinds for bathers. In the recesses at the ends stood two enormous porphyry basins, one of which is now preserved in the Museum at Naples. This hall was probably the *tepidarium*, and had a very lofty roof supported by eight granite pillars of colossal size, and by an ingeniously contrived network of brazen or copper rods.[1] One of these pillars was given to Duke Cosmo I. by Pius IV., and stands in the Piazza di Trinità in Florence. The smaller chambers (*c*, *d*, *e*) at the western and southern angles of the tepidarium contained the apparatus for heating water.

Three chambers, the purpose of which is unknown, separate the tepidarium from the rotunda (*f*). The position of this latter and its shape would seem to indicate that it was a *laconicum*, or hot-air room,[2] but the state of the ruins is at present such as to preclude any positive assertion as to its purpose.

On each side of the above-mentioned three chambers is a similar range of halls. The south-eastern wing (*g*) being the most perfect, serves as the best guide to the arrangement of this part of the building. We pass through two chambers (*h*, *i*) containing fine mosaic pavement, and then reach a large long hall (*g*), which apparently consisted of three aisles and two semicircular tribunes, divided from each other by rows of columns, somewhat in the manner of a basilica. A considerable portion of the mosaics on the floor of this hall has been laid bare, and may be seen amongst the heaps of ruined fragments of the roof and upper part. In the larger tribune was discovered the great mosaic pavement of the Athletes, now preserved in the Lateran Museum; whence it has been inferred that this side hall, as well as the corresponding one on the north-west side, were used as gymnasia, or ball-courts (*sphæristeria*), with galleries for spectators. The purpose of the rooms situated on each side of the rotunda is not known, but it has been conjectured that they were additional tepidaria, since even the magnificent central tepidarium is hardly

[1] See Hist. Aug. Carac. 9.

[2] Vitruv. v. 10.

large enough to furnish the accommodation spoken of by Olympiodorus, who states that there were 1,600 marble seats for bathers in the Antonine baths.[1]

There were numerous chambers in the upper stories in and about these large halls, to which several lofty staircases led, one of which has been restored. These were perhaps used as libraries, picture galleries, and museums of curiosities.

The whole north-eastern side of the court which surrounds these central halls consists of ranges of rooms built of brick, and opening outwards. Many of these are still standing, and the traces of an upper story are to be seen over some of them (*j, j*). Different

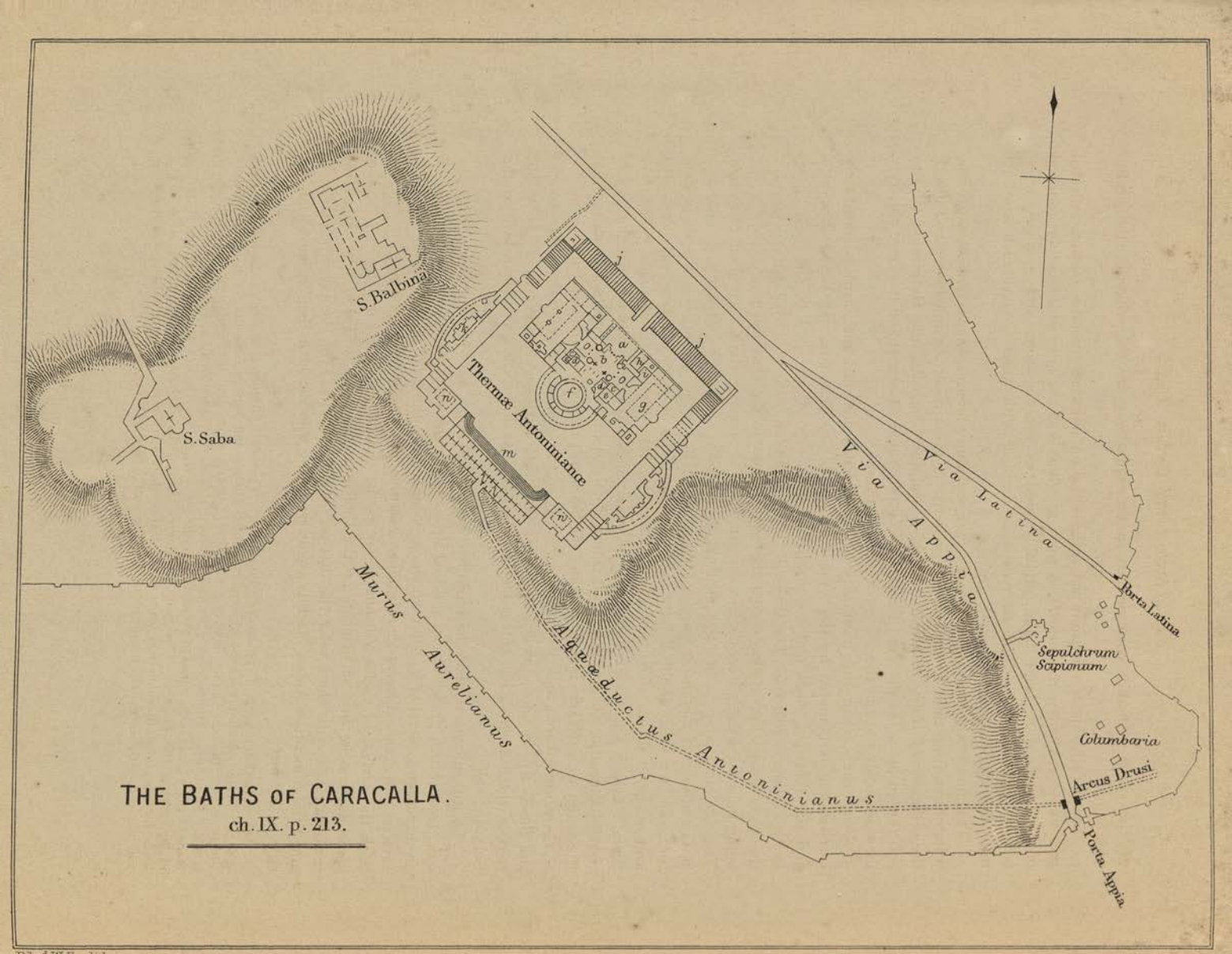
BATHS OF CARACALLA.
(Arches of the Tepidarium.)

opinions have been held as to their use. Some writers think that they were offices and rooms for the slaves belonging to the establishment, others that they were separate baths for women.[2] The principal entrance to the enclosure was in the centre of the northern side of the court.

On the north-western side of the court the remains can be traced of a large shallow tribune, in the shape of a segment of a circle, and surrounded by a vaulted corridor, or cloister (*k*). Within this were three large apartments, possibly used as lecture and conversation rooms. The rest of this side has entirely disappeared, as has also the opposite south-eastern side, with the exception of one of the large apartments. These two sides

[1] Olymp. ap. Phot. Bibl. 80, p. 63, Bekker.

[2] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 449.



THE BATHS OF CARACALLA.

ch. IX. p. 213.

Edwd Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co

of the court probably corresponded in the same way as the wings of the central building.

The fourth side of the court was occupied by an immense reservoir of water, divided into numerous compartments (*l*), in front of which was the *cavea* of a stadium (*m*), and on each side two large halls, probably used as dressing-rooms and gymnasia (*n, n*) (*apodyteria, elaothesia*). The reservoir was supplied with water by a branch aqueduct from the Aqua Marcia.

The numerous magnificent works of art, sculpture, bronzes, lamps, cameos, and coins, which have from time to time been discovered in these ruins, are now dispersed through the museums of Italy. Some of the larger sculptures, including the Hercules of Glykon and the group called the Toro Farnese, are in the Naples Museum; and two large porphyry fountain basins are in the Piazza Farnese at Rome.[1]

Cælian hill. Natural features.

With the Cælian hill itself may be conveniently included the district immediately surrounding it bounded by the Appian Road, the Via di S. Gregorio, the Via Labicana, and the Aurelian walls, and comprising the first, second, and part of the tenth Augustan regions. The shape of the hill thus defined is very irregular, its larger axis, which extends from the Septizonium to the Porta Maggiore, being nearly a mile and a quarter in length, while the average breadth is about 600 yards. The Cælian may be said to be isolated on all sides, though the slope on the side near S. Giovanni in Laterano is scarcely perceptible. The core of the hill is composed of hard tufa, similar to that of the Palatine and Capitoline, and on its flanks are beds of granular and redeposited tufa, and also fresh-water drift and gravel. The hard tufa comes to the surface near S. Giovanni e Paolo, and also near S. Giovanni in Laterano; but the greater part of the surface is covered with granular tufa. A considerable depression runs up from the valley of the Coliseum, and divides the hill into two portions, the western crowned by S. Giovanni e Paolo, and the eastern by SS. Quattro Coronati. The height of the floor of the Basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano is about 150 feet above the sea-level. Only that part of the hill which lies to the east of the Via della Ferratella was included within the Servian walls.

The name Cælius.

Tacitus informs us that the ancient name of the Cælian was Querquetulanus, from the oak grove which grew upon it, and that the name Cælius was derived from Cæles Vibenna, an Etruscan general of Volsinii, who brought an army to the aid of Tarquinius Priscus, and received in return this hill as a settlement. Other accounts carry back the arrival of Cæles Vibenna as far as the time of Romulus; and by some writers the first settlements on the Cælian are ascribed to Tullus, who placed the inhabitants of Alba there after the destruction of their city. On the other hand, Cicero and Strabo mention Ancus Martius as the first king who included the Cælian within the city of Rome.[2]

[1] Museo Borbonico, vol. iii. pp. 23, 24; Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 34; Müller, Arch. der Kunst. §§ 129, 157, 160; Vitruv. v. 10; Becker, Gallus. Exc. zur. vii. scene, p. 68. Some excavations have been lately (1867) made in the Vigna Guidi, a part of the south-east side of the court of the Thermæ. The ruins of a large house have been found, which had been demolished and covered with earth to make room for the Thermæ. Nothing is known of the history of this house, but various conjectures have been hazarded taken from the catalogues of the Regionaries. *Archæol. Journal*, xxiv. p. 346.

[2] Tac. Ann. iv. 65; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. book 1, chap. ix.; Schwegler, vol. i. p. 574, notes 1, 2, 3, where most of the passages are quoted; Dyer, Hist. of Kings of Rome, p. 94.

To collect anything like the truth from these conflicting accounts is almost impossible. Niebuhr has conjectured that the original settlement upon the Cælian was called Lucerum, and that, as in the Servian redistribution of the old local tribes of Rome, the Palatine region answered to the old tribe of the Ramnes and the Colline region to the Tities, so the Suburana Regio, of which the Cælian formed a great part, answered to the tribe of the Luceres.[1] Niebuhr thinks that most credit must be given to that version of the story which ascribes the first peopling of the hill to Tullus Hostilius. His canon, that tribes were always local and not genealogical divisions, led him to find a settlement for the Luceres on the Cælian, of which there seems to be no historical evidence.

Cæliolus.

After a great fire had ravaged the Cælian hill in the time of Tiberius, it was proposed that the name of the hill should be changed to Augustus; but this name does not seem to have lasted for any length of time.[2]

The irregular shape of the Cælian renders it easily intelligible that different names should have been given to different parts of the hill; and we have one of these mentioned by Varro, the Cæliolus, called by Cicero Cæliculus, and by Martial Cælius Minor.[3] It seems necessary to suppose that this part of the hill was inside the Servian walls, since a part of the Etruscans, who, according to Varro, came with Cæles Vibenna, were allowed to occupy it when the rest of their number were removed to the Vicus Tuscus. In later times it was united with the Cælian district. These two facts seem to exclude the supposition that the name Cæliolus belonged either to the lengthened eastern arm which runs out to S. Giovanni in Laterano, or to the hill near the Porta Latina, now called Monte d'Oro, both of which were outside the Servian walls, and to point rather to the part of the Cælian eastward of the depression along which the Via della Navicella runs.

The district under consideration may be conveniently divided into four portions: first, the triangular space called Monte d'Oro, enclosed by the Appian and Latin roads and the Aurelian wall; secondly, the Lateran hill, extending from the Porta Maggiore to the Ospedale di S. Giovanni; thirdly, the Cæliolus, on which stand the churches of SS. Quattro Coronati and Stefano Rotondo; and, fourthly, the Cælian proper, cut off by the Via della Navicella from the rest of the hill.

1. The Monte d'Oro.

The first of these portions was mainly occupied in historical times by burial-places, and formed the commencement of that vast necropolis of Rome which stretched along both sides of the Appian Road from the Porta Capena nearly as far as the Alban hills.

Tomb of Scipios.

Conspicuous among these burial-places is the tomb which remained in possession of the great family of the Cornelian Scipios for nearly four centuries.[4] The entrance to this is near the gate of one of the vineyards, No. 13, on the north-east side of the Appian Road, about 250 yards from the Porta S. Sebastiano. The tomb itself consists of a number of passages roughly hewn in the tufa stone, as the Catacombs are, without any apparent plan of arrangement. Unfortunately, as may be seen from a

[1] Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 297.

[2] Suet. Tib. 48; Tac. Ann. iv. 64.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 46; Cic. De Har. Resp. xv.; Mart. xii. 18.

[4] Mommsen thinks that the Scipiones Nasicæ and Asinæ were excluded from this catacomb, as they had separated from the Cornelian Scipios about the middle of the sixth century. Mommsen, Corp. Insc. vol. i. p. 12.

comparison of the sketch given in Nibby with that in Reber's "Ruinen Roms,"[1] the original state of the catacomb has been so altered by the substructions which have been found necessary to support the roof, that it can hardly be recognised at the present day; and the sarcophagi and inscriptions have been removed, and placed for greater security in the Vatican Museum. Those now seen *in situ* are modern copies. Anciently there were two entrances, one from the Via Appia, and the other from the road which here unites the Via Appia and Via Latina. The present entrance has been cut for the convenience of access from the Appian road.

By far the most interesting relic found here was the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, now standing in the Rotunda of the Torso Belvedere in the Vatican. It is made of grey peperino (*lapis Albanus*), and the lower part is ornamented with Doric triglyphs and metopes, containing rosettes of various patterns, surmounted by an Ionic cornice and the spirals of an Ionic capital. The name painted with vermilion upon the lid, and the inscription in saturnian verse engraved on the body of the sarcophagus, are among the most precious relics of ancient Latin orthography. Scipio Barbatus was consul in the year 298 B.C., and is mentioned by Livy as having then conducted a campaign against the Etruscans;[2] but not a word is said in any ancient historian about the towns of Taurasia and Cisauna, the capture of which is recorded in the inscription. Scipio was possibly the lieutenant of L. Papirius Cursor, consul in 293 B.C., when he took these towns, or of Q. Fabius Maximus in 297.[3]

A second most interesting inscription was found here in 1616, and is preserved in the Barberini Library. It commemorates the son of the above-mentioned Scipio Barbatus, who was consul in 259 B.C., and became famous as the conqueror of Aleria, on the east coast of Corsica, and who built the temple near the Porta Capena to the Tempests, in acknowledgment of the narrow escape of his fleet from shipwreck.[4]

Other inscriptions relate to the son of Scipio Africanus Major, who adopted the younger Scipio Africanus;[5] to the wife of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, consul in 176 B.C.; to the uncle and son of Scipio Asiaticus; to Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, son of the conqueror of Spain, who expelled the astrologers and Jewish worshippers of Jupiter Sabazius from Rome;[6] to his brother L. Cornelius Scipio, who died at the age of twenty; to Cornelia Gætulica,[7] daughter of Cornelius Cossus Lentulus, consul A.D. 25; and to M. Junius Silanus Lutatius Catulus, adopted into the family of the Cossi and the gens Cornelia.[8]

The inscriptions commemorating the last eight members of the gens Cornelia are to be seen in the Vatican Museum, Nos. 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, and with them a number of inscriptions relating to the freedmen of the house who were buried near the catacomb which contained their masters' bones.

[1] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, Parte ii. Tav. xxii. p. 563; Reber, p. 456.

[2] Livy, x. 12, 13. All the inscriptions are given and discussed in Mommsen's Corp. Inscr. Lat. vol. i. p. 11, seqq. See also Visconti, Opere Varie ed. Labus Mediolani, 1827, vol. i. pp. 1—70; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. book ii. chap. ix. vol. i. pp. 487, 493, Eng. trans.

[3] Livy, x. 14, 40; xl. 38. Mommsen, however, finds a discrepancy between the epitaph and the annals which Livy followed here. Mommsen, Rom. Hist. Eng. trans. book ii. chap. viii. pp. 469, 478.

[4] Florus, ii. 2, 15, 16; Ov. Fast. vi. 193. This inscription is No. 17 in the Vatican Museum.

[5] Cic. Cat. Maj. 11.

[6] Val. Max. i. 3, § 2, ed. Kempf.

[7] Tac. Ann. iv. 46.

[8] Ibid. iii. 24.

The absence of the tomb of Scipio Africanus Major from the family catacomb confirms Livy's assertion that he was buried on his estate at Liternum. In the same passage Livy also mentions that there were three statues in or near the catacomb of the Scipios, two representing Publius and Lucius Scipio, and a third the poet Ennius.[1]

Some of the inscriptions written in saturnian verse are of considerable poetical merit, especially that in honour of the son of Scipio Africanus Major. (Mus. Vat. No. 22.) Niebuhr supposes that they contained fragments of the *neniæ*, or funeral anthems, sung at the burial of distinguished men.[2] One is in elegiac metre. (Mus. Vat. No. 24.) The tombs of the Servilii and Metelli were not far from that of the Scipiones.[3]

The catacomb of the Scipios differs from most of the other burial-places which surround it, on account of the retention by the gens Cornelia of the old Latin custom of burying in coffins instead of burning the corpses of the deceased. The other burying-places on the Monte d'Oro are arranged in the manner called a *columbarium* by the Romans,[4] from the resemblance of the niches in it to the holes in a pigeon-house. Four of these columbaria have been excavated in the Vigna Codini, near the Porta S. Sebastiano, and are now to be seen in almost perfect preservation. They consist of a square pit, roofed over and entered by a descending staircase. The roof is supported by a massive square central column, and the whole of the sides of the pit and of the central column are pierced with semicircular niches, containing earthenware jars filled with ashes. In one of the columbaria in the Vigna Codini there is room for 909 jars.[5] Most of the names, which are inscribed above each niche upon a marble tablet, are those of Imperial freedmen, or servants of great families or public officers, and other persons of the middle class of life, and are therefore of little historical interest. The ashes of some few of a somewhat higher grade are placed in small marble sarcophagi or urns; but no persons of distinguished rank appear to have been buried in this way. There are, however, few places in Rome where the ordinary manners and customs of the ancient Romans are more vividly placed before the eye than here, and the very insignificance of some of the details exhibited has in it somewhat striking. In one corner we find the ashes of the lady's maid of one of the Imperial princesses, in another those of the royal barber, and in another a favourite lapdog has been admitted to take his place among his mistress's other faithful servants.[6]

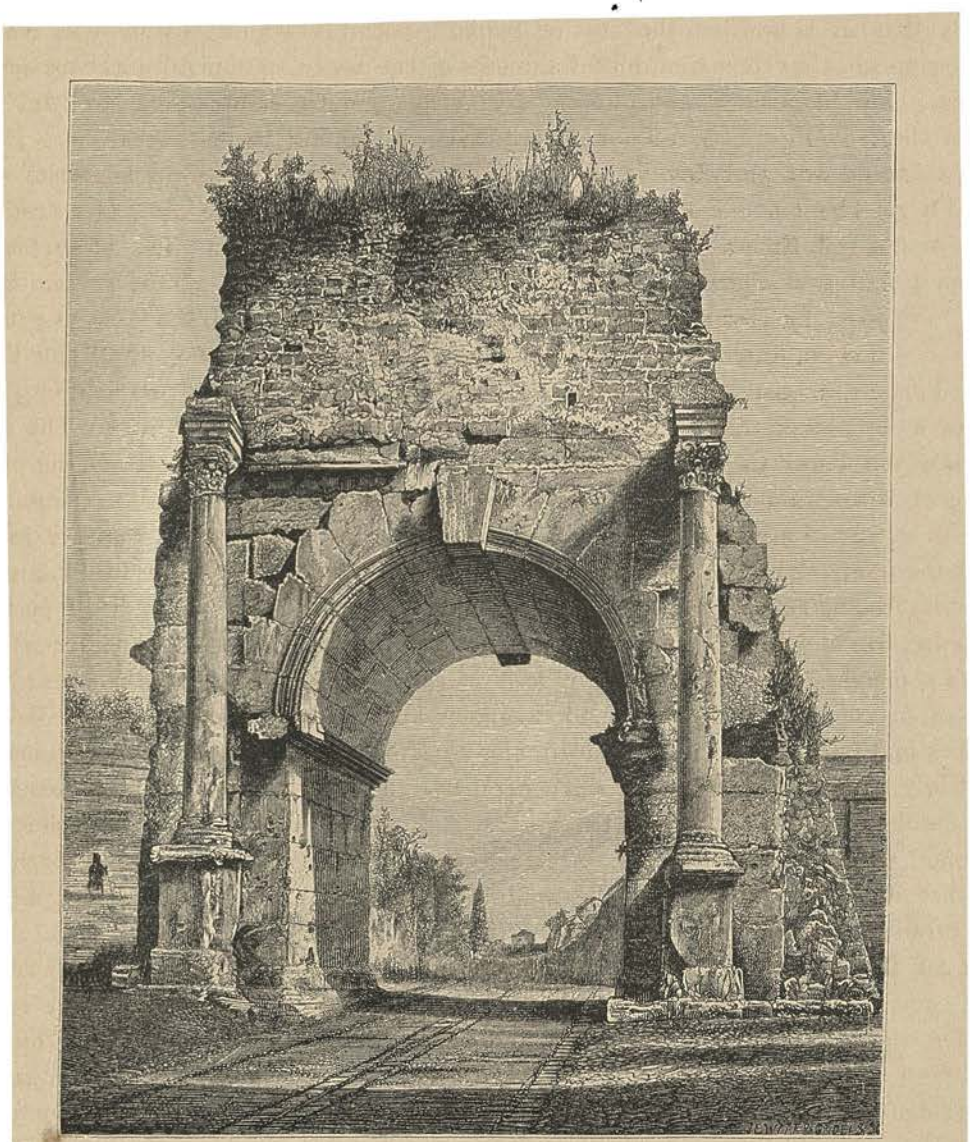
Columbaria.

Not far from these columbaria, and close to the Porta S. Sebastiano, the Via Appia is spanned by a half-ruinous archway, of which little but the core remains, the marble casing having long been torn off. It was probably originally ornamented with eight columns, two only of which now remain standing on the side next the gate. These have shafts of Numidian marble (*giallo antico*) and composite capitals, with Corinthian bases. Upon the top of this arch is a brick ruin, apparently belonging to the Middle Ages, as the style of building is similar to that called "Opera Saracenesca" by the Italians. It was probably part of a fortified tower placed upon the arch, resembling that which formerly surmounted the Arch of Titus.

Supposed Arch of Drusus.

[1] Livy, xxxviii. 53, 56.
[2] Niebuhr, Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 257.
[3] Cic. Pro Archia, ix. 22.
[4] Marini, Frat. Arv. p. 674.
[5] See Gori, Columbarium Lib. et Serv. Liv. Aug. et Cæs.; Florentiæ, 1727.
[6] Other columbaria have been excavated in the grounds of the Villa Magnani, near the Porta Maggiore, which belonged to the Auruntian family. Reber, p. 487.

On each side of the arch are some remains of the branch aqueduct which brought water from the Aqua Marcia to the Baths of Caracalla, and it is natural to conclude that this arch carried the aqueduct over the Via Appia, and was built by Caracalla for that purpose. The costly nature of the materials used has, however, induced most



ARCH OF DRUSUS.

topographers to reject this explanation, and to assume that the arch is one of the three mentioned by the Notitia in the first region as built in honour respectively of Drusus, Trajan, and Verus. The composite capitals seem to point to the earliest date of these three, and, as the building bears a resemblance to a representation of the Arch of

Drusus which has been discovered upon a coin, the arch has been thought identical with that erected to Drusus the father of Claudius, mentioned by Suetonius.[1]

Valley of Egeria.

The depression between the Monte d'Oro and the Cælian proper is rightly fixed upon by Canina and the other modern topographers as the Valley of Egeria. It is plain from the well-known passage of Juvenal at the beginning of his third satire, that the fountain and temple of the Camenæ were not far from the Porta Capena, and that they were also near the road which led out of that gate.[2] The Caffarella valley, outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, commonly supposed to be the Valley of Egeria, is too far from the Porta Capena to correspond with Juvenal's description, and was probably fixed upon before the site of the Porta Capena had been discovered. The Church of S. Sisto now stands at the opening of the Valley of Egeria. The worship of Egeria was probably indigenous to the grove of Diana at Aricia, where we find that there were a shrine and fountain of Egeria;[3] whence it may have been transferred by Numa to the valley and fountain outside the Porta Capena. The exact spot was indicated by the fabled fall of the *ancile* or sacred shield from heaven upon it.[4] From the connexion of the worship of Egeria with Aricia, it has been supposed by Becker that the Clivus Aricinus, known as a resort of Roman beggars, was near the Porta Capena.[5]

Aqua Mercurii.

Another fountain which was near the Porta Capena was called the Aqua Mercurii. It is alluded to by Ovid, but no other mention of it is to be found in the classical writers, nor can we determine whether it was inside or outside the Servian walls. Brocchi, following mediæval accounts of a fountain in this neighbourhood, would place it at the foot of the Aventine, near the south-eastern end of the Circus Maximus.[6]

Fossa Quiritium.

The Fossa Quiritium mentioned by Livy as the work of Ancus is identified by Niebuhr with the course of the Crabra Marrana brook, which enters the Aurelian walls at the corner between the Monte d'Oro and Lateran hills, and flows through the Valley of Egeria and the Murcian valley into the Tiber near the Bocca della Verità.[7]

2. The Lateran Hill.

Sessorium.

Two ruins standing near the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme may be reckoned as belonging to the Lateran hill. They are called by the topographers the Sessorium and the Amphitheatrum Castrense. The first of these consists of a ruin built of brick, containing a large semicircular apse with round-headed

[1] Eckhel, Num. Vet. ii. vi. p. 176; Suet. Claud. i. Fabretti, De Aquæd. p. 29, considers that the aqueduct was the branch of the Anio Vetus mentioned by Frontinus, § 21.

[2] Juv. Sat. iii. 11 seq. 315, 316; Livy, i. 21. The same is also shown by the statement that the Lucus Egeriæ was near the Temples of Honour and Virtue. Symmach. Ep. i. 21. See chap. iv. p. 49.

[3] Ov. Fast. iii. 263, 273; Met. xv. 482, 547; Virg. Æn. vii. 762.

[4] Plut. Num. xiii.

[5] Juv. Sat. iv. 117; Mart. ii. 19, x. 5, 3, xii. 32, 10. It is most likely, however, that the Clivus Aricinus was at the dip of the Appian Road into the valley below Aricia. See *Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch.* 1854, p. 107, with Canina's Tavola Nona della Via Appia.

[6] Ov. Fast. v. 673; Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 41.

[7] Livy, i. 33. Merivale, Hist. of Romans, vol. i. p. 2, calls this by mistake the *agger* Quiritium. See Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 353, Eng. trans.

windows, from which two walls project. No excavations having been made in order to ascertain the further extent of the buildings, any opinions formed as to their purpose must necessarily be highly uncertain. The most probable conjecture which has been made is that they are the ruins of a tribunal called the Sessorium. Such a court of justice is mentioned by the Scholiast on Horace as situated on the Esquiline near the place where criminals and paupers were buried.[1] Further notices of the same name as applied to an edifice in the neighbourhood of the Basilica of S. Croce are to be found in Anastasius's life of St. Silvester, and in a fragmentary history of certain passages in the life of Theodoric printed at the end of the work of Ammianus Marcellinus. Theodoric is there said to have ordered a criminal to be beheaded *in palatio quod appellatur Sessorinum*, using the same phrase which Anastasius also employs.[2]

The authors of the "Beschreibung Roms" supposed that this ruin was the Nymphæum Alexandri of the Notitia; but this has been disproved by Becker, who shows that the Nymphæum was near the Villa Altieri.[3]

The opinion that the building in question was that called Spes Vetus, which Frontinus places near the commencement of the branch aqueduct of Nero, is more likely to be correct; but the shape of the building, so far as it is at present known, does not agree with such a supposition.[4] The ruins are commonly known by the name of the Temple of Venus and Cupid, a name which was given to them from the discovery of a statue near them representing a female figure. But it is a fatal objection to this that the name of the Roman matron (Sallustia), whose statue was supposed to be that of Venus, has been discovered to be engraved upon the pedestal. The statue may be seen in the Museo Pio Clementino.

On the other side of the basilica, and forming a part of the Aurelian wall, is a portion of an amphitheatre. The interior, now used as a garden, may be seen by entering the door on the right hand of the basilica. The larger axis of the amphitheatre was apparently about 110 yards, and the shorter 85, or thereabouts. It is entirely constructed of brick, even to the Corinthian capitals which ornament the exterior, and the workmanship shows it to belong to the best age of Roman architectural art. The second tier of arches has almost entirely disappeared, and of the lowest tier only those are left which are built into the city wall. To suppose, as Becker does, that this building was not an amphitheatre, but the vivarium where the wild beasts used in the games were kept, seems out of the question. The only difficulty is to determine what the special history and purpose of the building, manifestly an amphitheatre, placed so far from the populous parts of the city, were. The Notitia comes to our aid, for it records the existence of an Amphitheatrum Castrense in the fifth region; and there can be little doubt that we have here the remains of the amphitheatre built for the entertainment of the Prætorian troops quartered in the fortified camp beyond the Porta S. Lorenzo. Aurelian made use of the outer side of the building as a part of his walls, and it is most

Amphitheatrum Castrense.

[1] Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. Epod. v. 100; Sat. i. 8, 11. Becker would read σησώριον for σηστέρτιον in Plut. Galb. 28.

[2] Anastas. Vit. Silv. p. 45; Amm. Marcell. ed. Ernesti, p. 558; Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, pt. i. Moderna, 194, pt. ii. Antica, 370.

[3] Becker, Handb. pp. 547, 548.

[4] Frontin. De Aquæd. §§ 5, 20, 21, 65. Mr. J. H. Parker, Archæologia, vol. xlii. pt. i. p. 11, thinks that we should read in all the four passages of Frontinus *specum* for *spem*. The accus. *specum* occurs in Suet. Nero. 48, and *specus* is fem. in Front. 17. But it seems impossible that *spem* could have been employed as an abbreviation for *specum* in the MS.

probable that when Constantine pulled down the inner portions of the Prætorian camp, he also destroyed the greater part of this amphitheatre.

Claudian Aqueduct.

Not far from the Sessorium, and springing out of the angle of the wall close to the Porta Maggiore, a series of lofty arches begins, which extends throughout the whole length of the Cælian hill. They carry a branch aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia, built by Nero to supply the Cælian and Aventine hills at a higher level than the Aqua Marcia and Aqua Julia, on which they had previously depended for their supply.[1] It passed over the road leading from the Porta Maggiore to the Basilica of S. Croce, and thence ran along the higher ground through the vineyards to the Scala Santa, whence it skirted the Via di S. Stefano, and at the Arch of Dolabella was divided into three branches, one of which crossed the valley to the Palatine,[2] a second ran towards the edge of the hill over the Coliseum, and a third towards the Porta Capena.

Lateran Palace.

It is generally believed, but it does not seem to be very distinctly proved, that the present magnificent Lateran Palace and Basilica stand upon the site of the splendid house of Plautius Lateranus, the victim of Nero's cruelty.[3] Bunsen remarks that, although it is probable that the house given by Severus to his friend Lateranus,[4] consul in 197, was the same house which was afterwards presented by Constantine to the Bishop of Rome,[5] yet this Lateranus did not belong to the family of the Plautii to which the Plautius Lateranus of Nero's time belonged. There is, however, sufficient proof that the house of the Plautii Laterani stood upon the Cælian, since Julius Capitolinus, in his life of M. Antoninus Philosophus, says that that Emperor was born and educated in the house of his grandfather Verus, on the Cælian, near the house of Lateranus.[6]

Campus Martialis.

The Lateran Piazza was called in the Middle Ages Campus Lateranensis,[7] and it is supposed by some topographers that this name was a relic of the older name Campus Martialis, where the Equiria were held when the Campus Martius was flooded.[8]

3. The Cæliolus.

The Cæliolus is separated from the Cælius proper by a depression which corresponds to the line of the Via and Piazza della Navicella. In Martial's time it seems to have been a part of the fashionable quarter of Rome, since he speaks of his friend Juvenal as making a round of morning calls at his powerful patrons' houses on the Cælius and Cælius Minor, or Cæliolus.[9] There were probably but few public buildings of any importance upon it, and the only ruins now left are those of S. Stefano Rotondo and a portion of the Neronian aqueduct already described.

The Church of S. Stefano Rotondo, standing upon the eastern side of the Piazza della Navicella, was consecrated in 468 by Pope Simplicius.[10] The shape is so entirely

[1] Front. De Aquæd. 20, 76, 87.
[2] See chap. viii. p. 179.
[3] Juv. Sat. x. 18; Tac. Ann. xv. 60.
[4] Aur. Vict. Epit. 20.
[5] Bunsen, Beschreibung, iii. 505.
[6] Jul. Cap. in Hist. Aug. M. Ant. Phil. 1.
[7] See Nibby on Nardini, Rom. Ant. i. p. 207.
[8] Ov. Fast. iii. 519; Paul. Diac. p. 131.
[9] Mart. xii 6.
[10] Anastas. Vit. Simpl.; Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, pt. i. Moderna, p. 728. The older topographers, Biondo, Fulvio, Marliani, and Fauno, all say that this church was formerly a Temple of Faunus, but they give no authority for their statement.

different from that of any other church built in the same century, that it seems almost necessary to assume that the materials and plan were borrowed from a building previously existing upon the same site. The only available method of ascertaining the ancient name of this building is by referring to the Catalogue of the Notitia, and considering whether any of the names there mentioned can be applied with any probability to it. Now the Notitia mentions a flesh-market, called the Macellum Magnum, as existing in the second region;[1] and the form of S. Stefano Rotondo, which consists of a lofty rotunda raised upon pillars and arches, surrounded by a lower corridor of a similar kind, supported upon a second circle of pillars, seems adapted to the purposes of a market-place. We find also upon a coin of Nero, engraved in Eckhel, a representation of a similar rotunda, with the inscription "Macellum Augusti;"[2] and Varro mentions the circular form as not uncommonly used for market-places.[3]

S. Stefano Rotondo.

Macellum Magnum.

4. The Cælian Proper.

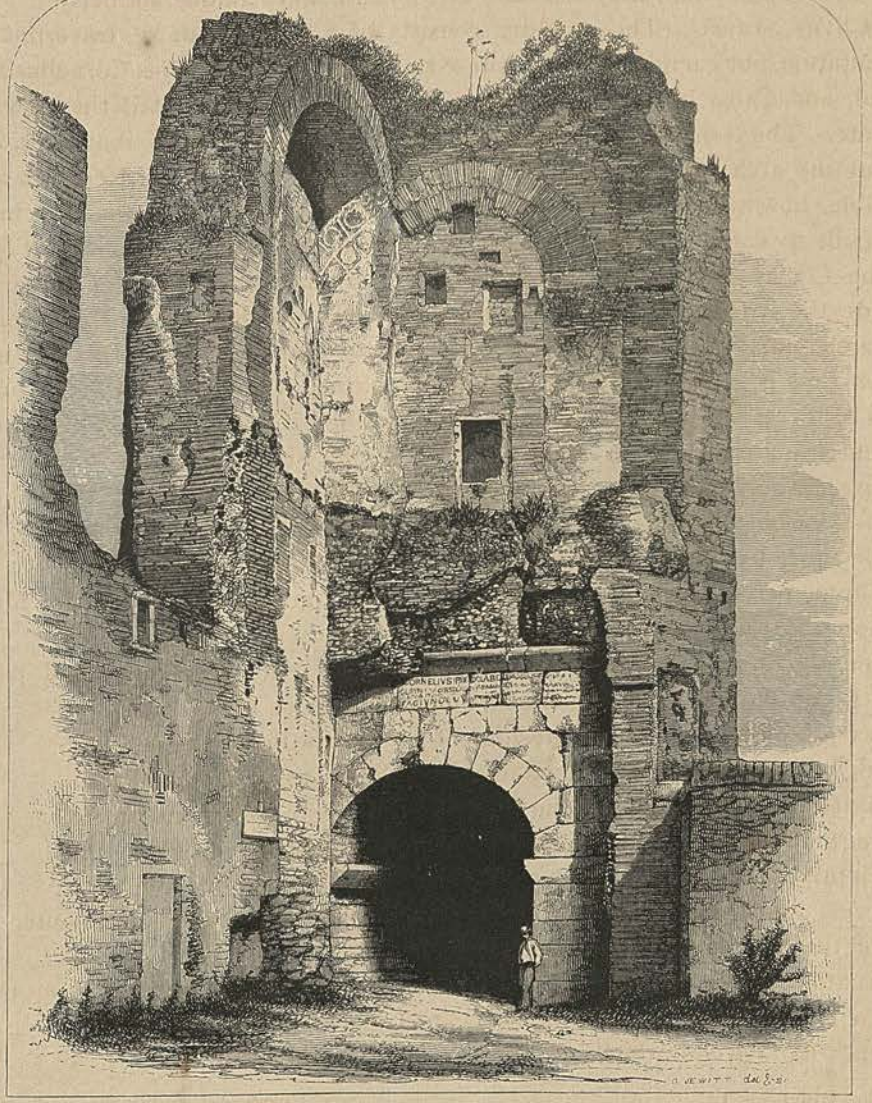
Passing now to the Cælian proper, which lies between the Via della Navicella, the Via di S. Gregorio, and the Via Appia, we find scarcely any localities which can be determined with certainty. As in the case of the Cæliolus, the buildings consisted chiefly of private houses of the nobility, and these have entirely perished. Our only guides in the determination of the few places of interest here are the remains of the Aqueduct of Nero. Frontinus tells us that the end of the aqueduct, that is the Castellum, or principal reservoir, whence the water was distributed to the Cælian, Aventine, and Palatine hills, stood near the Temple of Claudius.[4] Now the end of the principal aqueduct would be plainly upon the higher part of the hill, near the Villa Mattei, for it was on the site of the older Castellum of the Aqua Marcia, which stood near the Porta Capena.[5] The Temple of Claudius must therefore have stood not far from the Villa Mattei, on, or near, the site of S. Maria in Domnica. This temple was begun, according to Suetonius, by Agrippina, nearly destroyed by Nero, and rebuilt by Vespasian.[6] Of its shape and size we know nothing, and none of the substructions or foundations have been discovered. The immense substructions which underlie the garden of the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo have been commonly supposed to belong to the Temple of Claudius, and are so designated in some maps of the ancient city. But the area they inclose is far too large to allow us to suppose that it belonged to a single temple. Even the court which surrounded the Temple of Venus and Rome, the largest in Rome, was much smaller than the area of this garden.[7] It seems much more probable that, as Bunsen has conjectured, the Vectilian palace in which Commodus lived occupied this part of the Cælian.[8] The ruins consist of arches of travertine, forming a rectangular space upon the northern end of the hill. They are massively constructed, so as to bear a great superincumbent weight, and would be in every way suitable for the terraces of a large imperial villa, such

Temple of Claudius.

[1] Curios. Urb. Reg. ii.
[2] Eckhel, part ii. vol. vi. p. 273.
[3] Varro, ap. Non. vi. 2.
[4] Frontin. De Aquæd. 20.
[5] Frontin. 76, compared with 19.
[6] Suet. Vesp. 9.
[7] See chap. viii. p. 169.
[8] Beschreib. vol. iii. p. 476; Notitia Region. ii.

as Commodus may have built when, as Lampridius tells us, he removed from the Palatine, where he found himself unable to sleep, to the house of Vectilius on the Cælian. He was afterwards murdered there.[1] The position may have pleased him from its immediate vicinity to the Coliseum, where he was so fond of superintending

Ædes Vectilianæ.



ARCH OF DOLABELLA.

the exhibitions and displaying his own skill in killing wild animals. The story that he had an underground passage made from this villa to the Coliseum is also a strong confirmation of the conjecture of Bunsen;[2] and some additional probability is given to

[1] See Gibbon, ch. iv.

[2] Hist. Aug. Comm. 16, Pert. 5.

it by the course of the branch aqueduct, which leads from the Arch of Dolabella in the direction of this garden, and would certainly be required to supply the luxuries of a large Roman palace.

Arch of Dolabella and Clivus Scauri.

The aqueduct here alluded to branches off from another portion of the Neronian aqueduct at the arch called the Arch of Dolabella, which stands a little to the north-west of the Piazza della Navicella, and spans the road leading down from thence into the valley between the Cælian and Palatine, formerly called the Clivus Scauri.[1] The archway consists of a single arch of travertine without any ornamentation, but carrying an inscription to the effect that Publius Cornelius Dolabella when consul, and Caius Junius Silanus when Flamen martialis, erected the arch by order of the Senate. The consulship of this Dolabella falls in the reign of Augustus, A.D. 10;[2] and therefore the arch can originally have had no connexion with the Neronian aqueduct. It is possible, however, as Becker and Reber suggest, that the arch may have been originally built to carry the Aqua Marcia and Julia, which, as we know from Frontinus, supplied the Cælian before the building of the Neronian branch of the Aqua Claudia.[3] On one side the Arch of Dolabella is still completely hidden by the brickwork of the Neronian arches, and the other side was probably covered in a similar manner until after 1670, as we find no mention of this arch in Donatus, who could not have omitted to notice it in his description of the Neronian aqueduct had it been visible in his time.

Dea Carna. Minerva Capta.

Two temples are alluded to in Ovid's "Fasti" as situated on the Cælian, the sites of which are entirely unknown. These are the Sacellum of Dea Carna,[4] the goddess of door-hinges, said by Macrobius to have been dedicated, on the kalends of June, by Junius Brutus, the first consul,[5] and the Temple of Minerva Capta, perhaps near the Via della Navicella, and identical with the Minervium of Varro, on the slope of the hill.[6]

Isium Metellinum. Castra Peregrina. Caput Africæ. Mica Aurea.

The Temple of Isis, on the Cælian, is mentioned only in a suspected passage of Trebellius Pollio as the Isium Metellinum, near the house of Tetricus, and between two groves.[7] Nor can the position of the Castra Peregrina be determined, which is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as upon the Cælian, and is included in the Catalogue of the Notitia as a place of some importance.[8] Equally enigmatical to us are the Caput Africæ of the Notitia (possibly a street near the Septizonium, having some allusion to the African origin of Septimius Severus) and the Mica Aurea (possibly the sign of a banqueting-house, having a prospect of the Imperial palace on the Palatine[9]).

Jupiter Redux. Navicella.

The situation of the Temple of Jupiter Redux may be conjectured from an inscription found upon a votive tablet near the Church of S. Maria in Domnica,[10] and from the marble navicellæ which have been found near the same spot.

[1] S. Gregor. Epist. vii. 13.

[2] Kal. Prenest. in Orell. Insc. ii. pp. 383, 409, compared with Dion Cass. lvi. 25.

[3] Frontin. De Aquæd. 76.

[4] Ov. Fasti, vi. 101. [5] Macrob. Sat. i. 12, 31.

[6] Ov. Fasti, iii. 837; Varro, L. L. v. § 47.

[7] Hist. Aug. Trebellius Pollio de Tetrico Juniore, ch. iv.

[8] Amm. Max. xvi. 12, p. 98, Ernesti; Notitia Reg. ii.; Inscr. Gruter, xxii. 3; Orell. 1256. See Preller, Regionen, p. 99, who thinks that this camp was near S. Stefano Rotondo, and was built by Septim. Severus to act as a counterpoise to the power of the Prætorians.

[9] Notitia Reg. ii.; Martial, ii. 59.

[10] See Becker, Handb. p. 504. "Domitius Bassus pr. agens vice principis peregrinorum templum Jovis reducis c. p. [castris peregrinorum] omni cultu de suo ornavit." Orell. Insc. 1256.

marble representations of ships, one of which stands now in the Piazza della Navicella, and gives its name to the place, were probably votive offerings to Jupiter Redux; and there may be some connexion between them and the Castra Peregrinorum, as having perhaps been the place where the troops employed on foreign service were quartered. The inscription quoted in the note seems to allude to this connexion between the temple and camp.

Houses of Centumalus, Mamurra, Verus, and Tetricus.

In the time of the Empire, many palaces of the richer classes stood upon the Cælian. Among these we have distinct mention of the houses of Claudius Centumalus (which was visible from the Arx), of Mamurra, and of Annius Verus (in which Marcus Aurelius was born).[1] Tetricus also, the unsuccessful rival of Aurelian, built a magnificent residence on the Cælian, in which, on his readmission to the Emperor's favour, he entertained Aurelian.[2]

[1] Val. Max. viii. 2, 1; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 6, 7; Catull. xxix. 3; Hist. Aug. Jul. Cap. Vit. Marc. Ant. 1.
[2] Gibbon, chap. xi.

NOTE A, p. 208.—ON THE EMPORIUM.

The ruins of the Emporium consist of a large quadrangle open on the side towards the river, and occupied on the other three sides with warehouses. Several of the quays in connexion with this building have been lately (1868) excavated, and a vast number of valuable marble blocks of great size exhumed from the silt with which the river had covered them. These quays are mainly of brick, faced with *opus reticulatum*. Mr. J. H. Parker thinks that the reticulated work is of the first century. He considers that the newly-excavated quays were intended to replace some older ones, and were then found to be placed at too low a level, and consequently abandoned. But why then were the marble blocks left there? It seems more probable that they were neglected, and gradually silted up by successive floods during some continued period of great political and social distress.

CHAPTER IX.

PART II.

THE ESQUILINE HILL AND COLISEUM.

CAMPUS ESQUILINUS: PLACE OF BURIAL AND EXECUTION—SESSORIUM — AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE—GARDENS OF MÆCENAS—HORTI LAMIANI ET PALLANTIANI—HOUSES OF VIRGIL, PROPERTIUS, PLINY, AND PEDO—PALACE OF GORDIAN — TROPHIES OF MARIUS—NYMPHÆUM OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS — ARCH OF GALLIENUS — COLUMBARIA—MINERVA MEDICA OR GALUZZE—HERCULES SYLLANUS—FORUM ESQUILINUM—MACELLUM LIVIANUM.

OPPIUS: CARINÆ—DOMUS POMPEIANA, DOMUS Q. CICERONIS—TIGILLUM SORORIUM—SACELLUM STRENIÆ—TEMPLE OF TELLUS—VICUS CYPRIUS ET SCELERATUS—CLIVUS URBIUS, AFRICUS, ET PULLIUS—FORTUNA SEIA—VICUS SANDALIARIUS—DOMUS AUREA NERONIS—SETTE SALE—THERMÆ TITI ET TRAJANI. COLISEUM: SITE, ARCHITECT, DATE—HISTORY—ANTONINUS PIUS — COMMODUS — MACRINUS—HELIOGABALUS—ALEX. SEVERUS—LAMPRIDIUS—BASILIUS—FRANGIPANI—HENRY VII.—BULL-FIGHT IN 1332—HOSPITAL IN 1415—STONES USED FOR PALACES—PASSIONSPIELEN—SALTPETRE STORES—BENEDICT XIV.—DESCRIPTION AND PLAN OF COLISEUM.

CISPIUS: VICUS PATRICIUS — HOUSE OF CÆSONIUS — ÆDES MEFITIS — TEMPLE OF DIANA—JUNO LUCINA — LUCUS PÆTELIUS, MEFITIS, FAGUTALIS, LARUM, LIBITINÆ—QUERQUETULANUM SACELLUM—ARA MALÆ FORTUNÆ—ARA FEBRIS—CASTRA MISENATIUM—CURIA NOVA.

"Duraret hodie miserabilis facies prostratæ Urbis, nisi in hortorum vinetorumque amœnitatem Roma resurrexisset, ut perpetua viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas suas."—DONATUS, *Roma Vetus ac Recens.*

"Omnis Cæsareo cedit labor Amphitheatro
Unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus."—MART. *De Spec.* i.

THE hills which have hitherto been described are isolated masses of rock separated by valleys more or less deep from the surrounding ground. But the remaining hills, the Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, Pincian, Vatican, and the Janiculum, are more properly to be described as projecting tongues of ground running out into the valley of the Tiber than as distinct eminences.

The first of these, the Esquiline,[1] is the most extensive of all the hills of Rome, and the space comprehended by it is so broken into minor eminences and depressions, formerly designated by local names, that it presents considerable difficulties to the topographer. There are no less than four distinctly-marked tongues, or promontories, projecting from the general level of the Campagna, which may be reckoned as belonging to the Esquiline. These, beginning from the eastern side of the city near the Porta Maggiore, are, first, the

[1] The name Esquiline has been derived from *excolinus*, as Inquilinus from *incolo*, Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 54; from *excubiæ*, Ovid, Fasti, iii. 245; from *esculetum*, an oak grove, in allusion to the Fagutal, Müller on Varro, Ling. Lat. v. § 49. Propertius, iv. 8, 1, "Disce quid Esquilias hac nocte fugarit aquosas," calls the Esquiline *aquosæ*, on account of the number of aqueducts which entered the city at the back of the Esquiline.

rising ground on which the Villa Altieri stands; secondly, that on which the Villa Palombara stands; thirdly, the hill occupied by the ruins of the Baths of Titus and the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli; and fourthly, the hill crowned by S. Maria Maggiore. The common ground which unites all these at the back of the hill was called the Campus Esquilinus.

The geological structure of this district is precisely similar to that of the other hills of Rome. It consists of a mass of granular tufa, more or less hard, of marine origin, flanked by fresh-water deposits of re-deposited tufa and beds of sand and clay, which run up into the depressions between the various projecting spurs. It will be most convenient to divide the whole district, for the purpose of topographical description, into three portions: 1, the Campus Esquilinus, including the Villas Altieri and Palombara, and bounded on the west by the Via Merulana; 2, the Oppius, upon which stand the ruins of the Baths of Titus; and, 3, the Cispius, occupied by S. Maria Maggiore, and enclosed by the Via di S. Lucia in Selci and the Via Urbana. The height of the floor of the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, which stands on one of the highest points, is 177 feet above the sea level; but the greater part of the hill is much lower than this, and seldom rises above a maximum of 120 feet.

1. The Campus Esquilinus.

In the time of Servius Tullius it is evident that the Campus Esquilinus was not an inhabited part of the city, for it was entirely excluded from the walls built by that king.[1]

Campus Esquilinus.

Place of burial and execution.

Even in the Republican age a large portion of it was principally noted as an extensive burial-place for the lowest class of people, and a place of execution for criminals, and, according to Horace, was rendered pestilential by the frequent exposure of dead bodies, and became the haunt of foul birds and beasts of prey.[2] The stink of the rotting carcases is alluded to in the word "puticuli," which is explained by Varro and Paulus Diaconus to refer to the pits used as graves on the Esquiline.[3] It cannot, however, be asserted that paupers and criminals only were interred here, for Cicero, in his Ninth Philippic, proposes that, as a mark of honour to the patriotic devotion of Servius Sulpicius, a special burying-place of thirty feet square should be assigned to him in the Campus Esquilinus.[4] It has been previously mentioned that the Sessorium near the Porta Maggiore was probably a criminal court of justice, and we find several instances of executions having taken place here. Suetonius and Tacitus both distinctly mention the Campus Esquilinus as a place of execution; and in other passages of classical authors executions outside the gate must be understood in the same manner as referring to the field outside the old Esquiline gate, near the Arch of Gallienus.[5] The Amphitheatrum Castrense, which adjoins the Sessorium, has been described in a previous chapter.[6] In the Imperial times the Campus Esquilinus became the site of the pleasure-gardens of Mæcenas. In defiance of the anonymous benefactor who had granted the burial-ground to the poor with the provision that it should not descend to his heirs

Sessorium.

Amphitheatrum Castrense.

Gardens of Mæcenas.

[1] See above, chap. iv. p. 49.

[2] Hor. Sat. i. 8, 8, ii. 6, 33; Epod. v. 99. The area was, according to Horace, 1,000 × 300 feet.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. 25; Paul. Diac. p. 216.

[4] Cic. Phil. ix. 7.

[5] Suet. Claud. 25; Tac. Ann. ii. 32, xv. 60; Plaut. Mil. Glor. ii. 4, 6. See p. 52, Note B.

[6] See chap. v. p. 67, and chap. ix. p. 219.

(*heredes monimentum ne sequeretur*), but remain a public burial-ground for ever, Mæcenas expelled the vultures and jackals, and appropriated a part of it for a new park. Tiberius afterwards made this his residence.[1] The gardens must have reached quite across the hill, from the Campus Esquilinus to the Baths of Titus, for Nero afterwards united them with the buildings of the Palatine hill, and made one continuous palace of the whole.[2] He surveyed the conflagration of Rome from one of the towers of Mæcenas, which from its situation would naturally command an extensive view over Rome.[3]

In the later Imperial times it is said that the Baths of Trajan and the house of Crescentia, an unknown personage, were here.[4] Another large pleasure-garden, called the Horti Lamiani, belonging to the rich and powerful family of the Lamiæ,[5] would seem to have been near the gardens of Mæcenas: for Valerius Maximus connects the family seat of the Lamiæ with the Monumentum Marii, which, as we shall see, was near S. Eusebio; and Philo Judæus, during the reign of Caligula, mentions the Horti Lamiani as near the Horti Mæcenatis.[6] Adjoining these two gardens were the Horti Pallantiani, which probably belonged to Pallas the famous freedman of Claudius. A stone commemorative of the flattery heaped upon him by the Senate was placed near the city on the Tiburtine road, which passed over the Campus Esquilinus; and this stone may have stood at the entrance of the Horti. There is, however, a more accurate determination of their position in a passage of Frontinus, in which he places them near the commencement of the Neronian branch aqueduct, and therefore not far from the Porta Maggiore.[7]

Horti Lamiani.

Horti Pallantiani.

The aspect of this part of the hill must therefore have been totally changed in the Imperial times, and have become a fashionable quarter. Virgil seems to have had a house here, near the gardens of Mæcenas, if we may believe Donatus; and Propertius and Pliny the younger also lived here in the house of Pedo.[8] Besides these houses and gardens a palace of the Gordian family, of great magnificence, is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus as situated upon the Prenestine road;[9] and Fulvius and the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen manuscript speak of an arch dedicated to the third Gordian which stood upon the Via di S. Bibiana, and probably spanned the approach to the Gordian palace.[10]

Houses of Virgil, Propertius, Pliny, and Pedo.

Palace of Gordian.

The ruin called the Trophies of Marius stands at the corner of the Via di Bibiana just mentioned. It consists in its lower part of a number of small and curiously-shaped compartments of brickwork, with openings at seven or eight different points. Underneath these, and now hidden under the level

Trophies of Marius.

[1] Suet. Tib. 15. The warm swimming-bath of Mæcenas may have been here. Dion Cass. lv. 7.

[2] Tac. Ann. xv. 39; Suet. Nero, 31.

[3] Suet. Nero, 38; Hor. Od. iii. 29 calls it "molem propinquam nubibus arduis;" and in allusion to the wide prospect afforded over Rome says to Mæcenas, "Omitte mirari beatæ fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ."

[4] Schol. ad Hor. Sat. i. 8, 8. See below p. 233.

[5] Hor. Od. i. 26, iii. 17.

[6] Val. Max. iv. 48; Phil. Jud. De Leg. ad Caium, vol. vi. p. 143, § 44, Leipsic ed. Caligula was buried here, Suet. Cal. 59; and the poet Horace, Suet. Vit. Hor. 20.

[7] Frontin. de Aq. 19, 20; Plin. Ep. vii. 29. Mr. Parker's conjecture that Pallantiani = Palatini can hardly be admitted as possible. *Arch. Journ.* xxiv. p. 345. From Frontin. 19, 20, 21, and 5, 65, it seems to follow that Spes Vetus was the name of the district near the Porta Maggiore, where the Neronian arches of the Aqua Claudia leave the main aqueduct. Dionysius, ix. 24, mentions a ἱερὸν Ἐλπίδος there. J. H. Parker, *Archæol. Journ.* xxiv. p. 345, thinks that *spes* = *specus*. But see note on p. 219.

[8] Don. Vit. Virg. 6; Mart. x. 19, 10; Plin. Ep. iii. 21.

[9] Jul. Cap. in Hist. Aug. Gord. iii. 32.

[10] Fulvius, De Ant. Urb. p. 127; Anon. Einsied.; Becker, S. 74.

of the ground, is a large basin or tank, and above them the upper part of the building is formed by the remains of three niches, in which stood the marble trophies now placed upon the balustrade of the steps of the Capitol. They were removed to the Capitol by Sixtus V. in the year 1585. The name Trophies of Marius is an attempt to explain the more ancient name of Cimbrum, which we find attached to the ruin in the Middle Ages, by identifying the trophies with the Tropæa Marii mentioned by Suetonius as having been pulled down by Sylla and restored by Julius Cæsar.[1] But although we must allow that there is some probability in the supposition that the Marian Trophies may have occupied these niches,[2] yet it is certain that the building itself was intended to serve another purpose, that of the castellum or principal reservoir of an aqueduct, with a public fountain in the form of a cascade in front. The basin which has been discovered under the building and the peculiar shape of the complicated interior structure can be best explained thus, and the remains of some part of the aqueduct itself may be seen at the back. It was at one time supposed that the Aqua Julia ended here, but it is now generally acknowledged that the castellum belonged to the Aqua Alexandrina, and that the name Nymphæum Alexandri found in the Catalogues of the fifth region must be assigned to it.[3] The Alexandrine aqueduct was built by Alexander Severus, in the year A.D. 225.[4] Water was brought to Rome by means of it from a spot near the Lake Regillus, and a portion of the arcade along which it was carried is still visible on the left hand of the Via Labicana, about two miles from Rome.

Nymphæum of Alex. Severus.

The level of this aqueduct corresponds exactly with the building in question, and the style of brickwork and architecture are such as might belong to the third century. It is possible, as Reber remarks, that Alexander Severus may have found the exact spot where the trophies of Marius had been placed by Julius Cæsar convenient for the castellum of his aqueduct, and have used the trophies to ornament the new building which he erected.[5]

Close to the Church of S. Vito, and spanning the Via di S. Vito, stands an archway erected by M. Aurelius Victor, Prefect of Rome in A.D. 262, in honour of the Emperor Gallienus and Empress Salonina. It is constructed of travertine, and the ornamental work upon it is extremely simple, consisting only of pilasters, crowned by roughly-worked Corinthian capitals, and surmounted by an entablature of the commonest kind. A sketch by San Gallo taken in the fifteenth century shows that a pediment stood above the entablature, and two smaller archways on each side.[6] Part of the basement is now buried under the level of the soil.

Arch of Gallienus.

The inscription, which is now hardly legible, is cut upon the architrave, and contains the following flattering description of one of the most singularly accomplished and yet incapable emperors of Rome:[7]—"GALLIENO CLEMENTISSIMO PRINCIPI, CUJUS INVICTA

[1] Suet. Jul. ii.; Mabill. Mus. It. ii. p. 141; Propert. iv. 11, 46.

[2] Valerius Max. ii. 5, 6, places an Ara Febris in Area Marianorum Monumentorum; and this agrees with the place usually assigned to the Ara Febris. He also mentions the house of the Ælii (Horti Lamiani?) as in the same place, iv. 4, 8.

[3] Curios. Reg. v. [4] Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 25.

[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 485. See also for confirmation of this view the *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1844, p. 93.

[6] Bellori, Vet. Arc. Aug. tab. 22.

[7] See Gibbon, ch. x.: "Gallienus was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator and elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and most contemptible prince." Hist. Aug. Treb. Poll. Gallien. 16.

VIRTUS SOLA PIETATE SUPERATA EST, ET SALONINAE SANCTISSIMAE AUGUSTAE M. AURELIUS VICTOR DEDICATISSIMUS NUMINI MAJESTATIQUE EORUM."

Columbaria.

In the grounds of the Villa Magnani, which are reached from the Via di S. Bibiana, are two small Columbaria, one of which formerly contained inscriptions relating to the family of the Arruntii; and in the same gardens, not far to the north-west of the Porta Maggiore, stands a lofty and picturesque ruin, comprising a central decagonal hall, surrounded by four other apartments, the ground-plan of which has been preserved by San Gallo. The central hall contains nine deep niches, and the entrance is on the tenth side. Over the niches and the entrance archway are round-headed windows, and the roof is of vaulted brickwork. Traces still remain of stucco-work and cement on the inner walls; from which it appears that they were covered with ornamental work, and in some parts with marble. Remains of the pavement, which was of porphyry, have also been found; and in the neighbourhood of the ruin a number of sculptures have been at various times discovered, among which are statues of Pomona, Æsculapius, Adonis, Venus, Hercules, Antinöus, some Luperci, and a Faun.[1] The old topographers, Blondus Flavius and Lucius Faunus, give the name of "Terme di Galluccio" or "Galuzze" to the ruin, and this name has been ingeniously explained as referring to the Thermæ or Basilica of Caius and Lucius.[2] But there is no good foundation for this conjecture, or for the commonly received identification of the building with the Temple of Minerva Medica mentioned in the Notitia. The latter name was derived from the supposed discovery here of the Pallas Giustiniani now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. But another and more ancient account asserts that this statue of Pallas was found near S. Maria sopra Minerva,[3] and therefore the name of Minerva Medica cannot with any certainty be applied here.

Galuzze, or Minerva Medica.

Canina has proposed another explanation of the name Galuzze. He thinks that the ruins belonged to the Palatium Licinianum, which is mentioned by Anastasius, in his life of Simplicius, as near the Church of S. Bibiana.[4] Gallienus bore the name of Licinius, and Canina thinks that this is a part of the palace and pleasure gardens in which, according to Trebellius Pollio, he used to bathe and banquet with his courtiers.[5] The name Galuzze is therefore, according to Canina, a corruption of Gallieni Liciniana; and the building may be supposed to have formed a part of the baths in Gallienus' pleasure-grounds, resembling as it does in its construction the great rotunda of the Baths of Caracalla.[6] The position of the Arch of Gallienus adds probability to this conjecture. The basin now standing in the ruin is not ancient, and therefore cannot be held to support Canina's view; but the brickwork and style of architecture are said by competent judges to be such as might have been erected in the time of the later Empire. The building called Minerva Medica in the ancient Catalogues may have been near this spot, as some inscriptions here discovered show; but it most probably consisted only of a chapel, of no great extent, standing near the Via Prenestina.

[1] Fea, Mem. di Flam. Vacca, p. 61.
[2] Suet. Vit. Aug. 29.
[3] Fea, Misc. i. p. 254.
[4] Anast. Vit. Simpl. p. 29.
[5] Hist. Aug. p. 182. The name Atria Licinia occurs at an earlier date also. See note 1, p. 230.
[6] Canina, Indicazione, pp. 161, 162. Later excavations are said to have confirmed this view of the purpose of the building erroneously called Minerva Medica.

The Notitia also mentions a temple of Hercules Syllanus in the neighbourhood of the Horti Pallantiani and the Amphitheatrum. It may possibly have stood not far from the Galuzze, and have taken its name from the victory of Sylla gained near this spot over the Marian faction. The most desperate struggle between the combatants on this occasion happened near a place called the Forum Esquilinum, the exact situation of which we cannot, however, determine. The Macellum Livianum was near this Forum, and not far from the Arch of Gallienus.[1]

Hercules Syllanus.

Forum Esquilinum.

Macellum Livianum.

2. THE OPPIUS.

As the hill called Oppius is identified by Festus with the Carinæ,[2] it is necessary, in order to prove that the name Oppius belonged to the south-western spur of the Esquiline, to show that the Carinæ were situated on this spur. Perhaps this is most clearly indicated by the words of Varro, who, in speaking of the district called the Carinæ, says that it lay on the part of the Esquiline next to the Cælian.[3] This evidently shows that the Carinæ was a name applied to some part of the southern side of the Esquiline. But Varro further mentions that the Subura was thought to be so named (*quia succurrit Carinis*) because it runs up under the edge of the Carinæ; and as the position of the Subura is well known to have been in the hollow between the Quirinal and Esquiline, this leads us to place the Carinæ upon the western end of the Esquiline, overlooking the depression in which the Church of S. Pantaleone stands. That the Carinæ included a part of the hill, and did not lie entirely in the valley, seems to be shown by a passage in Dionysius, where he places the Tigillum Sororium in the street leading *down* from the Carinæ to the Vicus Cyprius.[4] But how far the Carinæ extended into the valley of the Coliseum is doubtful. The Sacred Way had its commencement in the Carinæ, near the Chapel of Strenia;[5] and Livy describes Fulvius Flaccus as leading his troops from the Porta Capena through the Carinæ to the Esquiline.[6] Hence the name Carinæ would seem to have included some part of the depression between the Cælian and Esquiline as well as the hill of S. Pietro in Vincoli; and the most probable supposition with respect to the relation between the Oppius and Carinæ is that the name Carinæ was given to a part of the district previously called Oppius. We know from Gellius that the name Oppius had become obsolete in the

Carinæ.

Tigillum Sororium.

Sacellum Streniæ.

[1] Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 58; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 265; Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, vol. ii. p. 25. See Cic. Pro Quint. 6: "Ipse suos necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et faucibus Macelli corrogat." The fragment of the Pianta Capitolina lately (1867) discovered contains the ground-plan of the Porticus Liviæ, which was connected with the Macellum. Its shape was not as Urlichs imagined, that of a straight colonnade leading from the subura to the macellum, but of a double portico surrounding a quadrilateral court. If, as has been mentioned above, the Pianta Capitolina was so arranged as to be read from the north side, then this new fragment shows that the Porticus Liviæ had its entrance towards the north-east and extended towards the south-west. And this would agree with the site assigned to the Porticus Liviæ by Fea (Miscell. i. pp. 120-7), on the western side of the Oppian hill, between the Convent of the Maronites, the Via del Colosseo, and the Via della Polveriera. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1861, p. 408.

[2] Festus, p. 348. The word *Oppius* is derived by Varro from a Tusculan hero's name, by Detlefsen from *oppidum*. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1861, p. 58.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 47.

[4] Dionys. iii. 22. The Tigillum Sororium was a crossbeam erected in memory of Horatius having been sent under the yoke for the murder of his sister. Livy, i. 26; Festus, pp. 297, 307; Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 419.

[5] Varro, L. L. v. § 47.

[6] Livy, xxvi. 10. The situation of the "Murus terreus Carinarum" mentioned by Varro, v. 48, is quite indeterminable.

classical age of Rome, and was only known to antiquarians,[1] while the Carinæ is frequently mentioned. But the Oppius may reasonably be supposed to have been more extensive than the Carinæ, and to have included the whole triangular hill contained within the Via Merulana, the Via di S. Lucia in Selci, and the valley of the Coliseum. That the Carinæ was only a part of this district is shown by the fact that it was included in the first Servian region.[2] It is plain that this first region did not extend over the whole eastern part of the Esquiline, because there would then be no space left within the walls of Servius for the second region; and therefore the Carinæ forming the eastern limit of the first region could have occupied only a part of the eastern Esquiline.

Domus Pompeiana. *Domus Q. Ciceronis.* *Temple of Tellus.*

In the later times of the Republic the Carinæ began to be inhabited by nobles and wealthy people. Hence Virgil speaks of the luxurious (*lautæ*) Carinæ, and Suetonius mentions that the palace of the Pompeian family, ornamented with paintings and naval trophies, was in the Carinæ. This palace was, after the death of Pompey the Great, seized by Marc Antony, and on his death became by confiscation an Imperial property. The Emperor Trajan probably sold it to Gordianus, the great-grandfather of the Emperor Gordian.[3] The house of Quintus Cicero was also in the Carinæ.[4] Close to the palace of Pompey in the Carinæ was the Temple of Tellus, frequently used as a place of meeting for the Senate when Antony lived in the neighbouring palace.[5] This temple stood on part of the site of the confiscated house of Spurius Cassius.[6]

Vicus Cyprius and Sceleratus. *Clivus Urbius, Africus, and Pullius.* *Fortuna Seia.* *Vicus Sandaliarius.*

The names of several of the neighbouring streets and clivi are known. Among these the Vicus Cyprius was notorious for the murder of Servius Tullius, and the highest point of it, the Summus Cyprius Vicus, was, after that horrible parricide, called the Sceleratus Vicus. Servius was probably going home from the Curia to his house on the Oppius, and, after ascending the Cyprius Vicus, was about to turn to the right by the Clivus Urbius, when he was attacked and assassinated.[7] Two other clivi on the edge of the Esquiline were called the Clivus Pullius and the Clivus Africus, but their situation cannot be determined.[8] A notice of a street called the Vicus Sandaliarius is found in an inscription, which connects it, or the statue of Apollo which was erected in it by Augustus, with the Chapel of Fortuna Seia, and this last we know from Pliny was included in the Aurea Domus of Nero.[9] The Vicus Sandaliarius is mentioned by Gellius as a booksellers' quarter of the city.[10]

Domus Aurea Neronis.

But the great glory of the Oppian hill was the Aurea Domus of Nero, with its surrounding park and pleasure grounds, built, partly at least, upon the site which Mæcenas had occupied with his gardens, but also extending over the

[1] Gell. xv. 1, 2.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. §§ 47, 49. Servius, on Æn. viii. 361, derives Carinæ from the houses built in the shape of keels round the Temple of Tellus.

[3] Suet. De Ill. Gram. 15; Vit. Tib. xv.; Hist. Aug. Gordian. iii. 3; Plin. Panegyr. chap. l.; Gibbon, chap. vii.; Dion Cass. xlviii. 38. [4] Cic. Ad Quint. ii. 3.

[5] Suet. loc. cit.; App. Bell. Civ. ii. 126; Cic. Phil. i. xiii. § 31; Dion Cass. xliv. 22.

[6] Livy, ii. 41; Dionys. viii. 79. The district in the neighbourhood was afterwards called *in tellure.* Nardini, vol. i. p. 325; Cic. Pro Dom. xxxviii. § 101; Val. Max. vi. 3, 11.

[7] Varro, L. L. v. § 159; Livy, i. 44, 48; Dionys. iv. 13, 39; Ov. Fast. vi. 601, 609; Festus, p. 333.

[8] Solin. i. 25; Varro, L. L. v. 158.

[9] Græv. Thes. iii. p. 288; Suet. Aug. 57; Plin. xxxvi. 22, 46.

[10] Gell. xviii. 4; Bellori, Piant. Cap. tab. iv. But see *Monatsbericht der Preussisch. Akad.* 1867, p. 542, where the letters are interpreted as "Bublarius" instead of "Sandaliarius."

whole of the Carinæ, and reaching over the slopes of the hill as far as the Via di S. Clemente. The ruins of some part of the Aurea Domus are now to be found underneath those of the Baths of Titus, which, as Suetonius and Martial tell us, he built near the Coliseum, on the site of part of Nero's palace.[1]

So far as we can draw any conclusion from the fragmentary and confused piles of ruin now left, and from the plan which Palladio sketched at a time when the remains of the palace had not so completely disappeared, it seems that this part of Nero's palace consisted of a long straight façade of buildings, extending along the slope of the Oppian from east to west, in the direction marked on the plan (*a*, *b*). In front of this there seems to have been a spacious court, surrounded by small chambers (*c*, *d*). A few of these still remain at the western end, and are used as a dwelling-house for the custode. Behind the above-mentioned façade were numerous rooms of various kinds, and courts surrounded with colonnades. One of these courts or yards, with its adjacent corridors and apartments, is now partly accessible (*e*, *f*), but the greater part were filled in with rubbish when the Baths of Titus were built over them, and have never been entirely cleared. In the centre of this court the remains of a fountain-basin and a pedestal may be seen. The area is now traversed by parallel walls, built by Titus to serve as substructions to his thermæ. These are indicated on the plan by the dotted lines in black.

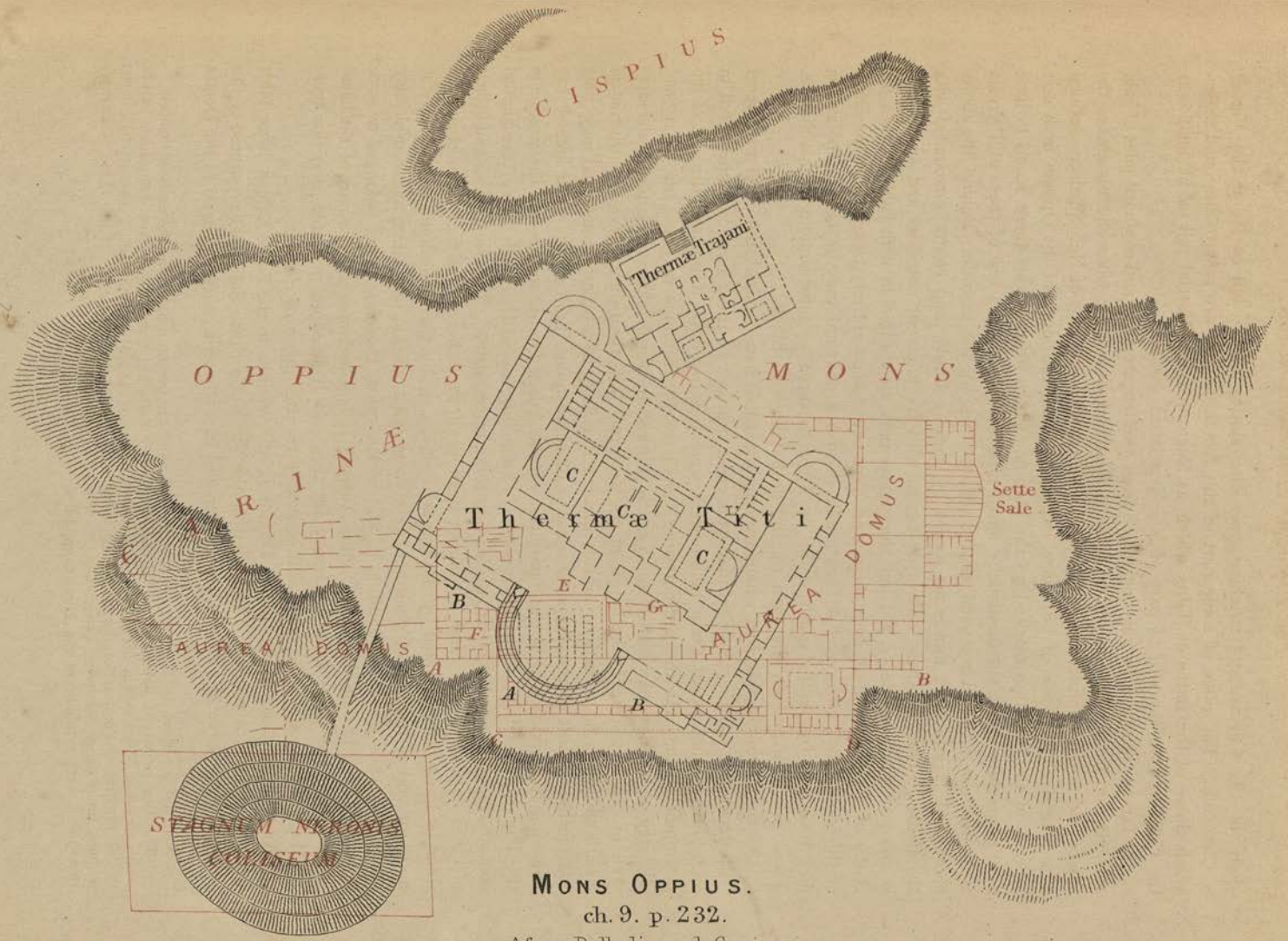
All the rooms in this part which are now accessible have vaulted roofs, and are covered with decorative paintings.[2] Fortunately a great number of these have been preserved to us by artists who copied them before they were destroyed by damp and the soot of the cicerone's torch.[3] At the present time (1866) enough remains to show the beauty and delicacy of the designs which were so much admired by Raphael that he adopted the same style of ornamentation in the loggie of the Vatican. The rooms now shown, which contain a bath and other household apparatus, apparently belong to a private house, and may either have formed a part of the Aurea Domus, or of some house built at the time immediately following Nero's death, after the demolition of the Aurea Domus and before the erection of the Thermæ of Titus. The eleven rooms (*f*) which occupied the north side of the court (*e*) contain traces of wooden staircases leading to an upper story. The decorations and fittings of these appear to have been so inferior to those of the other rooms that we must suppose them to have been occupied by the Imperial slaves, or by the household troops. At the northern end of this row of chambers is a room with mosaic pavement, at a considerably lower level than those surrounding it, and which must therefore have belonged to some building earlier in date than the Domus Aurea. It is sometimes called a part of the house of Mæcenas, but there is no authority for this, and it is more probable that the house of Mæcenas stood to the east of this, nearer to the agger of Servius.

Another portion of the Aurea Domus is still visible in the Sette Sale, a large brick building lying in a vineyard to the left of the Via delle Sette Sale. The purpose of this was plainly to serve as a reservoir for water, and it is shown to have belonged to the Domus

[1] Suet. Tit. 7; Mart. De Spec. 2.

[2] The best-preserved paintings are in the long north corridor. Two snakes are painted in a corner of this, illustrating Persius, Sat. i. 113: "Pinge duos angues, pueri sacer est locus, extra meiite." The two snakes were symbolic of the Lares Compitales, and are common figures on the walls of Pompeii.

[3] Bellori et Caussei, Pict. Ant. delineatæ a Bartoli, Rom. 1738; Mirri e Carletti, Terme di Tito, 1776; De Romanis, Terme de Tito, 1822; Cameron's Roman Thermæ, London, 1775.



MONS OPPIUS.

ch. 9. p. 232.

After Palladio and Canina.

Thermæ Titi et Trajani.

Aurea domus et stagnum Neronis.

Edwd Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

Aurea, and not to the Thermæ of Titus, by the correspondence of its position with the ground-plan of the former. It may have been afterwards used in connexion with the thermæ, and was possibly preserved with that view, while the rest of the palace was destroyed or buried. The peculiar construction of the interior, which is divided into nine compartments, communicating with each other by openings not placed opposite to each other, but in a slanting direction across the building, is said to have been so arranged in order to lessen the pressure of the mass of water on the sides of the building.[1] Beyond this reservoir (which has now been found to consist of nine, and not of seven compartments, as its name would imply) the parklike grounds of Nero's great palace stretched away as far as the Servian agger. *Sette Sale.*

After Nero's death, Otho, according to Suetonius,[2] intended to spend fifty millions of sesterces in the completion of the Aurea Domus, and Vitellius professed himself dissatisfied with it; but their designs were left unexecuted from want of time. Vespasian, on his accession, demolished the vestibule, and began to build the Coliseum upon the site of the great lake. Becker says that he also gave up that part of the palace which stood upon the Esquiline to the public; but there is apparently no proof that this was the case, though it is rendered not improbable by the existence of a common street painting of two snakes in the north corridor.[3]

Titus busied himself first in the completion of the grand amphitheatre begun by his father, and then hastened to erect his thermæ, which were finished in a remarkably short space of time (*velocia munera*), and stood upon the ruins of the Aurea Domus.[4] *Thermæ Titi et Trajani.*

These thermæ were connected with the Coliseum by a portico, traces of which can still be seen on the north side of the amphitheatre. The arrangement of the building corresponded in some degree to that of the Baths of Caracalla, consisting apparently of a large square court surrounded by various offices and places for recreation, in the centre of which stood a vast mass of building containing the bath rooms.[5] The sides of this court were not parallel to any lines of building in the Aurea Domus, and therefore, in order to form a level area, many new substructions had to be erected. This is plainly the case with the theatre (*a*), which occupied the centre of the side towards the Coliseum. In order to raise this to the level of the rest of the area, the nine huge arched chambers which are now a most conspicuous part of the ruins were erected, and one of the court-yards of the Aurea Domus was filled, as we have seen, with parallel walls of brickwork. On each side of the theatre there were probably gymnasia, libraries, or ball courts (*b, b*). The central building was occupied with the frigidarium and tepidarium, and the other usual adjuncts of a large Roman bath (*c, c, c*).

The Catalogue called the "Curiosum Urbis Romæ" mentions not only the Baths of Titus, but also those of Trajan, in the third region. The anonymous MS. of Einsiedlen

[1] The group of the Laocoön was found in one of the vineyards near the Sette Sale. It is supposed that the palace built by Titus near his thermæ may have contained this group of statuary.

[2] Suet. Otho, 7; Dion Cass. lxv. 4. See above, p. 164.

[3] See note on p. 232.

[4] Suet. and Mart. loc. cit.; Curios. Urb. Reg. iii.

[5] See Palladio's and Canina's plans. Although these are conjectural in many points, yet Palladio must have seen much more of the original walls than can now be discovered; and Canina takes his plan mainly from a fragment of the Capitoline map. On the entertainments provided in these thermæ, see Note A at the end of this chapter.

places Trajan's baths near the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and Anastasius, in his life of Symmachus, alludes to them as near the Church of S. Martino.[1] It is therefore abundantly proved that the Thermæ of Trajan stood at the back of the Baths of Titus, and it is here that we find them placed in the plan of Palladio. That they were distinct buildings seems clear from an inscription in which they are separately mentioned.[2] A satisfactory explanation of the apparently strange fact that Trajan erected new and smaller thermæ near those of Titus is given by one of the chronologers of the period, who speaks of the Baths of Trajan as intended for women, for whom there was no separate accommodation provided in those of Titus.[3]

Coliseum.

In the valley between the Esquiline and Cælian, and immediately adjoining the ruins of the Baths of Titus, stands the huge pile of the Coliseum, or Flavian Amphitheatre, "a noble wreck, in ruinous perfection." While the other great work of Vespasian, the Temple of Peace, has totally disappeared, enough remains of his amphitheatre to give us some idea of the stupendous designs in which the world-wide power of the Roman Emperors found an outward realization.[4] The Coliseum is not, however, like other colossal monuments of antiquity, the expression of a selfish ambition. The Pyramids and the Taj Mahal of Agra, its rivals in massive grandeur, were built for the sole glorification of individual despots. But the Coliseum was intended to serve political and national ends, and bears testimony to Vespasian's public spirit. Since the time of Augustus the Emperors had shown no truly Imperial policy; their attention had been solely devoted to themselves and their personal indulgences. They had covered the Palatine with their palaces, and were now encroaching upon the neighbouring hills. Scarcely any public buildings had been erected in the city itself by Tiberius, Caligula, or Claudius, with the exception of the aqueducts of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus, plans for which had probably been laid in the time of Augustus. Nero, had it been possible, would have absorbed the whole of Rome into his private pleasure-grounds and palaces,[5] and Galba and Vitellius had no opportunity of designing any public works. Vespasian first attempted to revive the Augustan policy, and erect buildings of public utility. By his choice of the site for his great building, nearly in the centre of Imperial Rome, he wished at once to abolish the monuments of Nero's hateful and selfish encroachments, and also to consult the tastes of the people, and gain a popularity which no rival could venture to emulate.

Site.

Nero's artificial lake had been surrounded with houses, presenting the appearance of a city. These had to be levelled, and the lake itself drained and filled up, before the foundations of the great amphitheatre could be laid. Traces of Nero's buildings are said to have been discovered during the process of clearing the base of the Coliseum, and exploring the subterranean passages and chambers which underlie the arena. The water also which

[1] Curios. Reg. iii.; Anast. Vit. Pont. Symmach.

[2] Orelli, Inscr. No. 2,591, quoted in Note A.

[3] Roncalli, tom. ii. col. 243.

[4] The name Coliseum first occurs in the Collectanea Bedæ, tom. iii. p. 482, in the famous prophecy of the Saxon pilgrims in the eighth century, and is generally supposed to refer to the gigantic size of the amphitheatre. Gibbon, chap. lxxi. and Du Cange, Glossar. Med. et Inf. Lat. About one-third of the original building now remains.

[5] Mart. De Spec. ii. 4: "Unaque jam tota stabat in urbe domus." In the time of Nero the Vatican, Pincian, and a great part of the Quirinal hills were covered with immense Imperial pleasure-grounds, thermæ, and palaces. The gardens of Lucullus and of Sallust had long been appropriated to the Emperor's use. Thus nearly the whole of the northern part of the present city was an Imperial domain.

even now partially fills these is probably derived from some source which supplied the ancient lake;[1] and in order to get rid of this, and lay a firm foundation, considerable drainage must have been necessary. The name of Vespasian's architect has not been preserved to us; for although the traditions of the Church of Rome ascribe the credit of designing the workto a Christian named Gaudentius, yet there is great reason to doubt the truth of this statement.[2]

Architect.

Whoever the architect was, he must have been a man of consummate practical skill to erect a perpendicular wall, such as that of the Coliseum, which could stand on swampy ground unshaken for so many centuries. Not only the name of the architect, but all the particulars of the sums of money and the time consumed in the erection of the building have been lost. Lipsius asserts, upon the authority of a coin, that the building was begun in the eighth consulship of Vespasian, *i.e.* A.D. 77; but this coin is said by Bellori to belong to the time of Domitian, and the date given by it can hardly relate to the commencement of the work.[3] The account of Suetonius would induce us to place the commencement of the building earlier, since he speaks of it at the beginning of Vespasian's reign, together with the Temple of Peace, which was finished and dedicated in A.D. 75; and also tells us that the amphitheatre was finished and opened in A.D. 81, which would leave, if we are to suppose that it was begun in A.D. 77, barely four years for its erection, an incredibly short space of time.[4]

Date.

Titus seems, however, only to have completed the main framework of the building, so far as was necessary to make it possible to hold games in it, and Domitian afterwards added the last story and the ornamental work.[5]

But few substantial alterations were made by subsequent Emperors. Antoninus Pius is said by Capitolinus to have restored the building, but to what extent we are ignorant.[6] Commodus, who was madly addicted to the sports of the arena, constructed a subterranean passage leading from the Cælian to the Imperial suggestum. He was attacked on one occasion when traversing this passage by an assassin named Claudius Pompeianus, and narrowly escaped with his life.[7] The passage was discovered at the beginning of this century, and was at that time still decorated with beautiful stucco ornaments, which Thorwaldsen saw and copied, but which are now nearly destroyed by the damp. In the time of Macrinus a fire caused by lightning destroyed the upper part of the amphitheatre, which was repaired by Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus;[8] and after the terrible earthquake of A.D. 442 the arena and podium seem to have been rebuilt by a præfect of the city named

History: Antoninus Pius, Commodus,

Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alex. Severus,

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1854, p. 70; Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 422.

[2] Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. i. p. 39. Venuti gives an inscription found in S. Martino as the evidence. The inscription probably, however, relates to the martyrdom of Gaudentius in the amphitheatre.

[3] Lips. De Amph. p. 22; Bellori, Numis. p. 63, No. 30. See also Fontana, De Amph. Flav. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[4] Suet. Vesp. 9; Tit. 7.

[5] Cassiod. ap. Ronc. ii. 196. "The Coliseum is faced on the exterior with cut stone (travertine), though the main structure is of concrete, and the inner walls are faced with brick. There has evidently been an interruption in the work for some years, and some parts begun in stone were finished in brick, so that before the Coliseum was completed brick had become the usual facing of walls not faced with marble."—PARKER'S *Lecture before Archæol. Society at Rome*, p. 14.

[6] Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, 8.

[7] Dion Cass. lxxii. 4, 17; Herodian, i. 15, 16; Hist. Aug. Commod. 11: "pugnasse dicitur septingenties tricies quinquies."

[8] Dion Cass. lxxviii. 25; Hist. Aug. Heliog. 17; Alex. Sev. 24.

Lampridius.[1] The gladiatorial games had been finally discontinued in A D. 403, after the memorable martyrdom of Telemachus.[2] Again in 580 the podium and arena were destroyed by an earthquake, and rebuilt by Marius Venantius Basilius, as recorded in an inscription found in the arena in 1810, and now placed at the side of the north-west entrance.

Lampridius, Basilius.

These inscriptions seem to show that the part of the building most exposed to injury from earthquakes was the podium, and Braun has therefore ingeniously suggested that the elaborate substructions of the arena, besides the other purpose they served as entrances to the arena, were also intended to support the podium, and resist the pressure exerted upon it by the upper masses of the building.[3]

Some parts of the later history of the Coliseum seem worth mentioning. During a part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was used as a castle by the powerful family of the Frangipani, and afterwards belonged to the Annibaldi. Henry VII. first prevented its further occupation as a castle, and it was used for a grand bull-fight in 1332, so that the seats and staircases must have then been tolerably perfect.[4] But fifty years after this we find that a great part of the building had been carted away by the Roman nobles as building-stone, and during the fifteenth century further robberies were committed, so that Poggio declares in 1450 that the greater part had been carried away. Part of the building was at this time turned into a hospital in connexion with that of S. Giovanni in Laterano.[5]

Frangipani.
Henry VII.
Bull-fight in 1332.
Hospital in 1450.

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, various palaces were built with travertine blocks taken from the Coliseum. Among these were the Palazzo di Venezia, the Palazzo della Cancelleria, and the Palazzo Farnese.[6]

Stones used for palaces.

During another period of its eventful history, in the seventeenth century, the amphitheatre was used for the exhibition of Passionspielen, or representations of the events of the Gospel histories, such as were common in the Middle Ages. A relic of these is still to be seen in the second corridor of the western entrance, where a plan of Jerusalem is rudely sketched upon the wall over an arch. The last indignity inflicted upon the grand old building was perhaps the worst, when Clement XI. in 1700 walled up the archways and established a saltpetre manufactory in the corridors for the supply of his neighbouring powder-mills. Benedict XIV. has the credit of having first conceived the idea of preserving it as a ruin.[7] He consecrated the arena to the memory of the martyrs whose blood was shed there, and planted the cross in the centre, and arranged the usual fourteen stations around the podium.

Passionspielen.

Saltpetre.
Benedict XIV.

[1] See the inscription in Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte i. Antica, p. 408.

[2] See Gibbon, chap. xxx.

[3] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1854, p. 70.

[4] Muratori, R. I. Scr. quoted by Reber, p. 420, and Gibbon, chap. lxxi. vol. ii. p. 622.

[5] Poggio Flor. de fut. Var. Urb. Rom. in Sallengre's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 506.

[6] The holes which are so conspicuous in the travertine blocks of the exterior were probably made in the Middle Ages for the purpose of extracting the iron clamps by which the stones were fastened together. Another opinion is that they were the holes in which the beams of the buildings which clustered round the Coliseum in the Middle Ages were fixed. See the treatise of Suaresius, "De Foraminibus Lapidum," in Sallengre's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 313.

[7] The architect Carlo Fontana actually drew plans in 1725 for building a large church at one end of the arena, with a lofty dome and a statue of the Pope on the summit. The design was, however, fortunately never carried out. C. Fontana, L'Anfiteatro Flavio, Roma, 1725.

Since the beginning of the present century, every possible care has been taken to preserve what remains of the ruin; its base has been carefully laid bare, its walls propped with buttresses, and its breaches perhaps only too carefully repaired. Thus although two-thirds at least of the pile have disappeared under the shameful treatment to which the barbarians of the Middle Ages subjected it, yet enough remains to show the arrangement of the building, with the exception of some few points on which antiquarians differ.

The plan of the whole may be best described as consisting of three principal massive concentric oval arcades.[1] The intervals between each of these are filled in with arched work forming corridors and staircases, and between the innermost *Description.*

THE COLISEUM, FROM THE PALATINE HILL.

On the left is the top of the Arch of Titus and the ruins of the Temple of Venus and Rome, with the Meta Sudans; on the right the Lateran Palace and Basilica: and in the background the hills of Tusculum on the right, and of Præneste on the left.

of the three principal arcades and the wall surrounding the arena is a triple system of substructions supporting the lower part of the seats of the amphitheatre.

The longer diameter of this huge building from one outside wall to the other measures 602 feet, the shorter 507. The principal outer wall is 157 feet in height, and is divided

[1] Why the oval shape was chosen in preference to the circular does not appear. It may have been imitated from the elongated shape of the Circus or Forum, or perhaps more probably from the Amphitheatre of Curio, which was composed of two segments of circles, each greater than a semicircle. Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst. iii. p. 159; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. § 117. The stone used throughout is travertine, with the exception of some vaultings of pumice stone and interior work of brick and concrete.

into four stories.[1] Of these the lowest stands on a substruction of two steps, and consists of a row of eighty arches, between which stand half-columns of the Doric order. Upon these rests a very simple entablature, without any of the usual peculiarities of the Doric style, and rather belonging to the Ionic, a mixture of styles not very rare in Rome.[2] The arches are all numbered, with the exception of the four which stand at the ends of the major and minor axes. The numbers were probably intended to correspond to those upon the entrance tickets, in order that the spectators might find their proper seats with ease.[3] There is a staircase and a vomitorium, or entrance to the seats from the corridors, corresponding to every four arches ; and the vomitoria, as well as the entrance arches, were all numbered to prevent confusion. Of the four unnumbered entrance arches, those which stood at the extremities of the shorter diameter were the approaches to the Imperial pavilions. They were ornamented with marble columns and carved work on the exterior, and led in the interior to a large withdrawing-room, from which there was a separate passage to the Emperor's throne (*pulvinar*) on the podium. On the Esquiline side the Imperial entrance may still be recognised by a slight projection in the substruction, and by the pillars of white marble which originally stood on each side lying near it.

The same arrangement was doubtless made on the Cælian side, where, as we have seen, Commodus made himself an underground approach. The other two principal entrances at the extremities of the major axis lead directly into the arena, and were probably used for the entry of processions or marching bodies of gladiators, or machines of various kinds.

The entablature of the first story is surmounted by an attica, with projections corresponding to the columns below. Upon these stand the arches of the second story, between which half-columns of the Ionic order are placed. The details of the architecture here are in a very meagre style, for the spiral lines on the volutes are omitted entirely, and also the usual toothed ornaments of the entablature.[4] The same remark applies to the third story, the half-columns of which have Corinthian capitals with the acanthus foliage very roughly worked.

The fourth story has no arches, but consists of a wall pierced with larger and smaller square windows placed alternately, and is decorated with pilasters of the Composite order. Between each pair of pilasters three consoles project from the wall, and above these are corresponding niches in the entablature. The purpose of these was to support the masts upon which the awnings were stretched.

The two inner principal concentric walls contain arches corresponding to those in the outer wall. Corridors (*ambulacra*) run between these concentric walls ; and on the first and

[1] The size of the great amphitheatre at El-Djemm in Tunis is 480 feet by 420, and 102 feet in height ; of that at Pola in Istria, 437 by 346 feet, and 97 in height. Shaw's Travels, i. p. 220; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852; Allason's Pola.

[2] See Introduction. The tomb of Scipio Barbatus is a curious instance of the mixture of Doric and Ionic decorative forms.

[3] A ticket for the amphitheatre at Frosinone has been found. It bears the inscription "Cun. vi. in x. viii."—*i.e.* Cunei sexti inferioris decimo gradu octavus locus. Mommsen in Ber. Sachs Gesell. 1849, S. 286. Becker, Hdb. Th. iv. S. 559.

[4] See Desgodetz, Les Édifices antiques de Rome, Paris, 1779, chap. xxi. A similar neglect of the details of the capitals is found in the great amphitheatre of El-Djemm (Thysdrus. Auct. Bell. Afr. 26). *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 246.

second floors of the outer ring and the first floor of the inner ring these corridors afford a completely unobstructed passage all round. The rest are blocked up in parts by various staircases leading to the upper rows of seats.

Within the third principal concentric arcade the supports of the building take the form of massive walls radiating from the centre of the whole mass, and pierced by three ranges of corresponding arches. Between these substructions and in the corridors are the steps and passages leading to the lower seats of the amphitheatre. The actual seats, which were of marble, have been all pilfered for the benefit of the Roman palaces and churches of the feudal ages, but we can still make out with tolerable certainty the five principal divisions into which they were separated. The lowest of these, called the podium, was a platform raised twelve or fifteen feet above the arena, upon which were placed the chairs of the higher magistrates and dignitaries. This was protected by railings and nets full of spikes, and sometimes also by trenches called euripi, and also by horizontal bars of wood or iron, which turned freely round, and thus afforded no hold to the paws of a wild animal.[1]

Above the podium were four different orders of seats, divided by præcinctiones or baltei from each other. The first of these consisted of about twenty rows of seats, and was appropriated to the knights and tribunes and other state officers. The upper row of this set was probably at a height of about ten feet above the top of the arches of the lowest story. The next ranges of seats, between the second and third præcinctio, were appropriated to Roman citizens in general, and held the greatest number of spectators.

The wall dividing these seats from the next set was very high, and contained, besides the vomitoria, a number of windows for the purpose of lighting the corridors and passages behind. A considerable part of this wall is still extant upon the side towards the Esquiline. Above it rose the third division of seats, occupied by the unenfranchised classes of the people; and above this again, and separated from it by a very low wall without vomitoria, was the fourth group of seats, immediately under the windows of the uppermost story, and covered by a portico, which ran round the whole top of the building.[2] The traces of this uppermost row of seats and of the colonnade which supported the portico may still be seen on the side towards the Esquiline hill.

The seats in this part seem to have been partly appropriated to women, partly to the lower classes (*pullati*).[3] On the roof of the portico stood the workmen whose business it was to manage the awnings, and to move them as the sun or rain required. The number of seats in the whole amphitheatre is said to have been 87,000;[4] and a considerable number of spectators in addition to these could stand in the baltei, at the entrances of the vomitoria, and in other vacant places; so that the whole number which the building when crammed from top to bottom could hold was probably not less than 90,000.

The exterior wall of the building diminishes in thickness towards the top, in order to render it the more firm; and while the Doric and Ionic columns of the first and

[1] See Lipsius, De Amph. p. 38, cap. xii.; Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 7, 7; Calpurn. vii. 51—56: "Tereti qui lubricus axe impositos subita vertigine falleret ungues excuteretque feras."

[2] This portico is shown in the medals of Titus and Alexander Severus. The remains of a similar portico exist in the amphitheatre at Thysdrus (El-Djemm in Tunis). See Canina in the *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, tav. d'agg. U.

[3] Calpurn. Ecl. vii. 26.

[4] Cur. Urb. Reg. iii.

second stories stand out from the wall by nearly three-quarters of their circumference, the third row of Corinthian columns stand out only by a half, and the uppermost row are merely pilasters.[1]

Much discussion has been raised on the question of the awnings or velaria required for so large a space. It is impossible, of course, in the absence of any distinct contemporaneous description, to discover the exact mode of suspension adopted. Venuti supposes that a net of cords, constructed like a spider's web, with both radiating and concentric ropes, was suspended over the amphitheatre, and that by pulleys arranged over this the vela were drawn across any part which happened to be exposed to the sun.[2] By means of pulleys attached to this network of ropes, the little boys mentioned by Juvenal as "ad velaria rapti" may have been drawn up.[3] The ropes and pulleys, we are told by Lampridius, were managed by sailors.[4] In rough and windy weather the awnings could not always be set, and umbrellas, coloured according to the favourite's colours, or large broad-brimmed hats called causiæ or birri, were then used.[5]

Martial has written some amusing epigrams, showing how jealously the seats appropriated to any particularly privileged order were reserved. He gives the names of Lectius or Leïtus and Oceanus to the boxkeepers of his time.

> "Quadringenta tibi non sunt, Chærestrate, surge,
> Lectius ecce venit, sta, fuge, curre, late."[6]

And he describes with great humour the attempts of a certain Nanneius to smuggle himself into a better place than he was entitled to:—

> "Sedere primo solitus in gradu semper,
> Tunc cum liceret occupare Nanneius,
> Bis excitatus terque transtulit castra;
> Et inter ipsas pæne tertius sellas
> Post Gaiumque Luciumque consedit.
> Illinc cucullo prospicit caput tectus,
> Oculoque ludos spectat indecens uno.
> Et hinc miser dejectus in viam transit,
> Subsellioque semifultus extremo,
> Et male receptus altero genu, jactat
> Equiti sedere, Leïtoque se stare."[7]

The pickpockets of Martial's time also frequented this amphitheatre. He says of Hermogenes, the greatest adept at napkin-stealing of the day:

> "Quamvis non modico caleant spectacula sole,
> Vela reducuntur, cum venit Hermogenes."[8]

The anxiety of the public to attend the shows was so great that they occupied the free seats in the amphitheatre before dawn in the morning, and gave fees to the locarii and designatores to keep places for them, when any favourite gladiator or bestiarius was

[1] Venuti, vol. i. p. 30.

[2] Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. i. p. 41. The vela or velaria were of different colours and materials: as purple, Dion Cass. lxiii. 6; silk, *ib.* xliii. 24; yellow, red, or blue, Lucret. iv. 75, vi. 109; Propert. iv. 1, 15.

[3] Juv. iv. 122.

[4] Lamprid. Comm. 15. Stationed possibly in the Castra Misenatium adjoining. See Note B at the end of this chapter.

[5] Hist. Aug. Carinus, 20; Mart. xiv. 28, 29, xi. 21, 6; Juv. ix. 50.

[6] Martial, v. 25, 1, iii. 95, 9, v. 23, 4, vi. 9, v. 8.; Suet. Aug. 14.

[7] Mart. v. 14.

[8] Ibid. xii. 29, 15.

announced as about to perform.[1] The shows lasted whole days, and hence various contrivances for keeping the spectators in good humour, and filling up the intervals between the combats. Seneca tells us of the *meridiani*, a class of slaves who were kept on purpose to fill up the midday leisure hours with sham battles, and ludicrous pranks played upon the bodies of those killed or half killed in the previous fights.[2] The air was cooled with immense jets of water projected from the centre of the arena, or from holes in the statues, and scented with fragrant essences, among which extract of saffron mixed with wine seems to have been the most popular.[3]

The arena of the Coliseum was originally about 250 feet in length, and 150 feet in breadth. It is now much larger, on account of the removal of the wall of the podium. The substructions under the arena are of the same oval shape as the arena itself, but are crossed by longitudinal walls, apparently for the sake of strengthening them. The vaults thus constructed might be used for various purposes—to keep the arena dry in wet weather, or to introduce wild beasts in cages,[4] or to remove the dead bodies of the slain, when the Spoliarium, or dead-house, was full.[5] They were covered with a floor of planks, so that openings could easily be made whenever required.

Perhaps no building of ancient Rome is so strikingly characteristic of the builder, and the age in which he lived, as the Flavian Amphitheatre. Vespasian is described by historians, and represented on coins and in extant sculptures, as a thick-set, square-shouldered man, with a short neck, small eyes, strongly marked but coarse features, wearing an expression of effort.[6] He cared little for the elegances of life, and was plebeian in his tastes and regardless of appearances, but set a high value on manliness and obstinate unflinching endurance. During his reign the prevalent feeling in the Roman nation was that of a weary and repentant prodigal. Sick of the frivolity and wanton debauchery of the Neronian age, yet unable to return to the ascetic simplicity of primitive times, men adored, for want of a better idol, the blunt honesty and coarse strength of the Flavians. What if their emperor wished that his courtiers should smell of garlic rather than of perfumery,—if, in his contempt for speculative genius, he dubbed the agitating philosophers of his day "barking curs?"[6]—yet he stood before them as a proof that the stern old vigour of the national character was not yet extinct, and that the profligate effeminacy of the previous generation had not yet rotted the Roman character to its core. The same massive power of endurance, yet ponderous and vulgar character, belongs to the architecture of the Coliseum. It exhibits a neglect, almost a contempt, for elegance of proportion. The upper tiers are nearly as heavy and compact as the lower. Its arcades are solid, practical, built to last for ages. The elaborate details of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, in which an artistic eye usually finds so much pleasure, are merely hinted at as superfluous.

Doubtless, as we now see it, the ruin is far more effective than the complete building

[1] Suet. Cal. 26; Plaut. Pœn. Prol. 19; Mart. v. 24, 9.

[2] Suet. Claud. 34; Senec. Ep. i. 7: "Intermissum est spectaculum, interim jugulentur homines ne nihil agatur."

[3] Senec. Ep. xiv. 2, 15; N. Q. ii. 9; Mart. ix. 39, v. 25; Spect. 3; Lucan, ix. 806; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 6, 17: "Crocum vino mire congruit, tritum ad theatra replenda." Ov. A. A. i. 104.

[4] The substructions are represented in Taylor and Crecy's work, Pl. cxv.; and in Nibby, de Foro Rom. cap. iii. Calpurnius says, Ecl. vii. 70: "Ruptaque voragine terræ emersisse feras." See Becker's Handb. Theil. iv. S. 557.

[5] The Spoliarium was probably near the Cælian gate of the Coliseum.

[6] Suet. Vesp. 20. [6] Ibid. 8, 13.

can ever have been; for when complete the appearance of the Coliseum must have been heavy and oppressive. The enormous unrelieved flat surface of the upper wall must have seemed ready to topple over, or to crush the arcades below. But now that earthquakes and barbarous hands have made such ghastly rents in its sides, the outline has become more varied, and the base more proportioned to the superstructure; so that, although we can still recognise the flavour of a somewhat vulgar and material age, yet all that would have offended the eye has been removed, and the historic memories which cluster round its walls, of mighty emperors and bloodthirsty mobs, of screams of death or triumph, of gorgeous pageants and heroic martyrdoms, combine to render the Coliseum, in its decay, the most imposing ruin in the whole world.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Coliseum there must have been many buildings for keeping wild beasts, and supplying the amphitheatre with all the various apparatus necessary for shows. Thus we have, in the lists of the Regionarii, the Summum Choragium placed near the amphitheatre. Some of the schools in which gladiators were trained were not far off. The Ludus Magnus and Dacicus are mentioned in the Catalogue of the third region, and the Ludus Matutinus and Gallicus in that of the second.[1]

3.—THE CISPIUS.

Cispius.

We have shown that the larger tongue of the Esquiline hill was called Oppius, and from thence it follows that the name Cispius, applied by Varro to the other portion of the hill,[2] must belong to the projecting spur which runs out from the Piazza di S. Maria Maggiore, and is included between the Via Urbana and Via di S. Pudenziana on the north-west, and the Via di S. Lucia in Selci on the south. That this was the Mons Cispius of Varro is further shown by a passage of Festus, which connects the Cispius with the Vicus Patricius.[3] Now the Vicus Patricius, according to the anonymous MS. of Einsiedlen and Anastasius, was the district in which the Church of S. Pudenziana is situated, and this church lies between the Viminal and Esquiline.[4] The house of Cæsonius Maximus, spoken of by Martial as commanding a view of the Capitolium Vetus on the Quirinal, was in the Vicus Patricius.[5] These instances show that the Vicus Patricius was on the side of the Esquiline adjoining the Viminal, and therefore that the Cispius Mons was the northern spur of the Esquiline. A Temple of Diana is mentioned by Plutarch as situated in the Vicus Patricius,[6] and the Lucus Pætelius was in this neighbourhood, as we learn from the fragments about the Argeian chapels preserved by Varro.[7]

Vicus Patricius.

House of Cæsonius.

Temple of Diana.

Lucus Pætelius.

If any conclusion can be drawn from the order in which Varro mentions the places upon the Esquiline which he names, his enumeration probably begins from the eastern side, and proceeds towards the west. For we find the Ædes Mefitis placed by Festus near the Vicus Patricius, and the Ædes Junonis Lucinæ on the Cispius; and in Varro the Lucus Mefitis and Lucus Junonis

Ædes Mefitis, Lucus Mefitis, Junonis Lucinæ, Fagutalis, Larum,

[1] Cat. Reg. ii. iii. [2] Varro, L. L. v. § 49. [3] Festus, p. 348. [4] Anast. Vit. Pii I. p. 14, Bl. [5] Mart. vii. 73. [6] Plut. Quæst. Rom. 3. [7] Varro, L. L. v. § 50.

Lucinæ stand last in the list.[1] These two last-mentioned places, therefore, stood upon the Cispius; and we may place the other three mentioned by Varro, the Lucus Fagutalis, the Lucus Larum, and the Querquetulanum Sacellum, upon the Oppius. The Lucus Junonis Lucinæ surrounded a temple of the same deity, built in the year 375 B.C.[2]

Querquetulanum Sacellum.

A few other places are mentioned in ancient writers as situated on the Esquiline, the exact topography of which cannot be determined. These are the Lucus Libitinæ,[3] the Ara Malæ Fortunæ[4] and the Ara Febris,[5] the Castra Misenatium, or station of the Classiarii, probably between the Coliseum and the Thermæ Titi,[6] and the Curiæ Novæ. The only reason for placing the last of these on the Esquiline is, that in the Middle Ages the neighbourhood of S. Pietro in Vincoli bore the name of Curia Vetus.[7]

Lucus Libitinæ, Ara Malæ Fortunæ, Ara Febris, Castra Misenatium, Curiæ Novæ.

NOTE A, p. 233.

The following inscription shows the kind of entertainment with which the Romans were amused at the thermæ (Orelli's Inscriptions, No. 2591):—

"Ursus Togatus vitrea qui primus pila
Lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus
Laudante populo maximis clamoribus
Thermis Trajani, Thermis Agrippæ et Titi
Multum et Neronis, si tamen mihi creditis,
Ego sum. Ovantes convenite pilicrepi
Statuamque amici floribus violis rosis
Folioque multo adque unguento marcido
Onerate amantes, et merum profundite
Nigrum Falernum aut Setinum aut Cæcubum
Vivo ac volenti de apotheca dominica,
Ursumque canite voce concordi senem
Hilarem jocosum pilicrepum scholasticum,
Qui vicit omnes antecessores suos
Sensu, decore, atque arte subtilissima.
Nunc vera versu verba dicamus senes.
Sum victus ipse fateor a ter consule
Vero patrono, nec semel sed sæpius
Cujus libenter dicor exodiarius."

Orelli quotes Niceph. Gregor. Hist. Byz. tom. i. edit. Paris, p. 215: Ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ ὑέλου σφαῖραν ἔχων ἄνω πρὸς ὕψος ἔριπτε, καὶ κατιοῦσαν νῦν μὲν ἄκρῳ τῷ τῆς χειρὸς ὄννυχι ἐδέχετο, νῦν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθίῳ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος, νῦν δ' ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως. He thinks that Verus, who is mentioned as the patron of this wonderful performer, was L. Aurelius Verus, usually called Commodus, who was Consul III. in 167 A.D. Julius Capitolinus says of him, that he was "omnibus deliciis, ludis, jocis, decenter aptissimus."

[1] Varro, L. L. v. § 49, 50; Festus, p. 351.
[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 44, 85; Ov. Fast. ii. 433, iii. 245.
[3] Dionys. iv. 15.
[4] Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. 25; De Legg. ii. 11; Plut. De fort. Rom. 10.
[5] Val. Max. ii. 5, 6.
[6] Curios. Reg. iii.; *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xxxiv. p. 60.
[7] Festus, p. 174; Blondus Flavius, Rom. Inst. lib. ii. 32.

NOTE B, p. 240.

The seventh Eclogue of Calpurnius gives us an apparently contemporaneous account of the Roman amphitheatrical performances. It seems, however, very doubtful whether this poem, as is commonly supposed, refers to the Flavian Amphitheatre; indeed, the expression in the twenty-third line, "*trabibus* spectacula textis," seems to point rather to the wooden amphitheatre of Nero.[1] The general arrangements of the Coliseum were, however, probably the same; and I have therefore ventured to quote Calpurnius in speaking of the Flavian amphitheatre. Seneca, in his seventh Epistle to Lucilius, makes some interesting remarks upon the savage and bloodthirsty sights to be witnessed in the arena. The populace, he says, are not satisfied by sham fights, even during the intervals of the regular gladiatorial combats, but demand the blood of criminals with loud cries of "Occide, verbera, ure, quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? Quare parum audacter occidit? Quare parum libenter moritur?" The word "ure" refers to the barbarous custom of applying a hot iron to ascertain whether the victim was dead or not.[2] See Tertull. De Spectaculis; Augustinus, Confessiones, lib. vi. cap. 8. Theodoret, lib. v. cap. 26, tells the famous story of the monk Telemachus. The most trustworthy representations of gladiators are the bas-reliefs in the tomb of Scaurus at Pompeii, copied and published by Millin and Mazori. The most complete accounts of gladiatorial and other public shows at Rome are in Lipsius, Saturnalium Sermonum libri duo, and De Amphitheatro liber; and in Rhein. Mus. N. F. x. S. 544.

[1] Suet. Nero, 12.

[2] Sen. Ep. vii. 96. The famous cry of the Arena, "Christianos ad leonem," is given in Tertullian's Apology, p. 40.

CHAPTER X.

THE VIMINAL, QUIRINAL, AND PINCIAN HILLS.

GENERAL FEATURES AND GEOLOGY—COLLES—SABINE SETTLEMENTS—HISTORY OF ADDITION TO CITY—COLLINI—SEPTIMONTIUM.

VINIMALIS: DERIVATION OF NAME—PATRICIAN RESIDENTS—SIZE OF HILL AND HEIGHT—MODERN STREETS—HOUSE OF C. AQUILIUS—LAVACRUM AGRIPPINÆ—THERMÆ OLYMPIADIS—THERMÆ NOVATI.

QUIRINALIS: PECULIAR SHAPE—ONE OF THE OLDEST PARTS OF ROME—NAME AGONUS OR AGONALIS—NIEBUHR'S QUIRIUM—NUMA'S HOUSE—FORTIFICATIONS OF TARQUINII AND SERVIUS—GATES—HOUSES OF MARTIAL AND ATTICUS—LITERARY QUARTER OF ROME—TEMPLE OF QUIRINUS—SACELLUM QUIRINI—CLIVUS MAMURRI—TEMPLE OF SEMO SANCUS OR DIUS FIDIUS—TEMPLE OF FLORA—FICELIÆ—AD PYRUM—CAPITOLIUM VETUS, OR TEMPLE OF JUPITER, JUNO, AND MINERVA—TEMPLES OF SALUS, SERAPIS, AND FORTUNA PUBLICA AND PRIMIGENIA—SACELLUM PUDICITIÆ—VICUS LONGUS—TEMPLUM FEBRIS—CAMPUS SCELERATUS—TEMPLE OF VENUS ERYCINA—HORTI SALLUSTIANI—MALUM PUNICUM—HEROUM OF FLAVIAN GENS—TEMPLUM SOLIS—THERMÆ CONSTANTINI—THERMÆ DIOCLETIANI—SENACULUM MULIERUM.

PINCIUS: EXTENT, SHAPE, AND NAME—HORTI LUCULLIANI—SEPULCHRUM DOMITIANUM—HORTI POMPEIANI—MURO TORTO—THERMÆ NERONIS.

"Tertiæ regionis colles quinque ab Deorum fanis appellati, e quis nobiles duo colles Viminalis, Quirinalis."

VARRO, *L. L.* v. § 51.

THE natural features of the Viminal, Quirinal, and Pincian hills are almost identical with those of the Esquiline. Like the Esquiline, these are all projecting tongues of land, running out into the valley of the Tiber, from the tableland of the Campagna. Their geological composition is also the same. All alike consist of a core of solid tufa of submarine formation, flanked by beds of fresh-water deposits of sand, clay, redeposited tufa, scoriæ, and pumice. These fresh-water beds are found in the Pincian hill, at an extraordinary height above the present level of the Tiber. Brocchi asserts that they can be traced upon the highest points of the hill in the calcareous substances found there, which must have been the product of fresh water. On the side of the Pincian near the Porta del Popolo, when the hill was being cut away to make the carriage road leading to the public promenade, considerable quantities of tubular concretions of travertine, called by the Romans "Confetti di Tivoli," and beds of pumice were found; and on the sides of the Quirinal and Viminal the fresh-water deposits appear to be chiefly composed in the same way of alternating beds of calcareous sand and argillaceous matter, mixed with numerous concretionary lumps of travertine.[1]

General features and geology.

Physically, therefore, these hills belong to the same category as the Esquiline. But the Viminal and Quirinal were historically distinguished from the other hills as

[1] Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 121, seq.

in ancient times the seat of the Collini, and were called Colles, and not Montes.[1] It is evident that the term Colles could not have been applied to them as being of less altitude than the Montes, for neither the Viminal or the Quirinal are at all inferior in height to the other hills.[2] Whether it may have been given on account of their later occupation, we cannot pretend to decide in the absence of any positive evidence. Upon the whole, the most likely explanation of the terms Collini and Montani seems to be that the distinction was a national one between the Sabine and Latin elements of the early population of Rome. An objection has been raised to this supposition, on the ground that then the Capitoline also ought to have been called a Collis as having been originally Sabine. But the Capitoline, if indeed it was originally Sabine, became at a very early period the fortress of the Latin part of the community, and thus passed into the possession of the Montani. Mommsen, while discarding the notion of a Sabine community settled on the Quirinal, yet admits that the Palatine and Quirinal communities were clearly distinguished in a great variety of cases, and that a diversity of race may have lain at the foundation of this distinction between them.[3] The name Colles shows itself not only in the very ancient account of the Argeian chapels quoted by Varro,[4] but also in the names of the Porta Collina, the Salii Collini,[5] and the Tribus Collina of Servius, and the fact of the separation of the Viminal and Quirinal from the rest of the hills is also attested by their exclusion from the ancient Septimontium.[6]

Colles.

Sabine settlements.

Septimontium.

The Viminal is the smallest of all the Roman hills, and was not marked in ancient times by any building of great consequence. It was, however, in spite of the immediate neighbourhood of the low district of the Subura, a fashionable quarter of Rome where the great and wealthy lived.[7] The name of the street which runs along the valley separating it from the Esquiline, the Vicus Patricius, seems to point to the patrician character of the residents; and Juvenal tells us that the adventurers who came to Rome as hangers-on of the nobility, betook themselves to this quarter of the city. The house of C. Aquilius, a Roman knight, which was situated here, is mentioned by Pliny as one of the most celebrated in the days of the later Republic for its luxurious splendour. The name Viminalis was derived either from the willow beds which formerly grew here, or from the altar of Jupiter Viminus, which stood on the hill.[8]

Viminalis.

Patrician residents.

House of C. Aquilius.

The limits of the Viminal hill are marked by the modern streets of the Via di S. Pudenziana, the Via di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, the Via dei Serpenti, the Via di S. Vitale, and the Piazza dei Termini. Within this space, the nunnery and church of

[1] See above, chap. iii. p. 37; Varro, L. L. v. § 51.

[2] The Viminal is 160 feet high at S. Lorenzo in Pane e Perna.

[3] Mommsen's refusal to accept the evidence offered by Schwegler and others of the Sabine origin of the Collini is a strange instance of perversity. His own account of the matter is, as Dr. Dyer justly observes, quite unsupported by evidence. Mommsen, Rom. Gesch. i. 4, *sub fin.*; Dyer, Hist. of the Kings of Rome, p. 84.

[4] Varro, L. L. v. 46.

[5] Livy, i. 27; Varro, L. L. vi. § 14.

[6] Plin. xviii. 3, 3. See above, chap. iii. pp. 37, 38; Varro, L. L. v. § 41. Varro enumerates five Colles, which are named, he says, from five temples; the Colles Viminalis, Quirinalis, Salutaris, Martialis, Latiaris. These three last minor and ancient divisions were afterwards united under the name Quirinalis.

[7] Juv. iii. 71. The Vicus Patricius corresponded to the modern Via di S. Pudenziana. Above, chap. ix. p. 242.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 1, 2; Varro, L. L. v. 51; Festus, p. 376; Juv. loc. cit. Marliani, cap. 91, also places the houses of Crassus and Catulus on the Viminal, but he has mistaken Pliny's meaning.

S. Lorenzo in Panisperna[1] form the principal modern group of buildings. They stand upon the highest part of the hill, at an elevation of 160 feet above the level of the Tiber, and are said to be built upon the site of the Thermæ Olympiadis, in which St. Laurence suffered martyrdom.[2] The Thermæ Novati are also mentioned by Anastasius as near the Church of S. Pudenziana, in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal.[3]

Thermæ Olympiadis.

Thermæ Novati.

The only other building of which we have any notice, as situated upon the Viminal, is the Lavacrum Agrippinæ. The evidence for the position of this is derived from the inscription "IN LAVACRO AGRIPPINAE," found upon two statues of Bacchus, which were discovered behind the Church of S. Lorenzo.[4] Within

Lavacrum Agrippinæ.

THE QUIRINAL HILL AS SEEN FROM THE PALATINE.

Pincian Hill. *Torre delle Milizie.* *Quirinal Palace.*
Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. *Church of S. Cosma e Damiano (Ædes Penatium).*
Velia.

the last few years a new street has been opened here, and some foundations uncovered, which are commonly ascribed to the Lavacrum Agrippinæ.

The Quirinal derives its name from the Sabine god Quirinus, whose temple stood upon the side of the hill towards the Viminal.[5] Another and a more ancient name which belonged to it was Agonalis, or the Hill of Sacrifices, according to Paulus Diaconus,

[1] The name Panisperna or Palisperna, corrupted into Pane e perna, is said to be derived from Perpenna Quadratianus, who, according to an inscription found here (Gruter, No. clxxvii. 7), made improvements in the Baths of Constantine. Bunsen, Beschreibung, vol. iii. 2, p. 348.

[2] Blond. Flav. Rom. Inst. ii. 20; Nardini, ii. p. 47.

[3] Anast. Vit. Pii V. p. 14.

[4] Marliani, Urb. Rom. Top. cap. xci.; Lucio Fauno, iv. 6, p. 113.

[5] See below, p. 249.

an appellation which seems to point to its having been a religious centre at an early period. The Salii Agonales were the priests of the rites of Quirinus.[1] The Quirinal was the principal of the Colles, forming the greater part of the Servian region Collina, and was sometimes called Collis, without further description.[2] It has a very peculiar shape, curving round to the south-east like a bent finger, and enclosing the hollow of the Subura in its curve. In very ancient times it was subdivided into four minor eminences, upon which stood four Argeian chapels. Varro gives the names of these minor Colles as Quirinalis, Salutaris, Martialis, and Latiaris. The first became the most important, and gave the subsequent name to the hill. Niebuhr imagined an ancient settlement called Quirium, which he placed upon this hill before the Romulean times.[3] He also hazarded a conjecture which has been followed by nearly all writers since his history appeared, that the settlement on the Quirinal included the Capitoline hill. This is based upon a mistaken view of the meaning of the inscription on the Column of Trajan, which has been noticed in a previous chapter.[4] There is no good evidence to show that the Quirinal and Capitoline were ever joined by a ridge or even that the valley between them has been deepened to any extent. On the contrary, Brocchi, a skilled geologist, affirms that his examination of the ground positively negatives such a supposition.[5] The height of the floor of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, one of the highest points on the Quirinal, is 170 feet, that of the floor of the Ara Cœli church is 150 feet, while the height of the Column of Trajan is 124 feet above the level of the sea; so that if the valley between the Capitol and Quirinal had ever been filled up to the height of 124 feet, the dip between the two eminences would have been too slight to entitle them ever to be spoken of as separate hills, as they commonly were long before Trajan's reign.[6]

Quirinalis.

Name Agonus or Agonalis.

Peculiar shape.

Niebuhr's Quirium.

Numa is said to have first added the Quirinal settlement to the city, at the same time fortifying it and building himself a residence there, and identifying Quirinus the Sabine deity with Romulus the deified Roman king.[7] The difficulty of fortifying the back of the Quirinal was very considerable. According to the common history, Tarquinius Priscus laid the plan of the great agger by which the city was first protected in this direction. Servius Tullius carried out the greater part of his design, and Tarquinius Superbus completed the whole.[8] This magnificent work, and the gates which stood upon this hill, have already been described in the chapter on the Servian walls and gates.[9] We cannot discover whether the quarter of the city which occupied the Quirinal belonged, as was commonly the case with the other districts of Rome, to any peculiar class of the community. But from hints given by Martial, whose house

Numa's house.

Fortifications of Tarquinius and Servius.

Gates.

Houses of Martial and Atticus.

[1] Dionys. ii. 37, 70; Varro, L. L. vi. § 14; Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 289; Festus, p. 254 Paul. Diac. p. 10, ed. Müller.

[2] Mommsen, vol. i. p. 56, Eng. trans.

[3] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 289.

[4] Chap. vii. p. 148.

[5] Suolo di Roma, p. 133.

[6] Preller, Regionen, p. 133. Along the whole length of the Quirinal hill, from the Porta Nomentana, ran one of the principal streets of Rome, which gave its name to the sixth region of Augustus, Alta Semita. When the Porta Pia replaced the Nomentana in 1564, the new road Strada di Porta Pia was laid down nearly parallel to the old course of the Alta Semita.

[7] Dionys. ii. 62, 63; Ov. Fast. ii. 509; Plut. Num. 14; Solin. i. 21.

[8] Dionys. iv. 54; Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, 67.

[9] Chap. iv. p. 48.

lay upon the western slope looking towards the Porticus Agrippæ,[1] and from the fact that Atticus lived here,[2] and that the booksellers' shops were situated in the Argiletum just below it, and the Library of Trajan at its foot, we may perhaps not be far wrong in calling the Quirinal and its neighbourhood the literary quarter of Rome.

Literary quarter of Rome.

The earliest sanctuary built in honour of the patron god of the Quirinal must have been the Argive chapel on the Collis Quirinalis in its older and more restricted sense.[3] There is no evidence by which we can determine the position of this chapel. It probably stood upon the same site with the Sacellum Quirini mentioned by Festus,[4] and with the temple subsequently built by Numa.[5] The following inferences have been drawn as to the position of the later Temple of Quirinus, upon which, however, little reliance can be placed. The Notitia enumerates it next to the Clivus Mamurri, which was apparently near the Church of S. Vitale.[6] Accordingly S. Andrea has been fixed upon as formerly the site of the Temple of Quirinus. This, however, does not agree with the passages where it is mentioned in Livy and Paulus Diaconus, which would lead us to place it nearer the Porta Collina, at the fountain of Termini or S. Maria della Vittoria. The Senate met there, says Livy, when the Porta Collina was threatened by the Fidenates and Veientes.[7] Another notice by Vitruvius is no less vague.[8] He says that there were some manufactories of minium between the Temples of Flora and Quirinus; and the Temple of Flora is placed by the Notitia next to the Temple of Salus, which was near the Porta Salutaris. The Temple of Quirinus was restored by L. Papirius Cursor, in 293 B.C.; and he erected a sun-dial there, the first ever seen in Rome.[9] This dial was set up when the old Roman year of ten months was exchanged for the astronomical year of twelve months, and "perhaps with a sly innuendo on the part of its dedicator was placed in front of the Temple of Quirinus or Romulus, who was reputed to have established the year of ten months."[10] Dion Cassius tells us that the temple was burnt in 49 B.C.;[11] but it must have been restored again before 46 B.C., for in that year Cicero mentions a statue of Julius Cæsar as having been placed there, and calls Cæsar Quirini Contubernalis and *σύνναος* Quirino.[12] Again in B.C. 16 it was restored by Augustus; and it is this last restoration which is described by Vitruvius and Dion Cassius.[13] The latter writer says that it had seventy-six columns, a number corresponding to the age of Augustus at the time of the restoration. The inner row contained six at each end and thirteen on each side, while the outer colonnade consisted of eight at each end and fifteen on each side. In front of the temple stood two myrtle-trees, one called Patricia and the other Plebeia. A mysterious sympathy was supposed to exist between these trees and the fortunes of the Patrician and Plebeian orders.[14]

Temple of Quirinus.

Sacellum Quirini.

Clivus Mamurri.

[1] Martial, i. 108; i. 117, 6, "Longum est si velit ad Pirum venire." Ad Pirum seems to be the name of a street, as Malum Punicum in Suet. Dom. i.; Mart. v. 22, vi. 27.

[2] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 1: "tuæ *vicinæ* Salutis."

[3] Varro, L. L. v. 51.

[4] Festus, p. 255.

[5] Dionys. ii. 63; Ov. Fast. ii. 509.

[6] Anast. Innoc. I. p. 64; Ov. Fast. iii. 389.

[7] Paul. Diac. p. 255; Livy, iv. 21.

[8] Vitruv. vii. 9, 4.

[9] Plin. vii. 60, 213; Livy, x. 46; Ov. Fast. vi. 796.

[10] Dyer, City of Rome, Introd. p. lvii.

[11] Dion Cass. xli. 14.

[12] Dion Cass. xliii. 45; Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 28, xii. 45; De Legg. i. 1.

[13] Vitruv. iii. 2, 7; Dion Cass. liv. 19.

[14] Plin. xv. 29, 36.

Another of the most ancient temples in Rome, that of Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius, stood upon the Quirinal.[1] Sancus seems to have been considered by all Roman antiquarians as peculiarly a Sabine deity, and the evidence proving this point is so strong that Mommsen can hardly be right in thinking that he was also a Latin god originally. The fact of another temple having been erected in his honour upon the Insula Tiberina can only show that his worship was adopted, as we should naturally expect, by the Romans, after the amalgamation of the Roman and Sabine nations.[2] Varro, Propertius, Ovid, and Silius Italicus all distinctly attribute the introduction of the worship of Sancus to the Sabines.[3]

Temple of Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius.

The site of the temple is determined by that of the Porta Sanqualis, called after it.[4] In the list of gates along this portion of the wall the Porta Sanqualis is placed third from the Porta Collina, and next after the Collis Salutaris and Porta Salutaris. We may therefore, with some probability, assume that the temple and gate stood on the western edge of the hill, near the spot where the Via della Dataria enters the Piazza di Monte Cavallo. The first founder of the temple, which is called a *sacellum* by Livy, and which was probably a small hypæthral chapel,[5] is said to have been the Sabine king Tatius. Tarquinius Superbus restored it, and it was afterwards dedicated afresh by Sp. Postumius in B.C. 286.[6]

In the Temple of Sancus, besides the relics of Tanaquil, her sandals, spindle, distaff, and bust,[7] one of the most interesting monuments of early Roman history was preserved, a memorandum of the treaty between Tarquin the Proud and the city of Gabii. This most venerable document was still extant in the time of Augustus, when Dionysius gives the following account of it:—"A monument of this treaty is deposited in Rome, in the Temple of Fidius, whom the Romans call Sanctus, consisting of a wooden shield covered with the skin of one of the oxen sacrificed at the time of making the treaty, upon which the terms of the treaty are written in archaic characters." Horace appears to allude to this document as an object of veneration to antiquarians in his day.[8] The fact is of the greatest importance to the historian of early Rome, as showing conclusively the existence of written documents in the time of the kings.

The Temple of Salus is placed on the Quirinal in the Catalogue of the sixth region. It is evident that the Porta Salutaris was named from this temple, and we must therefore probably place the temple about half-way between the Porta Collina and the Porta Sanqualis, on the western edge of the hill, near the Palazzo Barberini. The Temple of Salus was dedicated in B.C. 304 by C. Junius Bubulcus; but before that time there was probably an older temple on the same spot, from which the gate took its

Temple of Salus.

[1] "Hunc igitur veteres donarunt æde Sabini Inque Quirinali constituere jugo," Ov. Fast. vi. 217; ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνναλίου λόφου, Dionys. ix. 60.

[2] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 57, note, Eng. trans. The authorities on which Mommsen grounds his statement are, I suppose, Gruter, Insc. xcvi. 5, and the Church tradition that *Simon* Magus was worshipped on the Tiber island. (Justin Mart. Apol. 2; Eus. Hist. Eccl. ii. 12). But here, as elsewhere in Mommsen's entertaining history, authorities are dispensed with. See below, p. 265.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 66; Prop. v. (iv.) 9, 73; Ov. loc. cit.; Sil. Ital. viii. 421. Sancus corresponds to Fidius as the enforcer (sanctor) of oaths and trusts (fides).

[4] Paul. Diac. p. 345.

[5] Livy, viii. 20; Varro, L. L. v. § 66.

[6] Tertull. Ad Nat. ii. 9; Dionys. ix. 60.

[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 48, 74; Plut. Quæst. Rom. xxx.

[8] Dionys. iv. 58; Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 25: "Fœdera regum cum Gabiis."

name.[1] The agnomen of Pictor, which belonged to the Fabian gens, was first given to Q. Fabius Pictor, who painted the walls of this temple with frescoes at the time of its dedication. Pliny says that these fresco-paintings lasted for more than three hundred years, until the time of Claudius, when the temple was burnt.[2] Cicero speaks of the house of Atticus as being between the Temples of Salus and Quirinus, but nearer to that of Salus.[3]

Temple of Serapis.

The Temple of Serapis is named in the Curiosum Urbis with this Temple of Salus but nothing further is known about its site.[4] Next to the Temple of Salus in the same Catalogue are placed the Temple of Flora and the Capitolium Vetus. These two are also mentioned as near each other by Martial and Varro.[5] The former of them is also said by Vitruvius to be not far from the Temple of Quirinus.[6] These indications must, however, be interpreted with some latitude, for the position of Martial's house,[7] as previously determined, would seem to point to S. Silvester or the Colonna Gardens as the probable site of the Temple of Flora. Near the Temple of Flora was a district or street called Ficeliæ.[8] The Capitolium Vetus was a temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the same trio of divinities who were worshipped on the Capitoline. Varro claims a higher antiquity for their joint worship here than he attributes to that of the Capitoline Temple. His words also seem to imply that the Capitolium Vetus stood upon the slope of the hill under the Temple of Flora.[9]

Temple of Flora.

Capitolium Vetus, or Temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

Temples of Fortuna Publica and Primigenia.

Campus Sceleratus.

Temple of Venus Erycina.

There appear to have been three Temples of Fortune upon the Quirinal. They were all near the Porta Collina.[10] One was dedicated to Fortuna Publica,[11] and another to Fortuna Primigenia,[12] under which appellation Fortune was also worshipped on the Capitoline.[13] Fortune was a deity peculiarly venerated at Rome, and a great number of altars, chapels, and temples were dedicated to her in various parts of the city.[14] The Campus Sceleratus, where the vestal virgins who had violated their vows were buried alive, must have been near these temples, for Dionysius places it just inside the walls near the Colline Gate.[15] Near the same gate was also the Temple of Venus Erycina, afterwards included in the Horti Sallustiani.[16]

Vicus Longus.

The Via di S. Vitale, running along the valley between the Viminal and Quirinal, was in ancient times called the Vicus Longus. This appears from a passage in the anonymous MS. preserved at Einsiedlen, in which the Basilica of S. Vitale is mentioned as standing in the Vicus Longus, and also from an account of the benefactions given to this basilica, among which a house in the Vicus Longus near the basilica is mentioned.[17] In this street stood the Sacellum Pudicitiæ Plebeiæ, founded in B.C. 296 by

[1] Livy, ix. 43, x. 1 ; Varro, L. L. v. § 52.
[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 4, 7 ; Val. Max. viii. 14, 6.
[3] Cicero, De Legg. i. 1 ; Ad Att. iv. 1, xii. 45.
[4] Cur. Urb. Reg. vi. ; Gruter, Insc. lxxxv. 6.
[5] Mart. v. 22 ; Varro, L. L. v. § 158.
[6] Vitruv. vii. 9, 4. [7] Mart. iii. 27. See page 248.
[8] Mart. vi. 27, 2. [9] Varro, L. L. v. § 158.
[10] Vitruv. iii. 2.
[11] Ov. Fast. v. 729, iv. 375 ; Fast. Præn. Non. Apr.
[12] Fast. Exquil. viii. Kal. Jan. ; Livy, xliii. 13, xxxiv. 53.
[13] See chap. viii. p. 193.
[14] Plut. de Fort. Rom. chap. x., who places an altar of Τύχη Εὔελπις in the μακρὸς στενωπός (Vicus Longus) on the Quirinal.
[15] Dionys. ii. 67, and iii. 67 ; Plut. Num. 10 ; Festus, p. 333 ; Serv. ad Æn. xi. 206 ; Livy, viii. 15 ; Propert. v. 5, 11.
[16] Ov. Fast. iv. 871 ; Ov. Rem. Am. 549 ; Livy, xxx. 38 ; Gruter, Inscr. xxxix. 4, cii. 1.
[17] Anon. Eins. Route from St. Peter's to St. Lucia in Orphea (now Selci) ; Anast. Vit. Innoc. I. p. 64.

Virginia, the patrician wife of the plebeian Consul L. Volumnius. Its foundation was due to the exclusion of Virginia, on account of her marriage with a plebeian, from the rites of the Temple of Pudicitia Patricia in the Forum Boarium, and was a monument of patrician exclusiveness which must have had considerable effect in embittering the feelings of the two orders.[1] Valerius Maximus mentions a Templum Febris "in Vico Longo," of which however we have no further notices.[2]

Templum Febris.

The narrow valley between the Quirinal and Pincian hills, where the grounds of the Villas Massimi and Barberini now are, and the whole space between the Via di Porta Pia and the Via di Porta Salaria were occupied by the pleasure-grounds of Sallust, the historian, embellished by him with the riches gained in the administration of Numidia.[3] The name Sallustricum was still given to this district in the sixteenth century, and a place near the Church of S. Susanna was called Foro di Sallustio.[4] The Notitia places the Horti Sallustiani in the sixth region, and the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS. speaks of the Thermæ Sallustianæ as situated behind S. Susanna.[5] Procopius also mentions the Domus Sallustiana as near the Porta Salaria; and Tacitus, in relating the nocturnal excesses of Nero, and the battle between the troops of Vespasian and Vitellius, describes the Horti Sallustiani as situated between the Porta Flaminia and the Porta Collina.[6] Becker finds a difficulty in the account of this battle where there is none whatever. The description of Tacitus is perfectly clear, and runs thus:—

Horti Sallustiani.

The army of Vespasian was separated into three divisions; one of which advanced along the bank of the Tiber, another along the Flaminian road, and the third along the Salarian road. The division moving along the Flaminian road had only to continue its march straight to the front, while the troops which advanced by the Tiber bank had to incline to their right, and those who advanced by the Salarian road to their left. It was only this last division which met with any resistance. They had to advance by narrow and difficult lanes towards the Gardens of Sallust, in which the Vitellian troops kept them at bay till evening, when their cavalry entered the walls by the Colline Gate, and thus turned the flank of the Vitellians. It is plain that the Colline Gate was in the rear or on the right flank of the Vitellian troops posted in the Gardens of Sallust, and that there is no need to suppose, as Becker does, that the troops of Vespasian marched round to the Porta Viminalis. The words *flectere ad sinistra urbis* refer to the original movement, when the army was separated into three divisions, and not to any subsequent inclination to the left.

The extent of these grounds was very great. We hear of a covered portico a thousand paces long, in which Aurelian, who liked to live here better than on the Palatine, used to take horse exercise.[7] It is probable that large additions were made to the grounds by the Emperors, for as early as Nero's time there was an Imperial palace here,[8] and the property

[1] The spot was not chosen, as Becker supposes, from any connexion with the two myrtle-trees mentioned by Pliny (Nat. Hist. xv. 29, 36), but, as Livy plainly says, because Virginia gave a site there near her own house. Livy, x. 23.

[2] Val. Max. ii. 5, 6.

[3] Pseudo-Cicero, Resp. in C. Gall. 7.

[4] A. Fulv. De Urb. Ant. p. 110, ed. 1588; Lucio Fauno, Ant. di Roma, iv. 10, p. 120, ed. 1548; Donatus, De Urb. p. 55, who quotes Baronius' history of S. Susanna, tom. ii.; Annal. anno Sal. 294, 295.

[5] Curios. Urb. Reg. vi.; Anon. Einsied. in Mabillon; Vet. Anal. Paris, 1723, fol. p. 359.

[6] Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 2; Tac. Ann. xiii. 47, Hist. iii. 82.

[7] Hist. Aug. Aur. 49.

[8] Tac. Ann. xiii. 47.

had possibly passed into the hands of the Emperors in the time of Tiberius, after the death of Sallustius Crispus, the historian's heir.[1] Vespasian lived there for some time, and Nerva died there.[2]

There is no evidence to guide us as to the exact position of the palace, or the thermæ, or the porticus which have been mentioned. Nor does there appear to be any ground for supposing that a regularly built circus, with seats and spina, ever existed, as has been inferred from Livy's statement that it was once intended to hold the Ludi Apollinares here, when the circus was flooded in a wet season.[3]

The ruins now left are not sufficient to give us any general idea of the plan upon which the Horti were laid out. They consist of lines of substructions with arches and buttresses running along both sides of the valley between the Quirinal and Pincian. On the south side of the grounds of the Villa Massimi there are eighteen arched chambers, the purpose of which cannot be determined with any certainty, and at the north end of the grounds there is a rotunda, with an octagonal cupola and niches for statues, and the remains of marble ornamental work.[4] The rest of the ruins consist of fragments of walls of ancient brickwork and *opus reticulatum.* Amongst these a few columns and some mosaic pavements have been found and removed. The rotunda is thought, from the leaden pipes found near it, to have been a part of the thermæ; but no further evidence has been discovered as to the plan or purpose of these ruins.[5]

This part of the city was burnt by Alaric when he entered the city by the Porta Salaria in 410.[6]

Between the Horti Sallustiani and the Thermæ Diocletianæ we have, in the Catalogue of the Curiosum, the strange title "Gentem Flabiam." This appears to refer to the temple mentioned by Suetonius as the place where Domitian was born,[7] in the street called Malum Punicum, where he built a Templum Gentis Flaviæ, and where he was buried. Martial seems to allude to it as near to his own house, which, as we have seen, was on the western side of the Quirinal.[8]

Malum Punicum. Heroum of Flavian Gens.

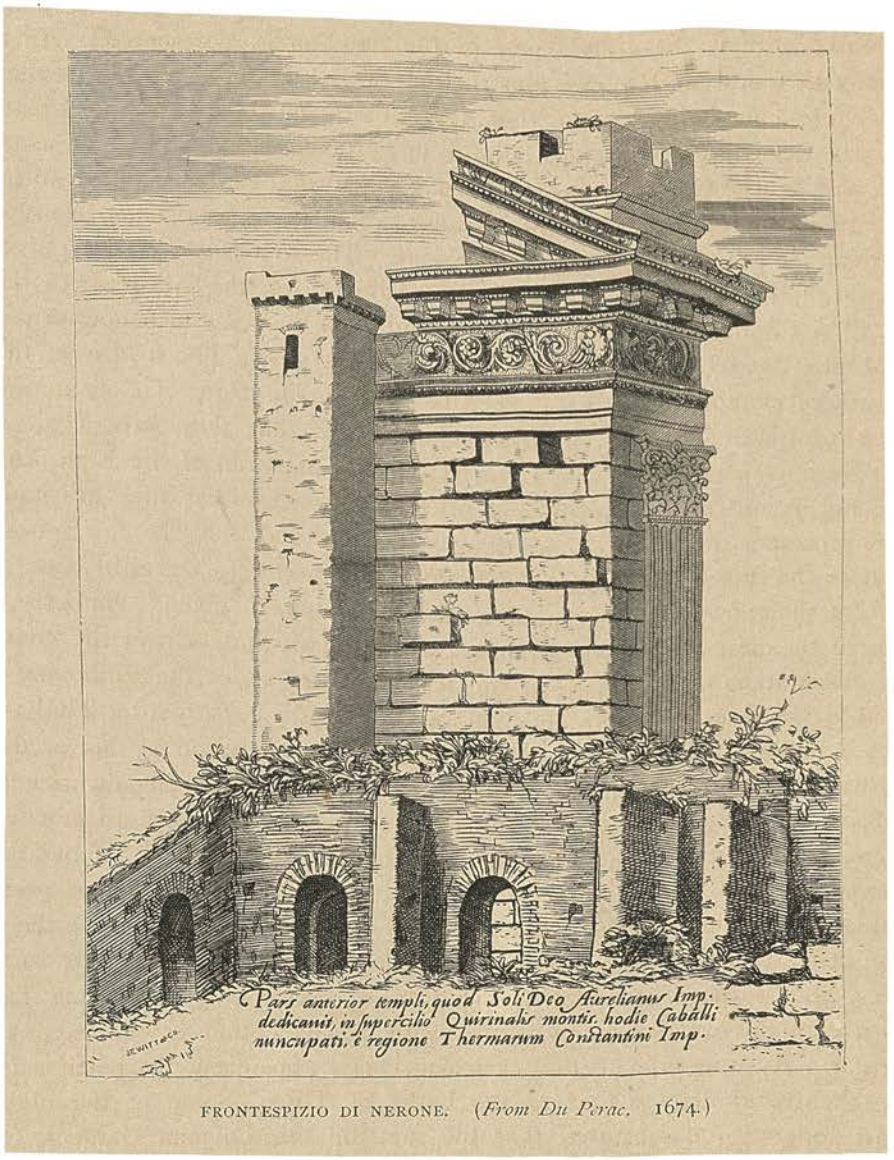
It has been conclusively proved by Becker that Aurelian's Temple of the Sun, which was commonly supposed to have occupied the Colonna Gardens, and to which the huge fragments which lie there were formerly thought to have belonged, was not here, but in the Campus Agrippæ, on the Campus Martius. For the Notitia and the chronologers both place it in the seventh region or Via Lata, which occupied the eastern side of this Campus, and mention *castra* as attached to it.[9] Further, Vopiscus, when describing a drive in which he accompanied Junius Tiberianus, the Prefect of the city, seems to place the Temple of the Sun at a much greater distance from the Palatine than the Colonna Gardens are.[10]

Templum Solis.

The ruin with which it was identified, formerly called Turris Mæcenatis, or Frontispicium Neronis, has now been pulled down; but some fragments of it, and especially

[1] Tac. Ann. iii. 30.
[2] Dion Cass. lxvi. 10; Hieron. p. 445, Ronc.
[3] Livy, xxx. 38.
[4] This ruin is usually called the Temple of Venus, but there is no reason why it should be so called, and it was very possibly the laconicum of the thermæ.
[5] See Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 507.
[6] Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 2.
[7] Suet. Dom. i. 5, 15, 17; Merivale, Hist. of Romans, vol. vii. p. 76, chap. lxi.
[8] Mart. v. 64, 5, ix. 35, 7, 2, 8; Stat. Silv. iv. 3, 18.
[9] Curios. Reg. vii.; Cat. Imp. Vienn. p. 246, Ronc. See chap. xiii.
[10] Hist. Aug. Aur. i.

two huge masses of carved marble, remain in the Colonna Gardens. Representations of the Frontispicium Neronis, as it was before its destruction, may be seen in Donatus and the older topographers.[1] The fragments of stonework are now thought to have belonged to the entrance of the Thermæ Constantini.[2]


Pars anterior templi quod Soli Deo Aurelianus Imp.
dedicauit, in supercilio Quirinalis montis hodie Caballi
nuncupati, è regione Thermarum Constantini Imp.

FRONTESPIZIO DI NERONE. (*From Du Perac.* 1674.)

The site of these thermæ, which are placed by the Notitia next to the Capitolium Antiquum, is tolerably well defined by the notices in the anonymous MS. at Einsiedlen, and by an inscription found during the construction of the Quirinal Palace recording their restoration by Petronius Perpenna, probably in the year 443.[3]

Thermæ Constantini.

1 Donatus, Rom. Vet. p. 359; Du Peræ, tav. 31; Gamucci, p. 123. 2 Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 497.

3 These thermæ are called by Ammianus "Lavacrum Constantinianum," Amm. Marc. xxvii. 3; Gruter, clxxvii. No. 7; Poggio, De Var. Fort. Urb. R. in Sallengre's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 506.

Both of these point out the Palazzo Rospligiosi as standing upon the ground once occupied by the central building of the thermæ. The anonymous MS. mentions the thermæ on the road between the Church of S. Agata and that of S. Vitale. Poggio, Albertini, Fulvio, L. Fauno, and Gamucci all agree in confirming this evidence. Large portions of the ruins were still standing in their time; and in Du Perac's views, published in the seventeenth century, the central part of the building is represented.[1] Another part of the ruins was found during the construction of the Quirinal Palace in the time of Paul V.[2] There can be no doubt that these thermæ, which were of great extent, reached nearly across the Quirinal hill, occupying the sites of the present Palazzo Rospligiosi, part of the Colonna Gardens, and the Quirinal Palace. Three statues were found in the ruins, representing Constantine and two of his sons. These are supposed to have stood near the grand entrance of the thermæ. The first is now in the portico of the Lateran Basilica; the two others were placed by Paul III. on the balustrade of the Piazza Capitolina. The famous pair of the Dioscuri and their horses, which now ornament the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, were also discovered on this site.[3] The history of these well-known sculptures cannot be traced further back than the time of Constantine, whose thermæ they adorned. The old tradition which states that they were a present from Tiridates to Nero is in some degree supported by the mention of the Equi Tiridatis in the Notitia, but is not confirmed by any other evidence.[4] That they are now rightly supposed to represent the Dioscuri can hardly be doubted, but the inscriptions which ascribe them to the chisels of Phidias and Praxiteles respectively are erroneous. For not to mention that the exact reproduction of nature in its highest type of symmetry, peculiar to the style of the best Greek art, is absent, and that we find instead the conventional mode of representation characteristic of the revival of art under the Emperors, it seems hardly possible that Praxiteles, who lived more than half a century after Phidias, should have occupied himself in imitating and completing a group begun by his predecessor.

These colossal figures, and the statues of Constantine and his sons, mentioned above, probably stood in the grand court of the thermæ. There are now no traces left of the outer enclosure of this court, but the plan of the central block of buildings has been preserved by Palladio, in whose time there was doubtless a sufficient portion left to enable him to reconstruct the whole.[5] It is somewhat different from the plan of most of the other thermæ, having a large semicircular court on one side, surrounded with arcades, the purpose of which has not been discovered. The other halls and apartments are of the usual size and shape, with the exception of the exedræ, which are rectangular. At one side of the enclosing court, apparently the north side, there was a large theatre similar to that at the Baths of Titus. Some of the older topographers had long ago conjectured that the ruins in the Colonna Gardens, (wrongly, as has been shown, ascribed to Aurelian's Temple of the Sun,[6]) and also the massive substructions and stairs which have been found behind the stables of the Quirinal

[1] Poggio, loc. cit.; A. Fulv. p. 121; L. Fauno, Ant. fol. 117; Gamucci, Ant. di Roma, p. 121; Du Perac, tav. 32. See woodcut on p. 254.

[2] Venuti, vol. i. p. 111.

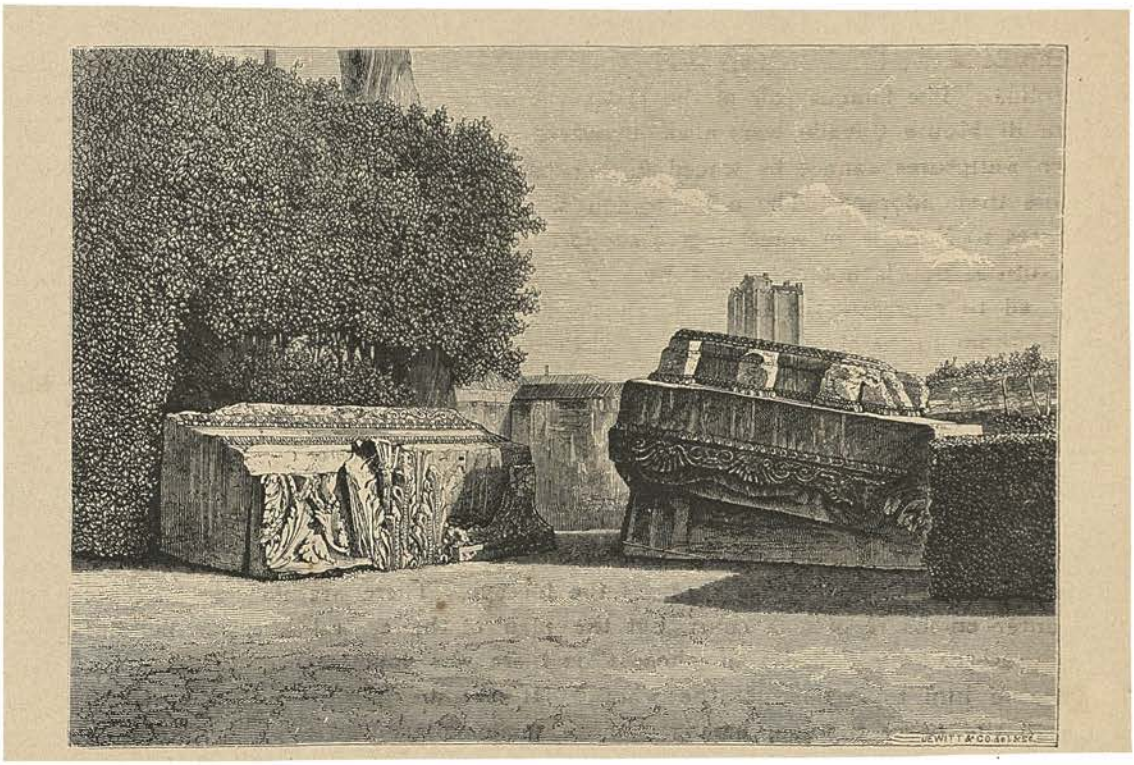
[3] In Bufalini's map (1551) they are placed on the site of the thermæ. They were removed by Sixtus V. in 1589, and he named them Alexander and Bucephalus. See Von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. iii. s. 455, 950.

[4] Notitia, Reg. vii.

[5] Palladio, Terme dei Romani, tav. xiv. xv.; Cameron's Roman Thermæ, pl. xxiv.

[6] Venuti, vol. i. p. 110.

Palace, on the west slope of the hill, belonged to the Thermæ of Constantine. This conjecture has been revived and ingeniously supported by Prof. Reber, who remarks that the outer court of the thermæ, to judge by the extent of that of the Baths of Diocletian or of Caracalla, may very well have reached across the whole breadth of the hill from east to west;[1] and further, that the approach to the thermæ would naturally be placed on the west side, where the Imperial fora lay. If so, the building called the Frontispiece of Nero stood exactly in the position at the summit of the colossal flight of stairs now hidden under the Papal stables, which would answer to the entrance portico of the thermæ. The fragments of this building are somewhat similar to those of the portico of Octavia, which was also the entrance to a grand enclosure.[2] They consist



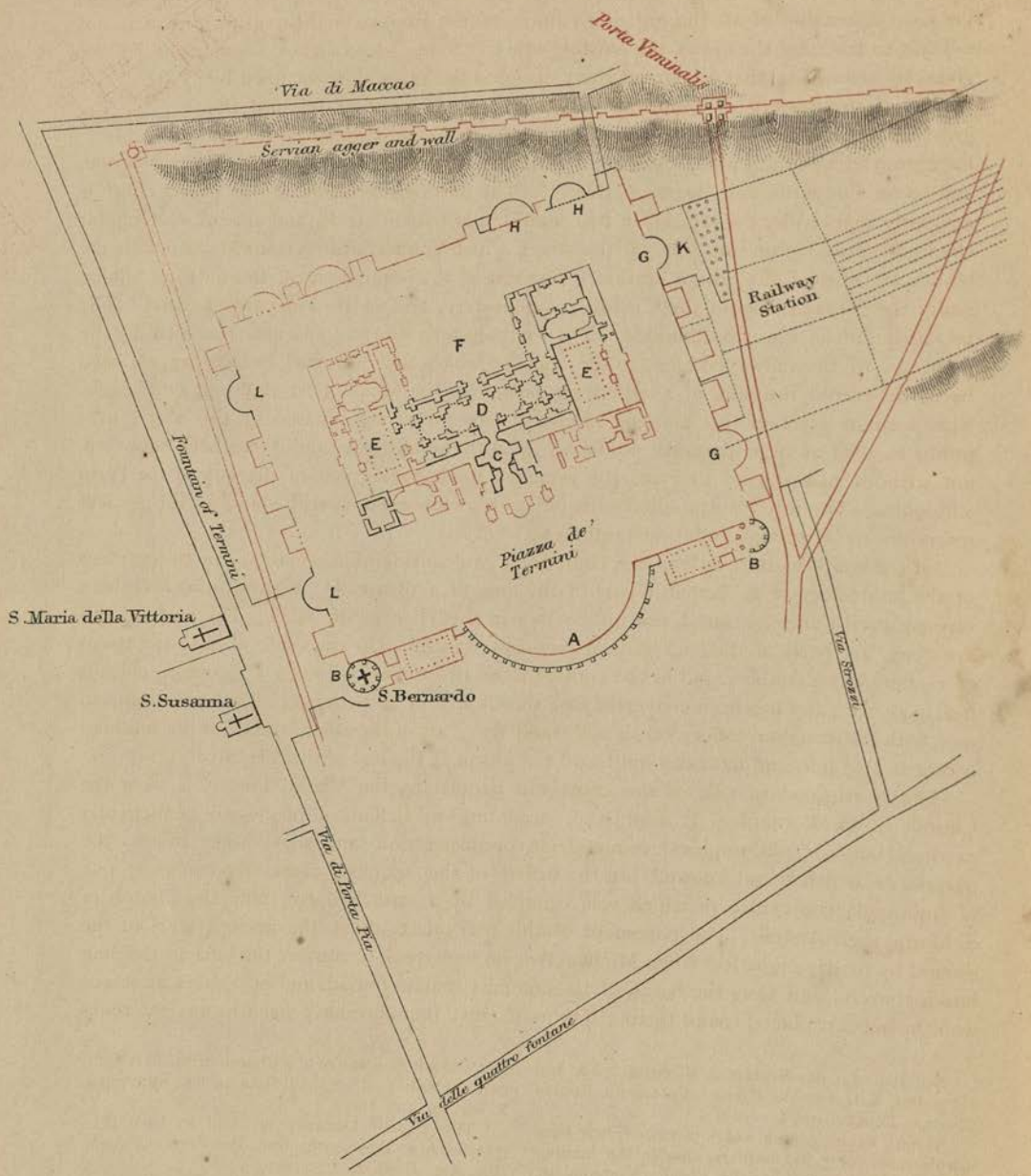
FRAGMENTS IN THE COLONNA GARDENS.
(Formerly parts of the Thermæ of Constantine.)
In the distance is the top of the mediæval tower, the Torre delle Milizie.

principally of two huge blocks of marble, the largest of which is seventeen feet in length, ornamented with mouldings of the usual Corinthian character, and with a frieze beautifully decorated with festoons of foliage enclosing birds and genii. The style is of a late epoch, and might very probably have belonged to the Constantinian age.[3]

[1] Aurel. Victor, De Cæsaribus, xl., says of the Thermæ of Constantine, "Opus ad lavandum institutum ceteris haud multo dispar."

[2] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 497.

[3] See Desgodetz, Édifices antiques de Rome, chap. xiii.; Du Frontispice de Néron.



THERMÆ DIOCLETIANÆ. (PALLADIO.

Ch. X. P. 257.

The red lines mark the conjectural restorations.

Edwd Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

The broad flat space between the Viminal and Quirinal hills and the Servian agger and wall was occupied by the Thermæ of Diocletian.[1] This enormous group of buildings was the most extensive of all the gigantic edifices of the Empire, and the ground-plan is not difficult to trace by the aid of the existing ruins. "Some idea of their dimensions will be given by remarking that the grand court enclosed the space now occupied by the church, monastery, and spacious garden of the monks of St. Bernard, the great church and monastery of the Carthusians, two very large piazzas, the huge granaries of the Papal Government, part of the grounds of the Villa Montalto Negroni, and some vineyards and houses besides."[2] The north-eastern side of this grand court is now only marked by the remains of two semicircular tribunes (H H), and a small rectangular chamber standing on the line of the street which connects the Via di Maccao with the piazza in front of the railway station. The rest of the foundations of this side are hidden under the great cloister of the Carthusian monastery, and in the vineyards beyond. The principal entrance was on this side. The south-eastern side (G G) is now occupied by the buildings of the railway station, at the back of which, and near the Servian agger, have been discovered the ruins of a large reservoir (K) in the shape of a right-angled triangle. The peculiar form of this building seems to have been necessitated by the course of a public road of some importance confining it on the south side, and it has been supposed, not without reason, that this was the principal road leading out of the city at the Porta Viminalis. The interior was filled with pillars like those which still stand in the ancient reservoirs at Misenum and Constantinople.

Thermæ Diocletiani.

Of the south-western side of the court there are considerable remains. In the gardens of the monastery of S. Bernardo part of the area of a theatre (A), with a radius of about seventy yards, may be traced, not unlike that in the Thermæ of Titus. The seats of this are gone, but parts of the back wall, with niches, remain. On each side of this are traces of rectangular chambers, and at the corners stand two round buildings (B B), one of which is nearly perfect, and has been converted into the Church of S. Bernardo. The ancient domed roof, with its octagonal coffer work, is still standing. Part of the other rotunda at the southern corner is also left, and has been built into the prison at the end of the Via Strozzi.[3]

The north-western side of the court ran parallel to the Via di Porta Pia from the Church of S. Bernardo. It contained, according to Palladio's plan, two semicircular exedræ (L L) for philosophical conversation or disputation, and some other rooms, the purpose of which is not known.[4] In the centre of this spacious court stood a great pile of buildings, the centre of which was occupied by a vast hall (D), now the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli. The pavement of this was raised above the ancient level of the ground by nearly eight feet when Michael Angelo undertook to convert the ancient building into a church; and thus the bases of the columns remain buried, and new bases of stucco work have been placed round them. The roof must therefore have been in ancient times

[1] See Palladio par Scamozzi, Vicence, 1785, and Desgodetz, Ed. Ant. de Rome; Cameron's Roman Thermæ, London, 1775.

[2] Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. i. p. 123. There were marble seats for 3,200 bathers, double the number which the Baths of Caracalla could accommodate, Olympiod. ap. Plut. Bibl. 80, p. 63, Bekker.

[3] The whole dome of the Church of St. Bernard is covered with lead obtained from ancient waterpipes. Reber, pp. 503, 506.

[4] The Ulpian Libraries are said to have been transferred to these baths from the Forum Trajani. Hist. Aug. Prob. 2.

considerably more lofty than at present.[1] In the modern church the transept corresponds to the longer axis of the ancient hall, and the nave to the shorter. Vanvitelli, who altered the arrangement of the church in 1749, threw out an apse for the choir on the north-east side, and made the circular laconicum (C) of the old thermæ serve as an entrance porch.

Antiquarians are not agreed as to the purpose of the great central hall. Scamozzi, in his edition of Palladio, calls it a xystus for athletic exercises, but, following the analogy of the Thermæ of Caracalla, the baths at Pompeii, and some of the other great thermæ, we should rather suppose it to have been the tepidarium. This view is confirmed when we notice that the laconicum or sudarium (C) is on one side, and the natatio (F) for the cold baths on the other, between which the tepidarium was kept at a mean temperature.

The two wings of the central building were occupied by large peristylia, with cold piscinæ in the centre of each (E E). Round these peristylia were built various rooms for athletic exercises, conisteria, sphæristeria, and gymnasia. The left wing is now partly an armory and partly a corn and oil warehouse, while the right wing is occupied by the Carthusian monastery. The style of brick building used in these thermæ recalls that of the Basilica of Constantine in the Forum, where we see the bricks irregularly and hastily laid, and the whole of the architectural details which have been preserved seem to point to the same period. Positive evidence of the date and the builder is not, however, wanting. An inscription which was still to be seen two hundred years ago in the thermæ, and which has been partially preserved to us, when compared with three others which were found in the neighbourhood,[2] shows that Maximianus gave orders for building these thermæ when he was absent in Africa during his Mauritanian campaigns, and intended them to be dedicated to the honour of his brother Diocletian. The dedication took place after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximianus, when their successors Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus had begun their reign, 305 A.D., but before the death of Constantius in 306. The old chronologers place the date of the commencement of the buildings in 302, which agrees very well with the date of the Mauritanian campaigns of Maximian.

Baronius accounts for the preservation of so large a part of these thermæ by the statement that they were considered to be a monument of the Diocletian persecution. There was a tradition, he says, that Diocletian, after dismissing some thousands of his soldiers, because they held the Christian faith, compelled them to work as slaves in the erection of his thermæ, and ordered them to be martyred when they had finished the building.[3] "Superfuit ergo," says Donati, "post tot sæcula illa moles ut demum a Pio IV. Pont. Max. Virgini angelorum Dominæ iterum consecraretur jam ante tanto sanctorum sudore ac sanguine consecrata."[4] It has also been said that the bricks are in some cases marked with a cross; but this is not well authenticated.

At the end of the fifth century the baths are mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris as still used, but at the time of the visit of the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS., probably about 850, they were evidently in ruins.[5] Among the ruins have been found

[1] The ancient roof was 120 feet high, and roofed as now with an intersecting vault in three compartments, supported by the eight colossal granite pillars.

[2] Gruter, p. clxxviii.

[3] Baronius, tom. ii. anno 298; Dioclet. 15.

[4] Donati, Roma Vetus et Recens, p. 415.

[5] Sidon. Apoll. ad Consent. 459.

from time to time a number of busts of the Emperors Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius, and also the well-known busts of philosophers now in the Farnese collection at Naples. The site of the building erected upon the Quirinal by the mad Emperor Heliogabalus, and called Senaculum Mulierum, in which he assembled the Roman matrons for consultation about the laws of fashion, is not known.[1]

Senaculum Mulierum.

The Pincian hill, like the Viminal and Quirinal, is not a detached hill, but a projecting tongue of land, running out from the background of the Campagna. Its shape is as peculiar as that of the Quirinal, resembling a bent finger turned towards the north. The greater part of the hill is now, as it probably always was, occupied by gardens and vineyards; whence its name Collis Hortulorum. Of these the Villa Ludovisi extends over most of the eastern surface of the hill; on the north-western end, near the Porta del Popolo, public promenades have been laid out; while the central part of the hill between the Via del Babuino and the Aurelian hill is the site of the Convent of Trinità di Monte, and of the French Academy of the fine arts.

Pincius.

Extent, shape, and name.

The geological formation of the rocks composing the Pincian is mainly the same as that of the other hills of Rome, but fresh-water deposits are found at a greater height upon it than upon the other hills, showing that it has been exposed to less denudation. The height of the Pincian is greater than that of any other hill on the left bank, with the exception of the Servian agger on the Quirinal. It contains two distinct terraces or levels, upon the higher of which the Villa Ludovisi stands, at an elevation of about 200 feet, and upon the lower the public promenade and the French Academy, about forty-five feet below. The Servian walls did not enclose the Pincian hill, but at the time of building the Aurelian walls it was considered too important a part of the city to be excluded, and it is obvious that after the occupation of the Campus Martius the natural line of defence would be carried to the river along its north-eastern edge.

Of the two names, that of Collis Hortorum or Hortulorum is the older, the name Pincian having been given to the hill in the time of the later Empire, perhaps after its enclosure within the Aurelian walls, apparently from the existence of a Domus Pinciana, mentioned by Cassiodorus, in which Belisarius lived during his defence of Rome.[2] But whether the Domus Pinciana was an Imperial palace or a house which had belonged to the family of the Pincii is not known, nor indeed is it at all certain whether the Domus took its name from the hill, or the hill from the Domus.[3]

The site of the Gardens of Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the most wealthy and luxurious of the Roman Republican nobles, must be determined by the statement of Frontinus, that the arches of the Aqua Virgo began there.[4] The following extract from Venuti will show that the situation of the gardens was on the slope of the Pincian, between the Via di Capo le Case and the Via di Propaganda on the side towards the Campus, and the French Academy and the Villa Ludovisi towards the north-east:—"The archway of the ancient conduit of the Acqua Virgine begins at the large mansion opposite to the Angelo Custode, and exactly

Gardens of Lucullus.

[1] Hist. Aug. Heliog. 4. The Roman matrons seem to have held public meetings in Republican times. See Livy, v. 25, x. 23, xxvii. 37.

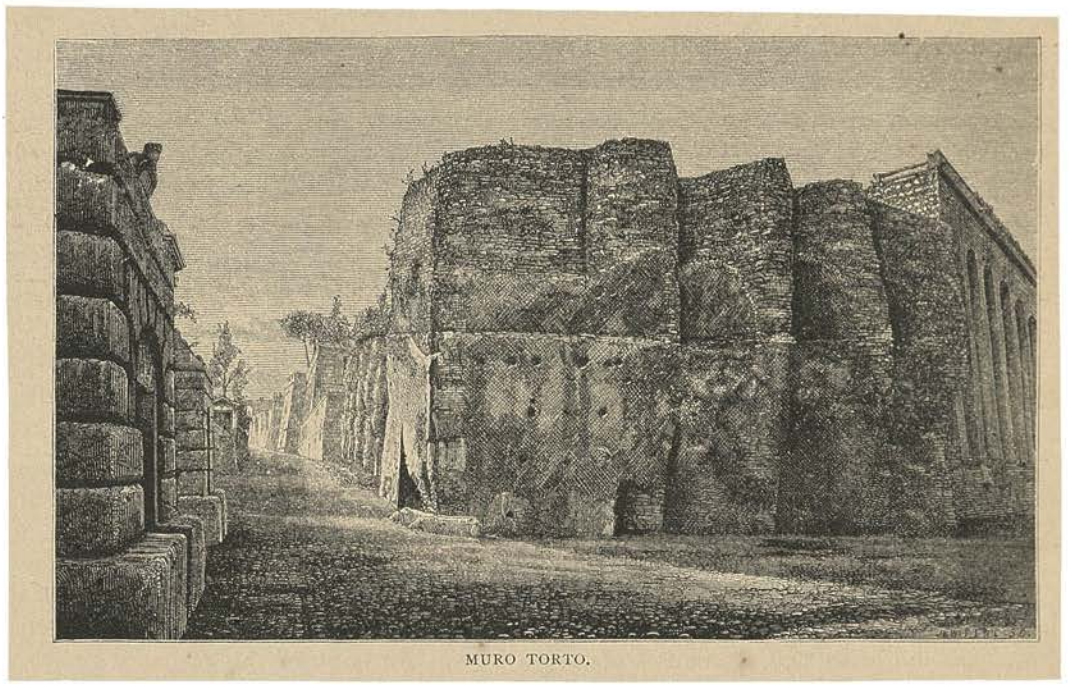
[2] Cassiodorus, Var. iii. 10; Anast. Vit. Silvest. pp 104, 106; Vit. Ben. iii. p. 401.

[3] Procop., Bell. Goth. ii. 8, 9, calls it Palatium; and there was a church there called S. Felice in Pincis Anast. Vit. Hadr. p. 253.

[4] Front. De Aquæd. 22.

under the Collegio Nazzareno. The arches are of admirable construction, and high enough to allow a man on horseback to pass underneath them. The continuation of these ancient arches may be seen above the court next to the palace of the Marchese del Bufalo, and they pass thence through the Palazzo Pamfili to the Fontana Trevi, where the water is now discharged. This archway, which is now entirely buried with the exception of the frieze and cornice, was restored by Claudius after it had been injured by Caligula, as appears from an inscription upon the frieze of one of the arches."[1]

In the reign of Claudius the gardens of Lucullus passed into the possession of



MURO TORTO.

Messalina, who coveted them, and murdered Valerius Asiaticus, the owner, in order to obtain them. She afterwards celebrated her iniquitous marriage with Silius here, and she was put to death here by the Emperor's order.[2] They then passed into the possession of the Emperor.[3] The family monument of the Domitii was upon the Pincian hill, and Nero was buried there.[4] Asconius, in his Commentary on Cicero, speaks of some "Horti Pompeii superiores;"[5] and from the epithet *superiores* it has been inferred by Becker that these Horti could not have been on the Campus Martius, where the rest of Pompey's public works were situated, but must have been upon the Pincian hill. These gardens afterwards fell into Antony's hands, and then probably became Imperial property.[6] All that is known about the Muro Torto at the corner of this hill has been already discussed in a former chapter.[7] The Thermæ Neronis are by some supposed to have been on the site of the Church of S. Louis on the Pincian, but they were more probably in the Campus Martius.[8]

Horti Domitiani et Pompeiani.

Muro Torto.

Thermæ Neronis.

1 Venuti, vol. ii. p. 76.
2 Tac. Ann. xi. 32, 37; Juv. x. 334.
3 Plut. Lucull. 39.
4 Suet. Nero, 50.
5 Ascon. in Cic. Pro Mil. p. 37; Orell.; Plut. Pomp. [44.
6 Cic. Phil. ii. 27; Plin. Paneg. 50.
7 Chap. v. p. 59.
8 See chap. xiii. p. 341.

CHAPTER XI.

THE JANICULUM AND THE VATICAN HILL.

JANICULUM: WHEN ADDED TO CITY—NAME—WALLS—NATURAL FEATURES, HEIGHT—GEOLOGY—HISTORY—INHABITANTS—LUCUS FURINÆ—BRIDGES ACROSS THE TIBER: SUBLICIAN, BRIDGE OF PROBUS, PONS ÆMILIUS—INSULA TIBERINA—TEMPLES OF ÆSCULAPIUS, FAUNUS, JUPITER, SEMO SANCUS OR DIUS FIDIUS—STATUE OF JULIUS CÆSAR—PONTES: FABRICIUS, CESTIUS OR GRATIANI, AURELIUS, JANICULARIS, ANTONINIANUS, NERONIANUS OR VATICANUS, ÆLIUS, TRIUMPHALIS—ARÆ FONTIS—TEMPLE OF FORS FORTUNA—PRATA MUCIA—CODETA—HORTI CÆSARIS—NEMUS CÆSARUM.

VATICAN: NAME—HISTORY—NATURAL FEATURES—CIVITAS LEONINA—PRATA QUINCTIA—HORTI AGRIPPINÆ—HORTI DOMITIÆ OR NERONIS—OBELISK—CIRCUS CAII ET NERONIS—SEPULCHRUM ROMULI—TEMPLE OF APOLLO OR MITHRAS—CIRCUS OF HADRIAN—MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN.

"Ipse solum colui, cujus placidissima lævum
Radit arenosi Tibridis unda latus.
Arx mea collis erat quem cultrix nomine nostro
Nuncupat hæc ætas Janiculumque vocat."

OVID, *Fast.* i. 241—246.

THE Transtiberine district, according to the strict definition of the terms Roma and Urbs, was considered a part of Rome as a city, but was not legally included in the Urbs, or ring-wall of the town. During the regal period, in the reign of Ancus, the first attempt was made by the Romans to occupy the western bank of the Tiber. *Ancus.* Ancus, according to Livy's account, built a fort on the highest point of the Janiculum, in order to prevent the Etruscans from occupying it and annoying Rome from thence. Dionysius differs slightly in his statement of the object Ancus had in view. He says that the fort was built to protect the shipping on the river from the Etruscan robbers.[1] The fort was probably placed on the highest point of the Janiculum, now occupied by S. Pietro in Montorio, and communicated with the city by means *Janiculum.* of the Sublician bridge, which was built at the same time. It has been shown in a previous chapter that there is no reason to suppose that any walls connecting the Janiculum with the other part of the city were erected before Aurelian's reign. Even then the walls enclosed but a small part of the present Trastevere quarter.[2]

The geological formations on this side of the river differ entirely in character from those on the eastern bank. Both the Janiculum and the Vatican hills are chiefly com-

[1] Livy, i. 33; Dionys. iii. 45; Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 19. The form of the nominative Janiculus is not found, though there is reason to suppose that Janiculum was originally applied to the fort only, and not to the rest of the hill. The name is traditionally derived from Janus (Æn. viii. 358; Ov. Fast. i. 245). Another name was Antipolis, Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 5, 9, 68.

[2] Chap. iv. p. 51; chap. v. pp. 59, 69; Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 327, Eng. trans.

posed of tertiary marine strata of sandstone and marl.[1] At the same time, it must not be supposed that fresh-water and volcanic deposits similar to that on the left bank are totally absent. Brocchi states that he found beds of fluviatile deposits on the side of the Janiculum, in the streets which ascend from the Via Lungara to the Hospital of S. Spirito, and that fresh-water fossil shells can be discovered in the calcareous sand under the walls of the Vatican. Beds of tufa superimposed upon the marine strata are also to be found on the top of the Janiculum to the right of the Porta S. Pancrazio, and in a few other places. The great bulk of the hills, however, appears to consist of marine sandstones and clays.[2]

Geology.

The Janiculum is connected with some of the most striking scenes in Roman history. The army of Porsena was marshalled along its slopes, according to the legend, when Horatius "kept the bridge;"[3] and by an old custom, begun in the times when Rome feared the incursions of the Etruscans, the Janiculum was always occupied by a detachment of troops at the time of the Comitia Centuriata.[4] In B.C. 287 the plebeian order, after long disturbances caused by the unsatisfactory state of the law of debtor and creditor, marched across the river and occupied the Janiculan fort during the settlement of their claims by the Dictator Hortensius;[5] and it was in the Grove of Furina, on the Janiculum, that Caius Gracchus, the champion of the plebs, was murdered by the adherents of the aristocratical party.[6]

History.

Grove of Furina.

The population of the Transtiberine quarter apparently consisted chiefly of fishermen, tanners, old curiosity shopkeepers, and in Imperial times, especially under Augustus, Jews of the lowest class.[7] They may therefore have been very probably, from the earliest occupation, principally plebeian in their sympathies. But there were also some houses in which the upper classes lived, for Martial praises the agreeable residences of his friends Gallus and Julius Martialis in this quarter.[8]

The importance attributed even in the earliest times to the bridges uniting the Transtiberine region with the city is seen in the word Pontifex, the bridge-maker, and in the religious scruples which attached to their construction.[9] It was considered a breach of religious duty, Pliny tells us, to make a bridge with beams fastened into their places, so as to prevent their easy removal in case of a sudden emergency. The Pons Sublicius, after the attack of Porsena, was constructed with moveable beams. All traces of this, the most ancient of the bridges over the Tiber, have disappeared, as we might expect. Even in the time of the Empire it was still constructed of wood,[10] and the idea that it was replaced by a stone bridge seems to have

Bridges.

Pons Sublicius.

[1] See chap. ii. pp. 14, 15. The height of the Janiculum behind S. Pietro in Montorio is 297 feet, that of the Servian agger on the Quirinal 236. Martial, iv. 64, praises the view from the Janiculum.

[2] Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, pp. 164—168.

[3] Livy, i. 10; Plin. xxxvi. 15, 100.

[4] Dion Cass. xxxvii. 26; Macrob. i. 16; Gell. xv. 27; Livy, xxxix. 15.

[5] Livy, Epit. xi.; Plin. xvi. 10, 15; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 311.

[6] Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 65; Plut. C. Gracch. 17; App. B. C. i. 26; Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. 18; Varro, L. L. vi. § 19.

[7] Ov. Fast. vi. 237; Fest. pp. 210, 238; Juv. xiv. 202; Mart. vi. 93, 4, i. 42, 3; Phil. De Virt. ad Caium, p. 568 *m.* The Castra Ravennatium, a camp of the marines from Ravenna, is said to have been near the Church of St. Maria in this district (Region iii.), and the whole Trastevere was sometimes called from it Urbs Ravennatium. Preller, Region. p. 100.

[8] Mart. i. 109, 2, iv. 64.

[9] Varro, L. L. v. § 83; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 100; Dionys. iii. 45.

[10] Varro, loc. cit.; Ov. Fasti, v. 622; Dionys. loc. cit.; Plin. loc. cit.; Tac. Hist. i. 86; Jul. Cap. Ant. p. 8.

arisen from a misapprehension of a passage in Plutarch, where he is contrasting the new Pons Lapideus with the old Sublicius.[1] That they were in different places is plainly shown by the fact that the Notitia mentions both separately, and by the consideration that, if the Pons Æmilius occupied, as is supposed, the place of the Sublicius, Rome must have been left for some years without any bridge at all; for the Pons Æmilius, though begun in 179, was not finished till 142.[2]

It has been commonly assumed by the authors of many of the maps of Rome that the stone piers now visible in the bed of the river near the foot of the Aventine belonged to the Sublician bridge. But this seems very unlikely, since, as we have seen, the Sublician bridge was always, probably from religious scruples, constructed of wood and supported on piles; and further, because it must have stood between the two points at which the Servian walls reached the river bank, whereas the ruined piers would have been outside these walls. The most probable account which can be given of these ruined piers is that they belonged to the bridge of Probus, mentioned by the Catalogue of the Curiosum last in order of the eight bridges. The "Mirabilia Romæ" places the Pons Valentinianus in the last place; and if this be the same as the Pons Probi, we must suppose that it was restored by Valentinian.[3]

Bridge of Probus.

The bridge next above the ruined piers just mentioned is now called the Ponte Rotto, from its broken condition. The remaining arches are not ancient, but probably stand upon the site of an ancient bridge, which was called the Pons Æmilius.[4] Livy mentions the Pons Æmilius as the first stone bridge built over the Tiber, and states that it was begun in 179 B.C. by M. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Æmilius Lepidus the Censor, whose name is given to the Basilica Æmilia, and that it was finished in 142 B.C. by the Censors Publius Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius.[5] The bridge was named after M. Æmilius Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus, and as a more popular statesman than Fulvius. The bridge afterwards bore the name Pons Lapideus, from being the first stone bridge built over the Tiber, and in contradistinction to the Pons Sublicius.[6]

Pons Æmilius.

There is abundant evidence as to the position of this bridge, for the Fasti Capranici place it "ad Theatrum Marcelli," and the Cosmographia of Æthicus "ad Forum Boarium," both of which indications point to the Ponte Rotto.[7]

A short distance above the Æmilian bridge is the Island of the Tiber. According to the legend, this island was formed by the corn belonging to the Tarquins grown on the Campus Martius, which, after their expulsion, was consecrated to Mars. After consecration, the corn could not be used for food, and was therefore cut and thrown into the Tiber; and from this corn, when collected into heaps by the

Island of the Tiber.

[1] Plut. Numa, 9; Serv. ad Æn. viii. 646, where the words "qui modo lapideus dicitur" are considered to be an interpolation by Lion. [2] Livy, xl. 51.

[3] Curios. Urb. Pontes viii.: Ælius, Æmilius, Aurelius, Milvius, Sublicius, Fabricius, Cestius, et Probi. Mirab. Romæ: Milvius, Adrianus, Neronianus, Antoninus, Gratiani, Senatorius, Marmoreus, Theodosii, Valentianus. Mirab. ed. Parthey, 1869. See woodcut on p. 184, and below, pp. 264—267.

[4] The name Palatinus, commonly given by the Italian topographers to this bridge, is not found in the genuine text of the Notitia, but is an invention of the Regionarii.

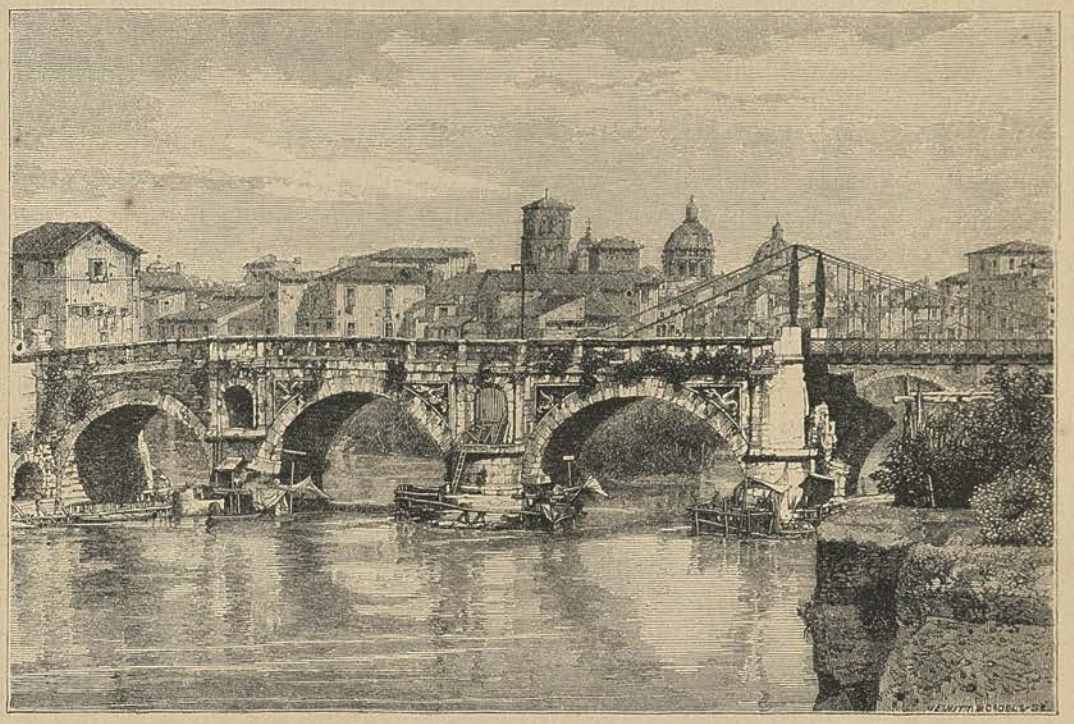
[5] Livy, xl. 51; Juv. vi. 32. The name Pons Lepidi (Æth. Cosmogr. in append. ad Gronovii Pomp. Mel. 1722) quoted by Becker, De Rom. Vet. Mur. p. 80, note, is probably a confusion with Pons Lapideus.

[6] Piale, Degli Antichi Ponti, Atti della Pont. Accad. 1831; Becker, De Romæ Vet. Muris atque Portis, p. 78.

[7] Fast Cap. xvi. Kal. Sept. Æth. Cosm. loc. cit.

stream, the island was said to have been formed.[1] Until the fifth century of the city, the island remained consecrated and uninhabited, but in B.C. 292 a Temple of Æsculapius was built upon it, in consequence, as the story went, of the holy snake brought from Epidaurus having swum to shore there.[2] The island was probably at this time also protected with stone embankments, and the two bridges were built, whence the name "Inter duos Pontes" was given to it. A fragment of this ancient stone embankment, which was in the shape of a ship, may still be seen in the garden of the Franciscan monks of S. Bartolommeo, on the eastern side of that end of the island which is next to the Ponte Rotto, representing part of the prow of a ship with a head of Æsculapius, a snake twisted round a stick, and the head of an ox carved in relief upon it.[3]

Temple of Æsculapius.



PONTE ROTTO.
(On the site of the Pons Æmilius or Lapideus.)

Four other temples also stood upon the island; but all traces of them, with the exception of a number of detached columns which have been used in the Church of S. Bartolommeo, have long since disappeared. The Temple of Jupiter was vowed by the Prætor L. Furius in the Gallic wars of 202 B.C., and dedicated six years afterwards, together with a Temple of Faunus.[4]

Temples of Jupiter and Faunus.

[1] Livy, ii. 5.

[2] Ibid. ii. 5, Epit. xi.; Dionys. v. 13.

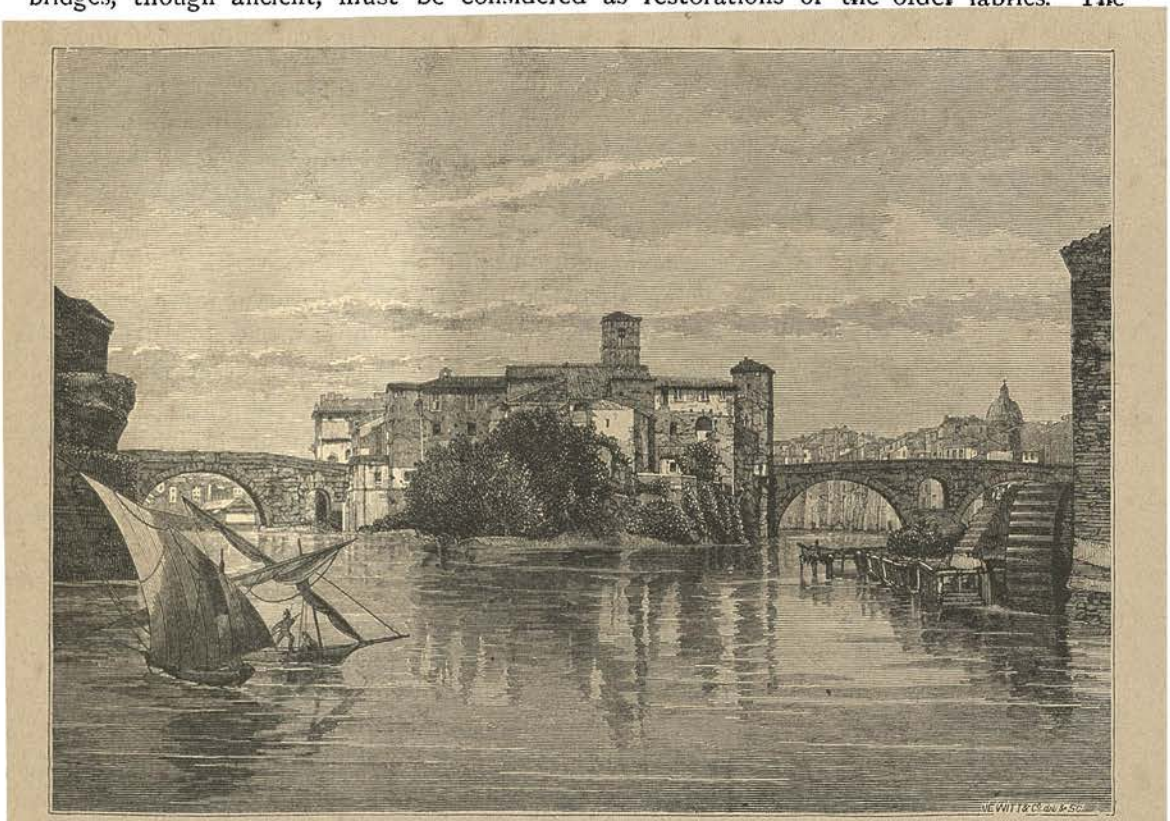
[3] Jordan in the *Preussiche Monatsbericht*, Berlin, 1867, p. 535, on Tab. xvi. of the Capitoline plan; and in *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1867, p. 389, on the Isola Tiberina. Piraneri, Ant. Rom. iv. tav. 15. Two or three courses of stone are also perceptible on the western side of the island. Piraneri, Campo Marzo. tav. xi.; Plut. Popl. viii.; Macrob. Sat. ii. 12. See also on the story of the snake, Ov. Met. xv. 739; Fast. i. 291; Paul. Diac, p. 110; Val. Max. i. 8, 2; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxix. 4, 22; Suet. Claud. 25; Sidon. Apoll. Ep. i. 7.

[4] Livy, xxxiv. 53; xxxiii. 42; Vitruv. iii. 2; Ov. Fast. i. 291, ii. 193.

Tiberinus was also worshipped here, and a Temple of Semo Sancus is mentioned. The statue of the latter god, with the inscription, "Semoni Sanco Deo," was still to be seen, "inter duos Pontes," in the time of the early Fathers of the Christian Church, and gave rise to the strange idea that Simon Magus had been worshipped here by the pagans.[1] A statue of Julius Cæsar is mentioned by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch, as standing "in Insula Tiberina."[2] The two bridges uniting the island to either bank were probably, as has been said, first erected in or about the fifth century of the city, but the existing bridges, though ancient, must be considered as restorations of the older fabrics. The

Temple of Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius.

Statue of Julius Cæsar.



INSULA TIBERINA.

bridge on the side towards the Campus Martius was built by L. Fabricius in 62 B.C., as the inscription still extant on it shows. In accordance with this we find Dion Cassius giving it the name of Pons Fabricius, and a coin with the title L. Fabricius gives on the other side a bridge with a snake, plainly alluding to the island of the Tiber.[3] Another inscription, also still remaining upon the bridge, states that it was examined and found in good repair by Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius, Consuls in 21 B.C.

Pons Fabricius.

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 12; Græv. Thes. Ant. Rom. iv. p. 1554; Gruter, Inscr. p. xcvi. No. 5; Just. Mart. Ap. 2.

[2] Tac. Hist. i. 86; Suet. Vesp. 5; Plut. Oth. 4.

[3] Dion Cass. xxxviii. 45; Eckkel, Num. Vet. tom. v. p. 210.

This bridge is the oldest now standing on the Tiber, and the masonry is of admirable solidity and workmanship. It was called in the Middle Ages Pons Judæus, from its proximity to the Jews' quarter of the city, and now bears the name Quattro Capi, from the Jani Quadrifrontes which stand upon it.[1] These Jani were formerly the posts which supported the railings of the bridge, as may be seen by the holes bored in them for the ancient bronze bars.

The twin-bridge, on the Janiculan side of the river, dates from the Imperial era, and probably, like the Pons Fabricius, replaced a much older bridge of the same age as the Temple of Æsculapius.

Pons Cestius or Gratiani.

Two inscriptions are still legible on this bridge, from which we learn that it was finished in the year 370 A.D., and dedicated to the use of the Roman people, in the name of the Emperor Gratianus, by Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus. These inscriptions must be understood as referring to the rebuilding of the bridge, though they are so worded as to claim the credit of its first erection. That there was an older bridge is clear, not only from the fact that the island was called "Inter duos Pontes" before the time of Gratian, but also from the name Pons Cestius, which occurs in the Notitia, and undoubtedly belongs to this bridge.[2] It is not clear who Cestius was, but it is generally supposed that a Præfectus Urbi of that name, in B.C. 46, is the person after whom the bridge was named; and this agrees with the statement of Dion Cassius about the building of the Fabrician bridge.[3]

Pons Aurelius.

The bridge now called Ponte S. Sisto stands on the site of an ancient bridge, which was most probably the one named Pons Aurelius in the Notitia.[4] There is no conclusive proof that this was the Pons Aurelius; but the situations of none of the other bridges seem to suit this name, while it is peculiarly applicable to the bridge in question, because it was the principal passage over the Tiber to the Porta Aurelia and the Aurelian road along the coast to Civita Vecchia.[5]

Pons Janicularis.

The name frequently given to it by topographers, Pons Janicularis, appears to be a mere invention, as it is not found in any trustworthy authority; and another name, Pons Antoninianus, by which we find it called in the Middle Ages,[6]

Pons Antoninianus.

seems to have arisen from the mistaken name, Theatrum Antonini, formerly given to the Theatrum Balbi, which is not far distant,[7] and also from the well-known fondness of Severus and Caracalla for the Transtiberine pleasure-grounds.[8] Marliani gives an inscription which is said to have existed formerly upon this bridge commemorating its restoration, under Hadrian, by Messius Rusticus, the Conservator of the Tiber.[9] The bridge must therefore have been originally built before Hadrian's time, and cannot be a work of the Antonines.

When the water of the Tiber is low, the ruins of a bridge may be seen at the bend of the river just below the Ponte S. Angelo. It is not known whether these ruins are ancient

[1] See Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 316.
[2] Curios. Urb. Pontes.
[3] Coins with the name L. Cestius have been found. Dion Cass. xxxvii. 45.
[4] Curios. Urb. Pontes.
[5] Westphal. Römische Kampagne, p. 162.
[6] Mirabilia Romæ, § 4; Anast. Vit. Hadriani, p. 120.
[7] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. tom. ii. p. 126; Ordo Rom. 1143.
[8] Hist. Aug. Sept. Sev. 4; Curios. Reg. xiv.
[9] Marliani, cap. cxxi. ed. 1627.

or mediæval,[1] but if they mark the site of an ancient bridge, it can scarcely have been any other than the bridge built by Caligula or Nero, leading to the Horti Agrippinæ and Horti Domitiæ in the Vatican quarter. Procopius's account of the attack by the Goths at this point of the city would lead us to suppose that this bridge had been broken up before his time; and accordingly the Notitia omits it.[2] There is a bridge mentioned in the "Mirabilia Romæ" under the name Neronianus, which may possibly be identical with this bridge.[3] Albertini states that Pope Julius II. intended to have the Pons Neronianus restored, and that it was called after him Pons Julius for some time in consequence of this intention. The name Vaticanus is also given to it by some of the older topographers.[4]

Pons Neronianus or Vaticanus.

The Bridge of S. Angelo (Pons Ælius), which crosses the river close to the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was built by that Emperor at the same time with the mausoleum.[5] The anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS. gives an inscription which in his time remained upon the bridge, assigning its erection to the nineteenth tribuneship and third consulship of Hadrian, which indicates the year 135 A.D.; and in confirmation of this Nardini gives a medal of Hadrian, which dates from his third consulship, and has on the obverse a representation of this bridge.[6] The name Pons Ælius, given to it by Dion Cassius in his account of Hadrian's funeral, was probably derived either from Hadrian's prænomen Ælius, or from the name of his son Ælius Cæsar, whose burial was the first which took place in the mausoleum.[7]

Pons Ælius.

Above the Pons Ælius another bridge, called the Pons Triumphalis, is supposed by Bunsen and some of the older Italian topographers to have crossed the river in the direction of Monte Mario. Some ruins, apparently belonging to the pier of a bridge, have been found behind the Teatro Tordinone, or Apollo, and identified with the Pons Triumphalis, by which the Via Triumphalis is supposed to have crossed the Tiber.[8] But it is not improbable that before the Pons Ælius was built the Via Triumphalis crossed the river at the Pons Vaticanus, which was sometimes called Triumphalis.[9]

Pons Triumphalis.

The Janiculan hill and the level district between its slopes and the Tiber contain no ancient remains of important buildings, nor is there any reason to suppose that before the Imperial times any such existed. The site of Numa's tomb, said to have been near a place called Aræ Fontis in this region, is not clearly indicated by any good evidence,[10] while the Prata Mucia, an estate given to Mucius Scævola for his public services,[11] and the Temple of Fors Fortuna, built by Servius Tullius, commonly included in the district of the Janiculum, were most probably outside the walls.[12] A district called the Minor Codeta,

Burial-place of Numa.
Aræ Fontis.
Temple of Fors Fortuna.
Minor Codeta.

[1] Venuti, Part ii. p. 173, note.
[2] See chap. v. p. 59; Notitia, Pontes, p. 263, note 3.
[3] Mir. Rom. ed. Parthey, p. 4. p. 263, note 3.
[4] Albertini, Mirab. p. 5. [5] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19.
[6] Anon. Einsied. ap. Mabillon. Vet. An. p. 359, fol. Paris. 1723. Nardini, ap. Græv. Thes. iv. p. 1445.
[7] Dion Cass. lxix. 23, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίᾳ. The mediæval history is given in Nibby, Roma nell' anno 1838, Parte i. Ant. p. 159.
[8] Bunsen, Beschreibung, Band ii. Abth. i. S. 6.
[9] Albertini, loc. cit.; Flav. Blond. i. 41; Venuti, vol. ii. p. 173, note.
[10] Cic. De Legg. ii. 22; Livy, xl. 29; Dionys. ii. 76; Plut. Num. 22; Val. Max. i. 1, 12; Festus, p. 173.
[11] Livy, ii. 13; Dionys. v. 35; Paul. Diac. p. 144.
[12] Varro, L. L. vi. § 17; Donatus, Ad Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 1; Ov. Fast. vi. 765, 784. On the guardhouse of the Vigiles see addenda at the end of ch. xiv.

named from the plant (*Equisetum arvense*) which grew there in great quantities, was situated in the Transtiberine quarter; and this was the spot in which the great lake was dug where Julius Cæsar exhibited the first sham naval engagement seen at Rome.[1] The Horti Cæsaris, given by the great dictator as a legacy to the Roman people, contained this lake.[2] Augustus afterwards improved the lake by bringing the Aqua Alsietina to supply it,[3] and planted round it,[4] or according to some accounts replaced it by, a large wood called Nemus Cæsarum.[5] In the latter case this wood cannot have remained there long, as the Emperors Nero and Titus appear to have exhibited naval combats in the same place.[6] Domitian is also said to have exhibited naval combats in the Transtiberine district, but whether in the old Naumachia of Julius Cæsar or not is uncertain.[7] As the amusement became popular, many of these Naumachiæ were constructed by the Emperors. The Notitia enumerates no less than five of them in the Regio Transtiberina.

Horti Cæsaris. Nemus Cæsarum.

The name Vatican was applied by the writers of the Augustan age to the whole range of hills extending along the western bank of the Tiber, including the Janiculum and the Monte Mario. Cicero mentions in one of his letters a conversation he held with C. Capito, about Cæsar's plan for increasing the area of the city by cutting a channel for the Tiber under the Montes Vaticani, and uniting the Campus Vaticanus with the Campus Martius. He appears to have been disappointed by this plan in a design he had of purchasing the Horti Scapulani, which lay in the Campus Vaticanus.[8] The hills which Cicero calls the Montes Vaticani were plainly the range of Monte Mario and the Monte della Creta, and the new cut for the river was to have taken the direction of the Strada di Porta Castello. Horace, speaking of the applause with which Mæcenas was received in the Theatre of Pompeius in the Campus Martius, opposite to the Janiculum, evidently gives the name of Mons Vaticanus to the Janiculum.[9]

Vatican.

But the name Vaticanus has now been restricted to the small hill standing behind the Basilica of St. Peter's, upon which the Vatican Museum and the Papal Gardens are situated. This hill is a small projecting portion of the range which includes the Janiculum and Monte Mario, and it is separated from the Janiculum by a depression, along which the street of the Borgo S. Spirito runs. The derivation of the name Vatican is lost. Gellius has preserved a quotation from Varro, in which the word is said to be derived from a deity Vaticanus, the presiding god of the first rudiments of speech (*vagire, vagitanus*). Paulus Diaconus gives a different explanation, founded on the supposed expulsion of the Etruscans in fulfilment of an oracle (*vatum responso expulsis Etruscis*);[10] and from this Niebuhr and Bunsen, following him, have supposed that an Etruscan city existed here in ancient times. There appears to be no sufficient evidence

History.

[1] Suet. Jul. 39. The Major Codeta was probably in the Campus. See Dion Cass. xliii. 23; Plin. xxvi. 13, xviii. 28, 259.

[2] Hor. Sat. i. 9, 18; Suet. Cæs. 83; Tac. Ann. ii. 1; Cic. Phil. ii. 42.

[3] Frontin. De Aquæd. i. 11; Ov. Art. i. 171.

[4] Tac. Ann. xiv. 15.; Suet. Aug. 43.

[5] Monument. Ancyr.; Suet. Tib. 72.

[6] Dion Cass. lxi. 20, lxvi. 25; Suet. Tit. 7.

[7] Suet. Dom. 4.

[8] Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 33.

[9] Hor. Od. i. 20, 7. Martial, Epig. iv. 64, seems to apply the name Janiculum to the Monte Mario. See line 23: "Cum sit tam prope Milvius."

[10] Gell. xvi. 17; Aug. De Civ. Dei, iv. 8, 11; Paul. Diac. p. 379; Müller.

of such a settlement, nor are we warranted in assuming anything beyond the fact that the Etruscans anciently claimed this part of the western bank of the Tiber.

"The mass of the hill is composed of siliceo-calcareous sand, of a yellowish colour,[1] similar to that which is found so widely extended throughout Italy at the foot of the Apennine chain of mountains, forming a series of hills, which can be traced with more or less interruption to the extreme point of the peninsula near Reggio. This sand may be easily recognised in the Belvedere Gardens of the Vatican, or outside the Porta Angelica, in going round outside the walls to the left, where deposits of calcareous gravel are mixed with it. It is generally incoherent and crumbling, but sometimes conglomerated into sandstone of moderate solidity.[2] As in other parts of Italy, so in the Vatican district, underlying masses of bluish marl are found. This marl may be seen behind the Sacristy of St. Peter's, where it appears regularly stratified, and includes laminæ and crystals of selenite, small fragments of fossils belonging to the genera *Dentalis*, *Tellina*, *Lepas*, and *Balanus*, and other marine remains. The outlines also of plants belonging to the *Fuci* are not rare in this formation. The marl is still used for coarse pottery, as it was in the days of Martial and Juvenal.[3]"

Natural features.

Neither the Vatican hill nor the Campus Vaticanus, which lay between it and the river, were included within the Aurelian walls. It was considered an unhealthy district, and the land barren and unsuitable for agriculture.[4] Martial denounces the wine grown there as vinegar and poison:—

> "Cælatus tibi cum sit, Ammiane,
> Serpens in patera Myronis arte;
> Vaticana bibis: bibis venenum."[5]

The Basilica of St. Peter's was still outside the walls in the time of Leo III., but a suburb had gradually grown up under its attraction upon the flat ground between it and the Mausoleum of Hadrian, which increased in importance every year, and was continually enlarged by the permanent settlement of pilgrims from all parts of the world round the shrine of the great Apostle. These settlements were called the Schools of the Greeks, Goths, Lombards, Saxons, and other nations.[6] The design of protecting them from the attacks of the Saracens, Arabs, and Moors, who, in the first half of the ninth century, constantly harassed the shores of Italy, had been entertained by Leo III.; but the work had been delayed, and the building materials already collected had been seized and carried away. But Leo IV., after the great victory gained by the Christian fleet over the Moslems at Ostia, determined to postpone so necessary a defence no longer, and employed, says Anastasius, the captive Saracens and others in large numbers in building walls round the Vatican district. The walls were finished in four years, A.D. 849—853; and the newly-enclosed suburb was called Civitas Leonina.[7]

Civitas Leonina.

[1] Brocchi, p. 164.
[2] See above, chap. ii. p. 15.
[3] Mart. i. 18, xii. 48, 14; Juv. vi. 343.
[4] Tac. Hist. ii. 93; Cic. De Leg. Agr. ii. 35.
[5] Mart. vi. 92, x. 45; "Vaticana bibas, si delectaris aceto."
[6] Anast. In Vita Pontificis, Pasch. i.
[7] See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. lii.; Donatus, Roma Vetus ac Recens, pp. 474, 475; Anast. In Vita Leonis IV. The name commonly given to the Civitas Leonina is Borgo, or "the Borough."

In the times of the Republic, with the exception of the fact that the Prata Quinctia, given to Cincinnatus in recognition of his services, were here,[1] we hear nothing of this quarter, which was then considered a part of the Campagna. The Emperors first began its occupation by laying out pleasure-grounds there, and the whole Ager Vaticanus was covered with two large parks, called the Horti Neronis;[2] one of which, the north-eastern, was named after the elder Agrippina, and the other, the south-western, after one of Nero's aunts, the Domitiæ. The position of the latter is fixed by the Mausoleum of Hadrian, which was built "in Hortis Domitiæ;"[3] and by this name these pleasure-grounds appear to have been known till the time of Aurelian, who made them one of his favourite residences.[4]

Prata Quinctia.

Horti Neronis, Agrippinæ et Domitiæ.

The other park, the Horti Agrippinæ, lay nearer to the Vatican hill itself, in the situation now occupied by the Piazza and Basilica of St. Peter's. Its position is determined by that of the Circus in it built by Caligula, enlarged and constantly used by Nero, where he at first indulged his passion for the games of the Circus in private, or before a select circle, but afterwards before a promiscuous crowd of spectators.[5] A passage in Seneca, where he describes Caligula as walking in these gardens, in a colonnade which separated the cloisters from the river-bank, would lead us to suspect that the Horti Agrippinæ reached down to the bank at the bend of the Tiber below the Pons Ælius;[6] and Philo Judæus also, speaking of his embassy on behalf of the Jews to Caligula, says that the Emperor met the deputation on the level ground near the Tiber, as he was coming out of his mother's pleasure-grounds.[7] It is certain, however, that, whether some part of the grounds reached as far as the river or not, the Circus of Caligula itself stood nearly upon the site of the present Basilica of St. Peter's. For the obelisk which now stands in the centre of the piazza, in front of the basilica, was, as we learn from Pliny, brought by Caligula from Egypt, to adorn the spina of his Circus, and dedicated to the memory of Augustus and Tiberius;[8] and this obelisk is represented in drawings of the sixteenth century as then still standing in its original place on the south side of St. Peter's.[9] In digging the foundations for the new front of the basilica erected by Paul V. in 1616, the foundation walls were brought to light which doubtless belonged to Caligula's Circus. Cancellieri, who was an eye-witness, gives the following account of these substructions:[10]—"In the year 1616, while the steps of the old Basilica of St. Peter's were being removed, some massive ancient reticulated walls were discovered, which seemed to have belonged to the ruined turrets of a circus. A brass coin of Agrippina was found there. While the foundations of the additional part of the Vatican Church were being laid, it was seen that the length of this circus had been 720 Roman palms (about 165 yards), its breadth 156 (35 yards), and the area where the games were

The Vatican Obelisk.

[1] Livy, iii. 26, places the Prata Quinctia opposite to the Navalia of the Campus Martius. Val. Max. iv. 4, 7; Paul. Diac. *sv.* Quinctia.

[2] Tac. Ann. xv. 39, 44.

[3] Hist. Aug. Anton. Pius, chap. v.

[4] Hist. Aug. Aur. 49.

[5] Tac. Ann. xiv. 14. Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 39, 201, xxxvi. 11, 74, calls it "Circus Caii et Neronis;" Suet. Claud. 21.

[6] Seneca, De Irâ, iii. 18. Caligula built this circus for the especial benefit of the Green faction, which he patronised; Suet. Calig. 55; Dion. lix. 14.

[7] Philo Judæus, De Leg. ad Caium, p. 572.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 39, 201, xxxvi. 11, 74.

[9] Gamucci, p. 195, and others quoted by Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 310.

[10] See Venuti, vol. ii. 175, who quotes Cancellieri, De Secretariis, tom. ii. p. 926.

held 230 palms (55 yards) wide.[1] One end was near the lowest steps of the basilica, and the other, where the Church of S. Martha now stands, on the western side behind the apse. There was an obelisk in the centre, which was behind the choir chapel. The end wall of the basilica and the double columns of the chapels of the Crucifix and S. Andrew were built upon two massive walls of the above-mentioned Circus of Caligula and Nero. It was similar to the Circus of Maxentius, now existing, and was surrounded with high walls on each side; three on one side, over which were built the naves of the chapels of the Crucifix and S. Andrew, and three on the other side, where the cemetery of the Campo Santo now is. These walls were of brick, and supported arches, over which were the seats for the spectators. Between the walls there was a space of forty-two feet." He adds that he measured one of these ruined walls, which was 31 palms high and 14 in width, and that some huge marble slabs were found, on one of which roses were carved, and on the other the letters "CVMSPECVLATOR," which may have indicated the seats of the *speculatores*.[2]

There is no doubt that this circus and the surrounding pleasure-grounds were the scene of those horrible tortures inflicted by Nero upon the Christians, when, as Tacitus relates, they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or sentenced to be smeared with pitch, bound to stakes, and burnt to light up the nocturnal revels of the barbarous tyrant.[3] Thus a striking though accidental historical contrast has been produced; for upon the very spot where this first and most bloody persecution was enacted now stands the greatest and the most magnificent of Christian churches.

The subsequent history of the Circus of Caligula and Nero is lost, but it is plain that it must have soon fallen into ruins, since the Basilica of St. Peter was erected on the site by Constantine in the first half of the fourth century, and in the early part of the Middle Ages the remaining ruins were so far dismantled that they are called Palatium Neronis in the "Mirabilia Romæ."[4]

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Circus of Nero stood the Temple of Apollo or Mithras, the Sun-god, mentioned not only by the mediæval writers, but also in some inscriptions which have been preserved; but of its exact site nothing is known. The inscriptions commemorate Taurobolia, or sacrifices of bulls, in honour of Cybele, and reach down to the age of Theodosius. They seem to show that, even after the building of Constantine's basilica, the heathen worship of Mithras and Cybele was maintained on the spot where the Temple of Apollo or Mithras had stood, a curious instance of the strange mixture of heathenism and Christianity which then prevailed. In the same way, a century and a half before the time of Theodosius, Alexander Severus had placed in the same *lararium* the images of Apollonius, of Christ, of Abraham, and of Orpheus.[5] In this quarter was also a large pyramidal

Temple of Apollo, or Mithras.

[1] A palm is eight inches; therefore these measurements are too small to be true. The Circus Maximus was at least 600 yards long, and the distance from S. Martha's Church to the lowest step of St. Peter's is nearly 400 yards. St. Peter's itself is 862 palms long. The Circus of Maxentius on the Appian Road, which can be accurately measured, is 526 yards long.

[2] Venuti, vol. ii. p. 175: i.e. *locum speculatorum.*

[3] Juv. i. 155; Tac. Ann. xv. 44. The expression "tunica molesta" in Juvenal and Martial refers to this mode of execution: Juv. viii. 235; Mart. x. 25.

[4] Mirabilia; Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 284.

[5] Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 290; Anast. Vit. Silvestr.; Orelli, Inscr. 2,322, 2,335, 2,340, et seq.; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 29.

tomb, of greater size than that of Cestius, known in the Middle Ages as the tomb of Romulus or Remus, and no less absurdly called by a scholiast on Horace the tomb of Scipio Africanus. This was destroyed at the end of the fifteenth century, in building the Borgo Nuovo.[1]

Sepulchrum Romuli.

The ground-plan of another circus to the north of the Mausoleum of Hadrian was excavated in 1743; but there are now no traces left.[2] This circus was probably built by Hadrian, for the celebration of funeral games whenever a burial took place in the mausoleum. Of the numerous porticoes and colonnades which must have filled the Imperial pleasure-grounds between the Vatican hill and the Tiber not a vestige is now left. The foundations of some of these may be buried below the level of the present streets; but by far the greater part of the ruins were probably used in 849 in building the houses and walls of the Leonine city.

Circus of Hadrian.

The sole survivor of this utter annihilation of all the contemporary buildings is the huge mass of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, which owes its preservation entirely to the peculiar fitness of its site and shape for the purposes of a fortress, which it has served since the time of Belisarius.[3] Had it not been thus made serviceable to the turbulent spirit of the mediæval Romans, the same hands which stripped the great pile of its marble facing, and, after hurling the statues with which it was adorned into the moat, allowed them to lie there in oblivion, would have torn asunder and carried away the whole mass, to furnish materials for the palaces and stables of their ferocious and ignorant nobles.

Mausoleum of Hadrian.

The original form of this colossal mausoleum is now entirely changed by the modern buildings which have been piled upon it, by the addition of the corbels round its upper part, and by the loss of the exterior facing of marble, so that the ancient appearance can be only conjecturally restored. The remaining ancient part consists of a square basement of concrete and travertine blocks, the sides of which measure 95 yards, surmounted by an enormous cylindrical structure of travertine, 70 yards in diameter and 75 feet high. Procopius tells us that this was cased in Parian marble, and that upon the summit stood a number of splendid marble statues of men and horses.[4] Several other tombs in Italy are still extant, constructed on the same plan, with a cylindrical tower placed upon a square base. Two of these, the celebrated tomb of Cæcilia Metella and that of the Servilii, are upon the Appian road, about three miles from Rome, and belong to the Republican era. Two others, the tomb of the Plautii at Ponte Lugano, near Tivoli, and the beautiful monument of Munatius Plancus, near Gaeta, are of the Augustan age. Hadrian's design was not, therefore, by any means a new one, as we might have expected in the case of an Emperor who was himself an architect, and proud of his artistic designs.[5]

It is plain from the description of Procopius that the statues of men and horses which he mentions were upon the top of the building, for the defenders of the mausoleum against the army of Vitiges, being hard pressed by the approach of the Goths under shelter of a testudo, in their despair seized these statues, and hurled them upon the heads of their assailants, thus breaking down the testudo, and repelling the attack.[6] Of the exact way

[1] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. p. 143; Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 291; Acron. ad Hor. Epod. ix. 25.

[2] Canina, in the Atti della Pont. Acad. x. 1839, quoted by Reber, p. 313.

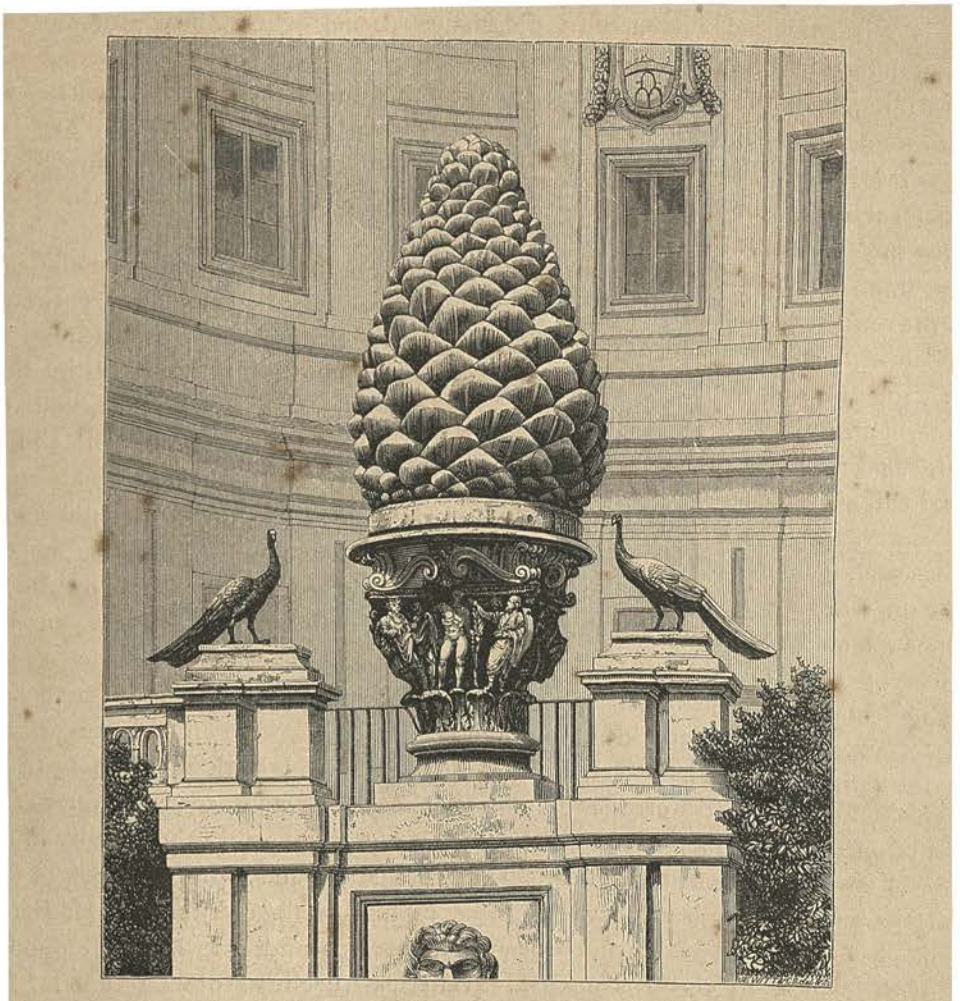
[3] Gibbon, chap. xli.

[4] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 22.

[5] See chap. viii. p. 170.

[6] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 22.

in which they were arranged we have no evidence. Tradition asserts that the twenty-four Corinthian columns destroyed by fire in the Basilica of St. Paul in 1823 formerly belonged to the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and that they were removed by Honorius.[1] A comparison of this tradition with a passage of Herodian, in which he says that the ashes of Septimius



CONE FROM THE TOP OF HADRIAN'S MAUSOLEUM.

Severus were buried in the temple where rest the bones of the Antonini, has led to the conjecture that the columns formed the colonnade of a round temple on the top of the mausoleum in which Hadrian's colossal statue stood, and that the bronze fir-cone found here, which is now placed in the Vatican Garden, ornamented the summit. Round this temple, and upon the level top of the cylindrical tower, may have been arranged the various statues of which Procopius speaks.[2]

The colossal head of Hadrian's statue found here is still to be seen in the Museo Pio

[1] Bunsen's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 208.

[2] Hirt. Gesch. der Baukunst, ii. p. 373.

Clementino, the bronze-gilt peacocks in the Giardino della Pigna; and the famous Barberini Faun now at Munich, and the Dancing Faun at Florence, were amongst the ornaments of the upper part of the tomb. Another conjecture as to the shape of the upper part of the building is that it was surmounted by a smaller cylindrical tower, with a roof in the form of a truncated cone, upon the top of which stood the colossal statue of Hadrian.[1] There is not sufficient evidence to give any degree of certainty to either of these conjectural restorations.

The interior of the building, according to the latest discoveries, consists of a large central rectangular chamber (36 by 30 feet and 54 feet high), approached by an ascending spiral corridor leading from the lower chamber, which communicated immediately with the principal entrance. The entrance was a high arch in the cylindrical tower immediately opposite the bridge. It is now walled up, and the lower chamber into which it leads can only be approached from above.

In the central chamber there are four niches, in which formerly stood the urns and cippi of the illustrious persons buried here. A large sarcophagus of porphyry found here was used for the tomb of Pope Innocent II. in the Lateran, and the lid may still be seen in the Baptisterium of St. Peter, where it is used as a font. The chamber was lighted and ventilated by square passages cut through the walls in a slanting direction, and the rain-water was carried off by channels, which conveyed it into cloacæ at the foot of the building. It does not appear to be certainly known whether other chambers may not exist in the interior which have not been yet discovered. Piranesi gives a number of additional chambers besides the two above mentioned; but his statements are probably conjectural.[2]

After the burial of Nerva no more room was left in the Mausoleum of Augustus for the interment of the Imperial ashes.[3] Trajan's remains were deposited, as has been mentioned, under the column in the Forum bearing his name; but Hadrian gladly seized the opportunity of adding another to the many colossal structures he had already reared. The Mausoleum was begun at the same time with the Ælian bridge, in the year A.D. 135.[4] The bricks, of which part of the building consists, are stamped with various years of Hadrian's reign, and show that the greater part of the building was erected by him, though Antoninus Pius probably completed it.[5] Hadrian's son Ælius, who died before his father, was the first Cæsar whose ashes were placed in this tomb.[6] After him Hadrian himself was buried here,[7] and then the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his wife, the elder Faustina; three of their sons, Fulvius Antoninus, M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus, and L. Aurelius Verus, the colleague of M. Aurelius in the Empire; and a daughter, Aurelia Fadilla.

No record has been preserved of the burial of M. Aurelius, but it seems probable that his ashes were deposited here, as the Mausoleum of Hadrian continued to be the tomb of the Antonines till the time of Severus, who built a third Imperial monument, the Septizonium, on the Appian road.[8] Four children of M. Aurelius were buried here, named

[1] Reber, p. 301.
[2] Piranesi, Ant. Rom. iv. tav. vii.
[3] Dion Cass. lxix. 23.
[4] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19. See above, p. 267.
[5] Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, 8.
[6] Hist. Aug. Æl. chap. 6.
[7] Dion Cass. lxix. 23; Hist. Aug. Ant. Phil. chap. 7; Verus, chap. 11; Comm. 17.
[8] Hist. Aug. Sept. Sev. 19, 24; Geta, 7; Herodian, iv. 1, 4; Dion Cass. lxxvi. 15, lxxviii. 9, 24. Becker, however, thinks that the words in Spartianus are a mere gloss, and that the Mausoleum of Hadrian is meant in Herodian.

Aurelius Antoninus, T. Ælius Aurelius, and Domitia Faustina, who died during their father's life, and also his miserable son and successor the Emperor Commodus. The inscriptions recording all these burials, except those of Hadrian and M. Aurelius, were copied by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen in the ninth century, when they were apparently still legible upon the south wall of the square basement. The inscriptions recording Hadrian and M. Aurelius may have been placed upon the upper part of the tomb, like those on the Plautian tomb and the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and may, therefore, either have escaped the notice of the anonymous traveller, or have been stripped off with the marble casing of the exterior.

After the burial of M. Aurelius, the tomb was closed until the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 A.D., when his barbarian soldiers probably broke it open in search of treasure, and scattered the ashes of the Antonines to the winds.[1] From this time, for a hundred years, the tomb was turned into a fortress, the possession of which became the object of many struggles in the wars of the Goths under Vitiges (537 A.D.) and Totilas (killed 552).[2] From the end of the sixth century, when Gregory the Great saw on its summit a vision of St. Michael sheathing his sword, in token that the prayers of the Romans for the preservation from the plague were heard, the Mausoleum of Hadrian was considered as a consecrated building, under the name of "S. Angelus inter Nubes," "Usque ad Cœlos," or "Inter Cœlos," until it was seized in 923 A.D. by Alberic, Count of Tusculum, and the infamous Marozia, and again became the scene of the fierce struggles between Popes, Emperors, and reckless adventurers which marked those miserable times.[3] The last injuries appear to have been inflicted upon the building in the contest between the French Pope Clemens VII. and the Italian Pope Urban VIII. The exterior was then finally dismantled and stripped. Partial additions and restorations soon began to take place. Boniface IX., in the beginning of the fifteenth century, erected new battlements and fortifications on and around the building; and since his time it has remained in the possession of the Papal Government. The strange medley of Papal reception rooms, dungeons, and military magazines, which now encumbers the top, was chiefly built by Paul III. The corridor connecting it with the Vatican dates from the time of Alexander Borgia (1494 A.D.), and the bronze statue of St. Michael on the summit, which replaced an older marble statue, from the reign of Benedict XIV.[4]

[1] Gibbon, chap. xxxi.

[2] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 22; iii. 36; iv. 33.

[3] Gregory of Tours, x. 1. See Donati, p. 477; Luitprand, iii. 13; Gibbon, chap. xlix. The bastard son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of Marozia (a Roman courtesan), were seated in the chair of St. Peter.

[4] A full account of the mediæval history of the Castle of S. Angelo will be found in Donati's Roma Vetus ac Recens, 1665, pp. 476 et seq.; or in Muratori's Annali d'Italia. Nibby, Roma nell' anno 1838, Parte II. Ant. pp. 488—518.

CHAPTER XII.

THE VELABRUM, VICUS TUSCUS, FORUM BOARIUM, AND CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

GENERAL HISTORY, NATURAL FEATURES, AND BOUNDARIES OF THE DISTRICTS—VICUS TUSCUS—VICUS JUGARIUS ÆQUIMÆLIUM—ALTARS OF JUNO JUGA, CERES, AND OPS AUGUSTA—LACUS SERVILIUS—VIA NOVA—ALTAR OF AIUS LOQUENS—CHAPEL OF VOLUPIA—TOMB OF ACCA LARENTIA—S. TEODORO—TEMPLES OF AUGUSTUS AND ROMULUS—LIMITS OF VICUS TUSCUS AND VELABRUM—LIMITS OF VELABRUM AND FORUM BOARIUM—FORUM BOARIUM—CLOACA MAXIMA—CLOACÆ OF THE FORUM, OF THE AVENTINE, OF THE CAMPUS MARTIUS—ARCUS ARGENTARIORUM—JANUS QUADRIFRONS—DOLIOLA—TEMPLES OF FORTUNE, MATER MATUTA, PUDICITIA PATRICIA, HERCULES (VESTA)—CIRCUS MAXIMUS, OR MURCIAN VALLEY—S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN—TEMPLE OF CERES, LIBER, AND LIBERA—COURTYARD OF CARCERES—ARA CONSI—ARA MAXIMA AND TEMPLE OF HERCULES VICTOR—TEMPLES OF SUN, MOON, MERCURY, MAGNA MATER, JUPITER, VENUS, FLORA, SUMMANUS, AND JUVENTUS.

"Antiquitas recepit fabulas fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite, hæc ætas autem jam exculta præsertim eludens omne quod fieri non potest respuit."—CICERO, *ap.* AUG. *De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 6.

THE history of the Transtiberine district belongs almost entirely to the Imperial age of Rome. When we return from surveying it to the left bank of the river, and traverse the low ground between the Tiber, Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine, we are again carried back to Regal and Republican Rome. The Velabrum, the Forum Boarium, the Vicus Tuscus, and the Circus Maximus are names rich in reminiscences of the romantic youth and warlike manhood of the Roman people. The earliest dawn of Roman history begins with the union of the Capitoline and Palatine hills into one city. In those far-distant times, however, no population was settled in the Velabrum or Circus valley; for, as we have seen, until the drainage was permanently provided for by the cloacæ, these districts were uninhabited swamps; and the name Velabrum itself is said to have been derived from the boats used in crossing from one hill to the other.[1] Perhaps such may not have been the case with the Forum Boarium, which lay between the Velabrum and the river, or with the Vicus Tuscus, which bounded the Velabrum on the side towards the Forum Romanum. These were possibly habitable ground at the time of the foundation of the city.

General history, natural features, and boundaries of the districts.

The respective limits of these three districts will be roughly indicated by dividing the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline into three portions, by lines drawn across

[1] See chap. ii. p. 21.

it from S. Teodoro to S. Maria della Consolazione, and again from the Janus Quadrifrons to the Piazza Montanara. There is no evidence that the district on the river bank, the Forum Boarium, was inhabited before the Velabrum was drained, except the fact that it contained some very ancient temples; but the other district, which adjoins the Forum, the Vicus Tuscus, was so named from a very early settlement of a body of Etruscans in it a long time before the Cloaca Maxima was constructed.[1] This settlement was apparently followed by several others in the time of the Tarquins and of the early Republic.[2] That the Vicus Tuscus adjoined the Forum is shown by the order in which Livy mentions the three (Vicus Tuscus, Velabrum, Forum Boarium) in describing the route of a procession from the Forum to the Temple of Juno on the Aventine,[3] and by the fact that the statue of Vertumnus, which stood in the Vicus Tuscus, is said to have been within sight of the Roman Forum.[4] The expression "Vicus Tuscus" seems to have denoted a single street with groups of houses on both sides; and therefore we find it described as running through the Velabrum to the Circus Maximus.[5] The rest of the space between the Palatine and Capitoline was included under the names Vicus Jugarius and Via Nova, the former of which ran under the slope of the Capitoline, and the latter under that of the Palatine.[6] Three altars dedicated to Juno Juga, Ceres, and Ops Augusta stood in the Vicus Jugarius; and at the point where it entered the Forum stood the notorious Lacus Servilius, where the heads of the unfortunate victims of the Sullan proscriptions were exhibited in public. Afterwards, not perhaps without allusion to these barbarities, M. Agrippa caused the head of a hydra to be fixed there.[7] In the Vicus Jugarius there was also a spot called the Æquimælium, a name said to be derived from the levelling of the house of Sp. Mælius.[8] It lay close under the Capitol, since a part of the Capitoline substructions rested upon it,[9] and was probably no more than a slightly widened part of the Vicus Jugarius. A lamb market was sometimes held there.[10] The Vicus Tuscus entered the Forum between the Basilica Sempronia, afterwards called Julia, and the Temple of Castor. It contained no public buildings of any importance, and seems to have been chiefly occupied by spice and silk merchants' shops.[11] Hence its later name of Vicus Turarius. Like the Subura, the character of its inhabitants was the reverse of respectable. Horace calls them "Tusci turba impia Vici," and Plautus, describing the various kinds of characters to be found in and about the Forum, says, "In Tusco Vico ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant."[12]

Vicus Tuscus.

Vicus Jugarius.

Altars of Juno Juga, Ceres, Ops Augusta.

Lacus Servilius.

Æquimælium.

The Nova Via ran at the back of the temples which formed the south-west side of the Forum, and it seems not impossible that the street lately excavated by Cav. Rosa, leading

[1] Varro, L. L. v. § 46.

[2] Tac. Ann. iv. 65; Dionys. v. 36; Livy, ii. 14; Paul. Diac. p. 355; Müller.

[3] Livy, xxvii. 37.

[4] Propert. iv. (v.) 2, 6.

[5] Dionys. v. 26.

[6] See above, chap. vi. part i. pp. 79, 98. Livy, xxvii. 37; xxxv. 21. These two passages clearly mark the position of the Vicus Jugarius under the Capitol.

[7] See chap. vi. p. 99. Festus, p. 290; Cic. Pro Rosc. xxxii. 89; Seneca, De Prov. ii. 7; Fast. Amitern. et Capr. iv. Id. Aug.; Curios. Urb. Reg. viii.

[8] Livy, iv. 16; Varro, L. L. v. § 157; Val. Max. vi. 3, 1; Cic. Pro Dom. 38.

[9] Livy, xxxviii. 28.

[10] Cic. De Div. ii. 17.

[11] Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 269, is supposed to allude to this street as "vendens tus et odores;" Mart. xi. 27, 11.

[12] Schol. ad Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 228; Plaut. Curc. iv. 1, 21.

under an archway at the north-east end of the Palatine, may have been a part of this street. Caligula, in his extension of the Imperial palace, may very possibly have built over it the archway and chambers which have been lately uncovered.[1] The Nova Via turned round the corner of the Palatine, and ran parallel to the Vicus Tuscus for a short distance. The altar of Aius Loquens stood in it behind the Temple of Vesta, at a point where it was called "infima Nova Via," as being at the foot of the slight descent from the Arch of Titus towards the Capitol.[2] In it were also the Sacellum Volupiæ, close to the Porta Romanula, and the traditional tomb of Acca Larentia, near the spot where it entered the Velabrum.[3]

Via Nova.

Altar of Aius Loquens.

Chapel of Volupia.

Tomb of Acca Larentia.

The boundary line between the quarter called Velabrum and the Vicus Tuscus cannot be very precisely determined. As has already been said, a line drawn between the Church of S. Teodoro and that of S. Maria della Consolazione would roughly represent it. On the other side, however, towards the river, the limit of the Velabrum is marked by the Arcus Argentariorum, which formed an entrance to the Forum Boarium, and by the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. The principal inhabitants of the Velabrum seem to have been tradesmen, and there were few if any public buildings of importance situated in it. Among the trades carried on there we find the sale of oil and of luxuries for the table mentioned. Plautus accuses the oilmen of the Velabrum of a conspiracy to keep up their prices; and Horace represents the luxurious spendthrift as sending to the tradesmen of the Velabrum to come to his house for orders.[4]

Limits of Vicus Tuscus and Velabrum.

The round church of S. Teodoro in the Velabrum has been supposed to be built upon the ruins of an ancient temple, and various conjectures have been hazarded about it. The form has induced some topographers to call it the Temple of Vesta, while others have given the names of the Temple of Vulcan and of the Penates to it.[5] There is little probability in any of these identifications; but the brickwork of which it is constructed appears to be ancient, and may very possibly belong to the Imperial age. The Temple of Augustus, over which the bridge of Caligula, uniting the Palatine with the Capitoline, was built, has also been identified with this church. But it has been shown[6] that the position of the bridge was nearer to the Forum, and the representations of Augustus' temple exhibit it as a hexastyle rectangular building.[7] A Temple of Romulus, mentioned by Varro as situated on the Germalus,[8] may possibly have stood here; but there is no other evidence to prove its identity with the Church of S. Teodoro.

S. Teodoro.

Temples of Augustus and Romulus.

The limits of the Forum Boarium can be clearly defined. It was separated from the Velabrum at the Arch of the Goldsmiths; for that arch, as may be inferred from the inscription, stood in the Forum, or at least on its verge, while the Church of S. Giorgio in

[1] See above, chap. viii. p. 160.

[2] Cic. De Div. i. 45, 101; Gell. xvi. 17. See chap. vi. p. 102.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 164, vi. § 24; Cic. Brut. 15; Macrob. Sat. i. 10.

[4] Plaut. Capt. iii. 1, 29: "Omnes compacto rem agunt quasi in Velabro olearii;" Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 229: "Cum Velabro omne macellum." In the Notitia, a statue (probably) of Hercules Olivarius is placed in this region. Varro, L. L. v. § 156. The situations of the Velabrum minus and Lautulæ are quite undetermined.

[5] Fulvio, Ant. Urb.; Canina, Indic. top. p. 461.

[6] Chap. viii. p. 160.

[7] Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 219.

[8] Varro, L. L. v. § 54.

Velabro, situated a little to the north-west, was, as its name shows, included in the Velabrum. On the south-eastern side the Carceres of the Circus, and the adjoining Temple on the site of S. Maria in Cosmedin, bounded the district,[1] on the western the Tiber,[2] and on the north-western the wall of Servius, the course of which has already been described.[3] The immediate neighbourhood of the river, the Forum, the Campus Martius, and the Palace of the Cæsars would naturally render this quarter one of the most crowded thoroughfares of Rome. A constant traffic of porters and trucks carrying goods from the boats to the warehouses and shops of the Vicus Tuscus and the Forum Romanum; crowds of eager spectators thronging to the games in the Circus; troops of lounging slaves attached to the Palace; and not unfrequently the immediate neighbourhood of large bodies of troops waiting before the celebration of a triumph, encamped outside the Porta Carmentalis in the Campus Flaminius, may well have caused a bustle and pressure in the streets of this quarter such as could hardly be met with elsewhere in Rome. Its temples and public buildings of various kinds were numerous, and belonged to the most different epochs. They had not sprung up at one wave of a Cæsar's hand, like the colossal temples or the spacious colonnades and halls of the Imperial Fora, but had risen gradually one by one, and had been founded from time to time by the statesmen or generals of the Republic. The Forum itself, which gave the name to the district, was probably an open space surrounded by shops and public buildings, like the Forum Romanum,[4] but on a smaller scale. In the centre stood the bronze figure of a bull brought from Ægina,[5] either as a symbol of the trade in cattle, to which the place owed its name, or, as Tacitus observes, to mark the supposed spot whence the plough of Romulus, drawn by a bull and a cow, first started in tracing out the Palatine pomœrium.[6] Ovid can hardly be right in deriving the name of the Forum from this figure of a bull, since this name was given long before the Romans were likely to have had dealings with Ægina, and was, as Varro remarks, of the same class with that of the Forum Olitorium and the Forum Piscatorium.[7]

Limits of Velabrum and Forum Boarium.

The oldest monument of Roman masonry within the Forum Boarium is the remaining portion of a cloaca, commonly identified with the Cloaca Maxima of Livy, which reaches from a spot close to the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro and the Janus Quadrifrons to the Tiber bank, near the Ponte Rotto. At the above-mentioned spot, near the Janus Quadrifrons, seven cloacæ unite and pour their waters into the still extant portion of the so-called Cloaca Maxima, so that a large stream is constantly flowing through it. These branch sewers are built with solid brick arches, but the main archway, though fronted with modern brickwork, consists of massive blocks of tufa, and at short intervals of every few yards has an arch of travertine introduced to add to its solidity

Cloaca Maxima.

[1] Dionys. i. 40: *βοαρίας ἀγορᾶς πλήσιον.*

[2] Ov. Fast. vi. 471: "Pontibus juncta."

[3] Chap. iv. pp. 45, 46.

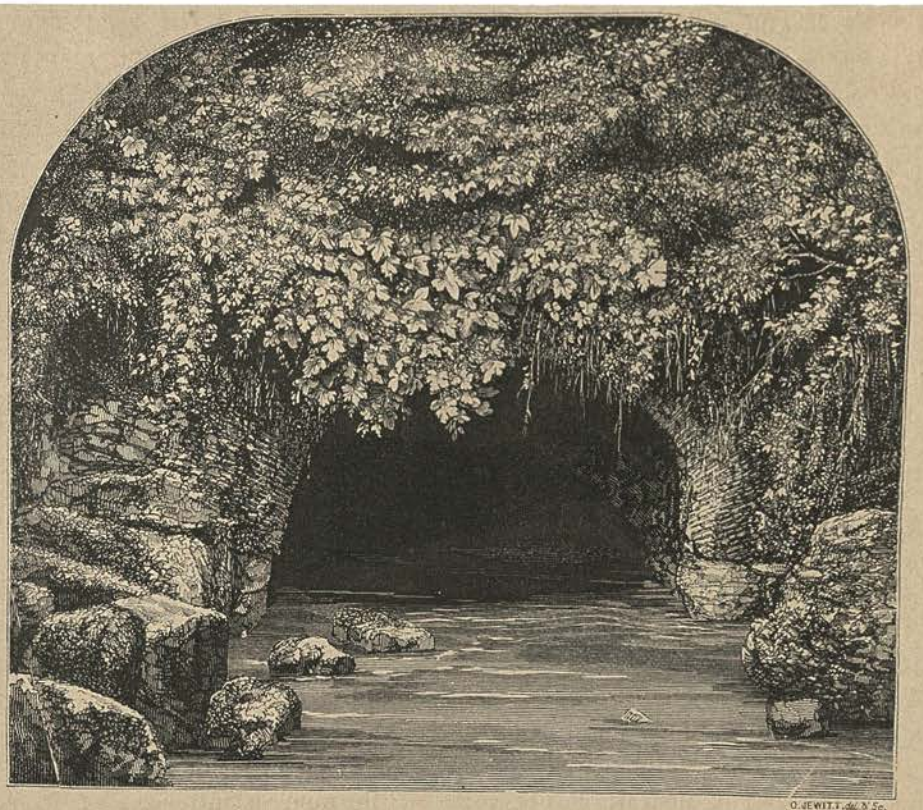
[4] The first gladiatorial show was given in the Forum Boarium; Val. Max. ii. 4, 7. The awful rites when a man and woman of a foreign nation were buried alive took place here; Livy, xxii. 57. Dion Cass. Frag. 47; Bekker, Pliny, xxviii. 2, 3. Livy, xxxv. 40, mentions "tabernæ cum magni pretii mercibus." See also Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 399.

[5] Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 2, 5.

[6] Tac. Ann. xii. 24: "Quia id genus animalium aratro subditur." Varro, L. L. v. § 143.

[7] Ov. Fast. vi. 478: "Area quæ posito de bove nomen habet." Paul. Diac. p. 30; Varro, L. L. v. § 146; Propert. v. 9, 19. See the story in Livy, xxi. 62, of the cow which climbed up to the third story of a house in the cattle-market.

and strength.[1] The original size of the archway, one-third of which is now choked up by mud, was 12 feet 4 inches high, and 10 feet 8 inches wide.[2] Strabo and Pliny say that a cart loaded with hay could pass through some of the Roman sewers; and certainly in the case of the Cloaca Maxima this would not be impossible were it cleared of mud.[3] M. Agrippa, the Hausmann of Rome, is said when Ædile to have traversed the main sewer in a boat.[4] The whole length of this remaining portion is at least three hundred and



THE CLOACA MAXIMA.
(Upper end, near the Janus Quadrifrons.)

forty yards, and it makes several bends, following probably the direction of the ancient streets. The mouth is still visible when the Tiber is not high at a spot called the Pulchrum Littus, near the round Temple of Hercules, usually called the Temple of Vesta. For a distance of about forty feet from the mouth the cloaca is constructed of a triple arch of

1 Piranesi, De Rom. Magn. tab. ii. iii. Abeken, however, denies this; Mittelitalien, S. 171.

2 These measurements are taken from Bunsen's Beschreibung, vol. i. p. 30. See also Brocchi, Suolo di Roma, p. 112.

3 Strabo, v. 3, 8, p. 235.

4 Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 104; Dion Cass. xlix. 43, 1. The immense size is due to the fact that it was not only a sewer for refuse, but a drain for the marsh of the Velabrum, and the many land-springs of the Forum, and must be classed with the Emissarium of the Alban lake and other gigantic undertakings of the kind, such as the Cuniculus at Veii, executed about B.C. 395, and the canal of the Marta in Tuscany. See Dennis, Etruria, vol. i. p. 393.

peperino (Lapis Gabinus) mixed with some blocks of tufa, but throughout the rest of its course it consists of a single arch of tufa with occasional bands of travertine.[1] The masonry along the embankment of the shore on each side is partly of peperino and partly of travertine blocks, laid along and across alternately.

Livy gives the early history of this extraordinary work in his first book. He there ascribes the commencement of the undertaking of draining the Velabrum and Forum to Tarquinius Priscus, and says that Tarquinius Superbus completed the Cloaca Maxima as a receptacle for the refuse of the whole city. Dionysius agrees in giving the same account of the origin of the system of cloacæ,[2] and Pliny enumerates the cloacæ among the wonders of the great metropolis, and expressly mentions Tarquinius Priscus as entitled to the credit of having first originated this great work of public utility. His words are: "Seven streams, after traversing the city, are united, and their waters so compressed into one channel as to sweep everything along with them like a torrent; and when a great body of rain-water is added, the very walls are shaken by the agitated waters; and sometimes the Tiber rises and beats back into them, and vast opposing masses of water meet and struggle; yet their solid masonry resists and stands firm. Huge weights are carried over them, whole buildings, undermined by fire or by some accident, fall upon them, earthquakes shake the very ground around them; yet they have lasted for seven hundred years, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, almost uninjured, a monument of antiquity which ought to be the more carefully observed since it has been passed over in silence by some of our most celebrated historians."[3] The Tarquins are said to have compelled the Roman people to work at these huge structures, just as the kings of Egypt and Assyria exacted task-work from their subjects; but, in palliation of the cruelties alleged against them by the historians, it must be noted that in the one case buildings of permanent public service were built, while in the other only the vanity of a despot was flattered.[4] The passages just cited show that all the extant historians of Rome agree in assigning the plan at least of these vast works to the Regal era, and that Livy expressly names the Cloaca Maxima as the work of Tarquinius Superbus. Niebuhr and even Bunsen, the disciple of Niebuhr, and the inheritor of his historical scepticism, seem to think that the evidence in favour of this fact is almost irresistible.[5] Yet some of the modern historians of Rome have ventured to question the possibility of the construction of such a work as the Cloaca Maxima by the Tarquins; and, as we shall see, there are some reasons for their doubts. Hirt, in his "History of Ancient Architecture," and Mommsen, in his "Roman History," both maintain that the present Cloaca Maxima was built either when, in B.C. 184, a

[1] See Venuti, vol. i. p. 72. The peperino portion was possibly built at a later time, to render the embouchure more durable.

[2] Livy, i. 38, 56; Dionys. iii. 67, iv. 44. It is to be observed that Livy is the only author who mentions one Cloaca Maxima; the other authorities speak of a system of sewers. The existing archway has long been called Cloaca Maxima. See the inscription quoted in Canina, Indicaz. p. 340, note.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 24. This passage shows how small a portion of the ancient system of sewers is now left. It must be observed that Pliny does not mention the Cloaca Maxima by name, and uses the plural number.

[4] Aur. Vict. Vir. Illust. 8.

[5] Bunsen, Beschreibung Roms, vol. i. p. 153: Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 391, Eng. trans.; Lectures, vol. i. p. 52. Niebuhr accepts Livy's statement, that the Cloaca Maxima was built by Tarquinius Superbus, but thinks that a long interval elapsed between Ancus and the time of the Tarquins, during which the Roman Empire increased enormously.

complete cleansing and repairing of the sewers was carried out, or at the time of some one of the other restorations of the cloacæ in the age of the Republic. They support this view by remarking, first, that the cloaca is constructed of travertine, a stone not used till the Republican era, and secondly, that the principle of the arch was not known even to the Greeks until the time of Democritus, about B.C. 406—357, and therefore could not be known to the Romans.[1]

Now, so far as regards historical evidence, it is to be observed that all the passages of ancient writers which speak of works carried on in connexion with the cloacæ in the Republican times seem to speak only of the cleansing and restoration of the old sewers, and not of the building of anything so considerable as the Cloaca Maxima. The grand cleansing and repairing, of which Dionysius speaks as costing a thousand talents, is probably the same as that mentioned by Livy in the censorship of Cato, when new sewers were laid down, where there had been none before, in the neighbourhood of the Aventine.[2] Caius Acilius, whose authority is quoted by Dionysius, lived at that time (B.C. 184), and may therefore have been an eye-witness of these repairs. The sum mentioned, a thousand talents, seems very large to have been laid out on sewers, and indicates some very extensive work; but it is not more perhaps than would be necessary for repairing the old sewers and laying down new ones in the Aventine quarter. The repairs and extensions undertaken by Agrippa were probably little more than additions to the old sewers and the construction of some new ones in the Campus Martius. Pliny's panegyric on the work of the Tarquins would be quite unmeaning if the great sewers had been originally built by Agrippa. And certainly if the earlier enlargements mentioned by the historians amounted to a reconstruction of the larger sewers, we should have expected a fuller account, since after the destruction of Rome by the Gauls the streets were rebuilt without reference to the course of the sewers, and the labour of such an undertaking would have involved the removal and re-erection of a great part of the city.[3]

The importance of the argument derived from the kind of stone used has been exaggerated by Mommsen, who speaks as if the whole cloaca were constructed of travertine.[4] But this is not the case. The greater part is built of the tufa commonly used in the architecture of the Regal period, and travertine is only used at intervals to strengthen the archway. This partial use of travertine, even at so early a date, does not appear unlikely, when we consider the large masses of it to be found in Rome itself on the flank of the Aventine; nor is there any reason to suppose that it was brought from Tibur, as has been assumed. The triple arches of peperino at the mouth may well have been built at a later date than the rest, in consequence of the decay of the most exposed part.

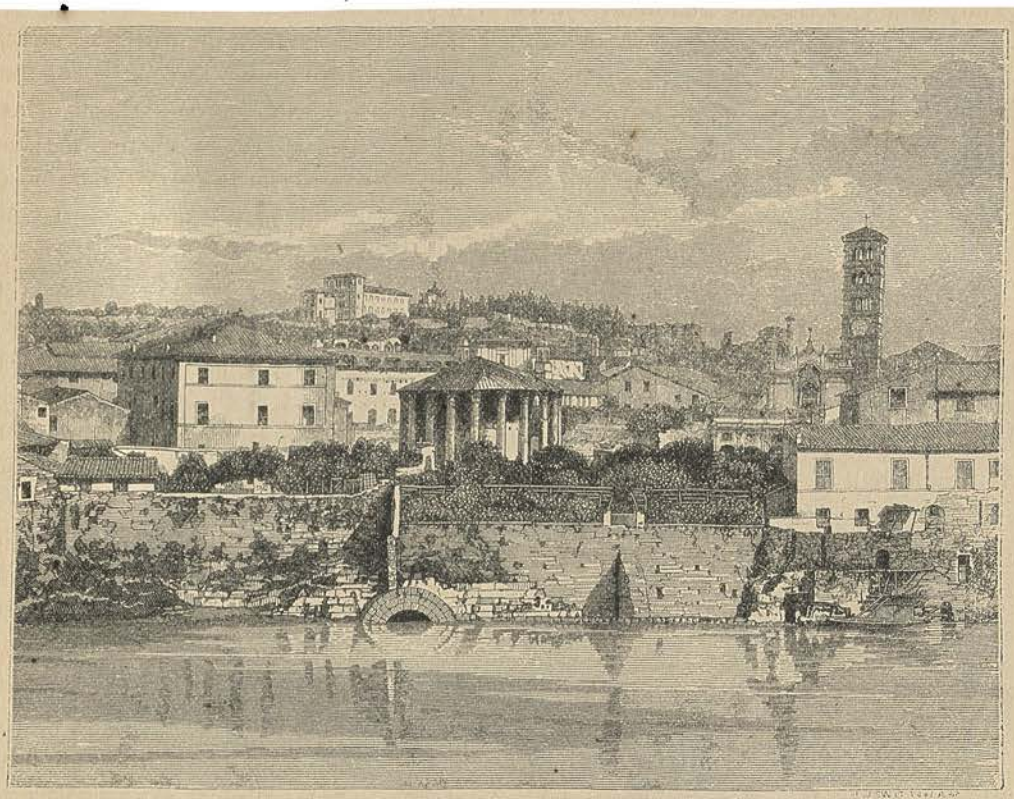
[1] Mommsen, vol. i. pp. 117, 490; Seneca, Ep. 90, § 32.

[2] Dionys. iii. 67; Livy, xxxix. 44.

[3] Livy, v. 55 ad fin.

[4] Mommsen's assertion is probably derived from Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, vol. ii. p. 188, who makes the same mistake. Both these writers have confused the *upper* part of the sewer, which was of travertine, with the Cloaca Maxima. See Fea, Miscell. p. clix. No. 80: "Nell'anno 1742 sotto le fabbriche dei Fenili si trovò il chiavicone maestro, alto e largo incavato in pietra tiburtina." This statement refers to the upper part of the Forum sewer near the Via dei Fenili. See Cambridge Journal of Philology, vol. i. p. 121.

Another argument against the extreme antiquity of the cloaca has been drawn from the supposed inability of the Roman State, at so early a period, to carry out such colossal works.[1] But the extent of the Roman Empire at that time is probably misrepresented by Livy, and the gigantic proportions of the building themselves seem to point to a time of despotic power, when a tyrant reigning over a considerable extent of territory could accomplish, by compulsory and unremunerated slave labour, works which would be



MOUTH OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA AND TEMPLE OF HERCULES (VESTA).

(In the background are the Villa Mills, the Palatine Hill, and the campanile of S. Maria in Cosmedin.)

impracticable under a free Republic. The frugal fathers of the Republic were in general opposed to great works like the Capitoline Temple, the Circus, and the Cloaca Maxima.[2]

On the other hand, there is some reason for placing the date of the Cloaca Maxima somewhat later, on account of the difficulty of proving that the art of constructing arches was known at Rome in the time of Tarquinius Superbus (B.C. 532). Seneca quotes the authority of Posidonius, Cicero's tutor, for the fact that the arch was not known in *Greek* architecture till the time of Democritus, about one hundred and fifty years after Tarquin's reign.[3] This assertion of Posidonius does not, however, seem to have been believed by Seneca, who ascribes an earlier date to the invention of the arch. His remarks on the

[1] See Hope's Essay on Architecture, vol. i. chap. viii. p. 50.

[2] See Mommsen, vol. i. p. 463.

[3] Seneca, loc. cit.: "Democritus invenisse dicitur fornicem. Hoc dicam falsum esse, necesse est enim ante Democritum et pontes et portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur."

subject are ridiculously inconclusive, but he probably expressed an opinion for which better reasons might have been given.[1] At the same time, it is somewhat difficult to suppose that, if the Greeks of Pericles' time had known the principle of the arch, they would not have taken advantage of such an invention in the interior construction of their numerous buildings. And if we assume that the Italians learnt their engineering skill from the Greeks, which is not, however, very probable, it seems possible that Livy and Pliny and Dionysius were mistaken as to the date of the arched sewers at Rome, and that they may have been built after 300 B.C.

Some drains of great size and extent were undoubtedly constructed by the Tarquins; and if we deny the knowledge of the principle of the arch to their times, the question immediately arises: How were these cloacæ constructed? Were they covered with flat slabs of stone; or were they built like the old Mamertine Prison, and many of the older Etruscan tombs, with overlapping blocks of stone; or were they open drains? The last hypothesis seems at present to be the most easy to accept. The Tarquins may have constructed massive open stone channels for the exit of the waters of the Velabrum, and these may have been arched over at successive intervals after the discovery of the principle of the arch. The difference in the kind of stone used in different parts of the extant cloacæ seems rather to point to their construction at different periods; and the advantages of covering up the old open drains, and affording additional space and convenience of access between the parts of the city, would be obvious. In the absence, however, of any positive testimony to the existence of such open drains at Rome, I can hardly adopt this solution of the difficulty, and am more inclined to think that the principle of the round arch was known in very early times to the inhabitants of the Italian coast, as it certainly was to the Egyptians and Assyrians.[2]

Of the series of sewers connected with the Cloaca Maxima, we can now trace only a few, but the nature of the ground shows us that all the various Fora, the Subura, and the slopes of the Palatine, Capitoline, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Velia must have been drained into it. The direction of the main sewer which drained the Forum was discovered by some excavations in 1742; and it was then traced from the Fenili, at the spot where the arch of the Cloaca Maxima is now visible, across the Forum to the Church of S. Adriano, near the Arch of Septimius Severus. Ficoroni, who was present at and made notes of the excavations, declares distinctly that this cloaca is of travertine. He does not give the dimensions, but speaks generally of its size and width as showing the grand scale of the ancient Roman works, and remarks that it lay at a depth of thirty feet below the present surface.[3]

Cloacæ of the Forum.

[1] See Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst, vol. ii. p. 188, who assigns the Cloaca Maxima to a later date, B. C. 184. Hirt is mistaken about the kind of stone with which the cloaca is built, but rests his conclusion chiefly on the date of the invention of the arch. Dennis, Etruria, vol. i. lxiv., 56, 206; ii. 47, 150, thinks that the Romans derived the arch from the Etruscans; in which case the Cloaca Maxima may date from the time of Tarquinius Superbus.

[2] See further in the Introduction on the date of the arch. Niebuhr, Lectures, vol. i. p. 53, Lect. 5, solves this problem by supposing that, after Ancus Martius, the history of a powerful dynasty which reigned over a wide empire at Rome is utterly lost. But this does not explain the historical difficulty of the use of the arch. There is a strange tale in Lactantius, to the effect that Tatius found an image of Cloacina in the Cloaca Maxima; Lactant. lib. i. chap. xx. In London, the old Fleet Ditch was uncovered until quite lately.

[3] Fea, Miscell. p. clix. Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. vol. i. p. 392, thinks that it passed from S. Adriano, under the Arco dei Pantani, to the Subura. Juv. v. 106, "crypta Suburæ."

The use of travertine alone throughout this portion of the sewers shows them to have been of a later age than the Cloaca Maxima. They probably replaced older cloacæ, since the Forum could not have been made habitable without drainage of some

ARCUS ARGENTARIORUM.

kind; but we have no means of determining to which of the later reconstructions of the system of sewers they belonged. Very possibly they may have formed a part of the great works carried on in B.C. 184. But the principal object of those works was the drainage of the Aventine, and the ancient cloaca now conveying the water of the Marrana into the Tiber, the mouth of which is still visible from the

Cloacæ of the Aventine.

Ponte Rotto, at a point lower down the river than the Cloaca Maxima, was probably executed at that time.[1]

Another system of cloacæ must have drained the Campus Martius, and a part of one of these has been discovered near the Pantheon, from which point it runs across the Corso towards the Quirinal. The dimensions are given by Donati as nine feet in height and eleven in breadth.[2] The connexion of this sewer with the Thermæ of Agrippa and the Aqua Virgo is evident. An enormous extension of the sewerage of Rome must have been rendered necessary by the numerous aqueducts and thermæ built in the Imperial times, when the quantity of water constantly poured into the city was of itself sufficient to supply a river of moderate dimensions.

Arcus Argentariorum.

Opposite to the narrow alley which leads down to the arch of the Cloaca Maxima stands a stone ornamental doorway, now partly built into the wall of the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. It is constructed of brickwork with marble facings, and consists of two square piers decorated with pilasters of the Composite or Roman order at the corners, and surmounted by a horizontal entablature of rich carved work. There is no trace of an attica above. The inscription, still well preserved, shows that it was erected by the money-changers or bankers and other merchants of the Forum Boarium, in honour of Septimius Severus, his wife Julia, and his son Antoninus (Caracalla). As in the case of the Arch of Septimius in the Forum, so here, the words "iii. pp. procos. fortissimo felicissimoque principi," and also "Parthici Maximi Britannici Maximi," were inserted by Caracalla, in place of the name and titles of his murdered brother Geta.[3] Spartianus says of Caracalla, "Mirum sane omnibus videbatur quod mortem Getæ totiens etiam ipse fieret quotiens nominis ejus mentio fieret, quotiens imago videretur aut statua;"[4] and not only in the inscriptions of the time of Septimius Severus, but even in the reliefs, we everywhere find Geta's figure erased. On the shafts of the pilasters are representations of military ensigns, which bear upon their circular tablets and above the eagles likenesses in relief of two Cæsars, Severus and Caracalla. The third likeness, that of Geta, has been erased in every instance. In each of the spaces between the pilasters are four panels with sculptures in relief. The lowest of these represents the merchants of the Forum Boarium bringing cattle as victims to the altar. The compartment above these exhibits various instruments used in sacrifice similar to those found upon the Temple of Vespasian.[5] Upon the larger central panel are the figures of the Imperial family engaged in sacrificing; and it can easily be seen that from some of these the figure of Geta has been carefully chiselled away. In one of these large panels is the figure of a barbarian captive with the Phrygian cap so common upon the sculptures of the triumphal arches. The upper compartments contain festooned ornamental work, and a few figures of men. The front of the architrave and frieze is almost entirely occupied by the inscription, and is not highly ornamented; but the cornice, which is divided into seven ledges, is overladen with various decorative patterns, without purity of design or excellence of execution.

The date of the erection of this monument is stated in the inscription to be the twelfth

1 Livy, xxxix. 44.

2 Donati, De Urbe Roma, 1665, p. 434; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 24.

3 See *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1867, p. 217.

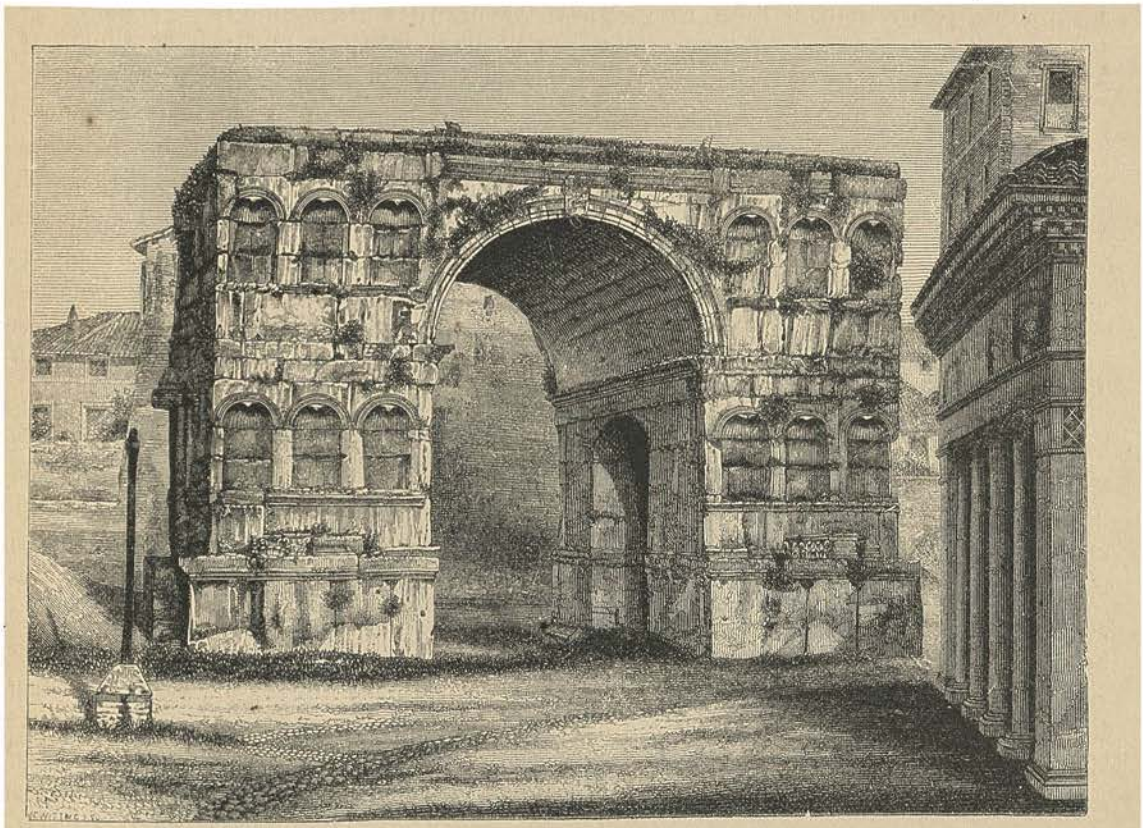
4 Hist. Aug. Geta, 7. See above, chap. vi. p. 123.

5 See chap. vi. p. 119.

year of the Tribunitia potestas of Severus and the seventh of Caracalla, which corresponds to A.D. 204. Reber thinks it possible that the merchants of the Forum Boarium intended it as a testimonial of gratitude to Severus for having built the neighbouring Janus Quadrifrons to ornament their quarter of the city.[1]

Close to this gateway of Septimius Severus stands the building supposed with much probability to be one of the quadruple archways called by the Romans Jani Quadrifrontes.[2] It is a massive square building of white marble, with four piers supporting as many arches, which are united in the centre by a vaulted roof. Each pier has on the exterior twelve niches in two rows, with semicircular shell-shaped

Janus Quadrifrons.



JANUS QUADRIFRONS.

crowns. These two rows of niches were formerly separated by a projecting cornice, which is now nearly destroyed except in the interior. The niches nearest to the corners on the north and south sides are not hollowed out, but only traced on the exterior surface, in order not to endanger the solidity of the angles. The present height of the building is thirty-eight feet, but it probably had an attica originally upon the top, to which

[1] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 344.

[2] Servius, ad Æn. vii. 607, speaks of Janus Quadrifrons as the god of the four seasons of the year. He mentions the Janus with four arches, extant in his time, in the Forum Transitorium. See chap. vii. pp. 137, 138; Aug. De Civ. Dei, vii. 4.

the staircase, still extant, led, and in which were some small rooms for the transaction of business. Upon the keystones of the arches two figures can be still recognised, one of Rome and the other of the patroness of trade, Minerva. The exterior surface was doubtless decorated with rows of Corinthian columns between the niches, a large quantity of remains of such columns having been found in clearing the base; and in the niches themselves stood the statues of various deities.

The purpose of this arch was probably solely ornamental, and it stood by itself in some part of the Forum Boarium. The rooms in the attica may have been used for the accommodation of some of the officials of the cattle market. Its builder and date are alike unknown. From the style of its architecture and sculptures, it has been pronounced decidedly later than the age of Domitian, to whom, from his fondness for building Jani, it might be attributed.[1] Platner and Becker suggest that it is identical with the Arcus Constantini of the eleventh region; but a comparison of the style of the remnants of sculpture upon it with those on the existing Arch of Constantine does not confirm this conjecture.[2]

Doliola.

Near the Cloaca Maxima was a spot called Doliola, in which, at the time of the Gallic invasion of 387, the sacred symbols from the Temple of Vesta were buried for safety in small casks (*doliola*). The house of the Flamen Quirinalis was near this spot.[3]

Temples of Fortune.

Close to the Pons Æmilius stands a small temple, now converted into the Church of S. Maria Egiziaca, which presents an unsolved problem in Roman topography. The substruction of this temple, which has been laid bare, consists of tufa cased with travertine. The form of the temple is that called "tetrastylos" by Vitruvius, having four Ionic columns in front and seven at the sides. The four front columns and two on each side forming the pronaos originally stood clear, but are now enclosed within the wall of the church. The remaining five on each side, with those at the back, were half-columns set against the wall of the cella. The shafts of the half-columns are of tufa, but the bases and capitals, with the entablature and the columns of the pronaos, are of travertine. On the frieze and cornice are the remains of ornamental work, which is now rendered almost invisible by the stucco with which the walls have been covered.[4]

This building has usually been supposed to be the temple dedicated by Servius Tullius to Fortuna Virilis, and situated on the bank of the Tiber. The passage of Dionysius upon which this supposition rests is as follows:—"Servius Tullius built two temples to Fortune, one in the Forum Boarium, and the other upon the bank of the Tiber, to which he gave the name Ἀνδρεία; and by this name it is still known to the Romans."[5]

The inference commonly drawn from these words of Dionysius assumes that both the temples mentioned were in the Forum Boarium. But it is more likely that Dionysius meant to imply that the second temple, that of Τύχη Ἀνδρεία, was not in the Forum Boarium, since he appears to assign a different situation to it, viz. on the banks

[1] Suet. Dom. 13.

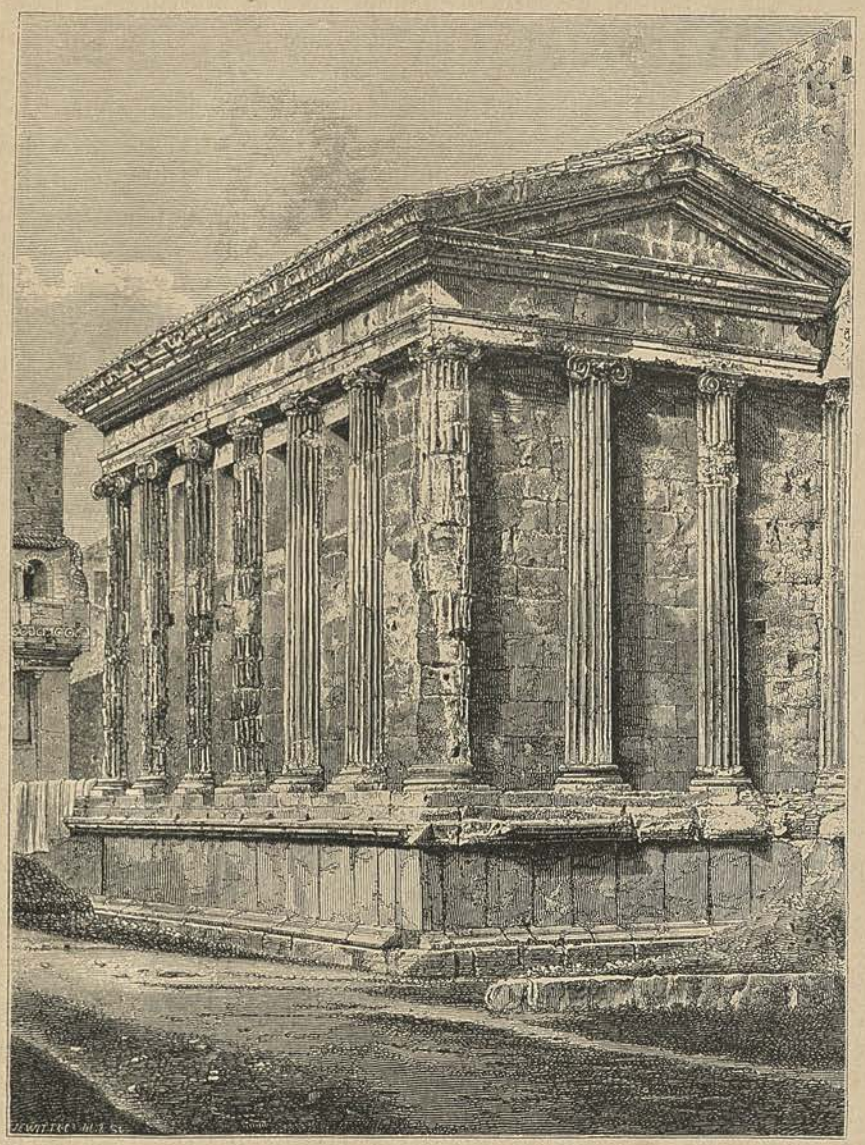
[2] Platner, Beschreibung Roms, iii. A. S. 337; Becker, Handbuch, S. 494; Reber, S. 344.

[3] Varro, L. L. v. § 157; Livy, v. 40; Paul. Diac. p. 69.

[4] See Introduction. The corner capitals of this temple have the later position of the Ionic volutes, while the side capitals have the usual position.

[5] Dionys. iv. 27.

of the Tiber. And, as we know from other sources,[1] that Servius built a temple to Fors Fortuna on the west bank, at some distance further down the river, it seems not improbable that Dionysius, being a Greek, misunderstood the Latin expression "Templum



SO-CALLED TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS.

Fortis Fortunæ," and translated it into *ναὸς Τύχης ἀνδρείας*, confounding it with the Latin Fortuna Virilis. This is confirmed by the fact that Plutarch, also a Greek writer, makes the same mistake. He says: "*Τὴν δὲ πρὸς τῷ ποτάμῳ Τύχην φόρτιν καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν*

[1] Varro, L. L. vi. § 17, "extra urbem;" Donat. Ad Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 1, "trans Tiberim;" Fast. Amit. viii. Kal. Jul. ad mill. prim. et sext.; Ov. Fast. vi. 773 et seq.; Merkel, Proleg. ad Ov. Fast. p. cxlii.

ἰσχυρὰν ἢ ἀριστευτικὴν ἢ ἀνδρείαν. καὶ τόν γε ναὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τῷ δήμῳ καταλειφθεῖσι κήποις ὠκοδόμησαν."[1] This mistake of Plutarch and Dionysius was first pointed out by Bunsen.[2] There were three temples of Fors Fortuna at Rome, all on the western bank of the river: the one just mentioned built by Servius, at the sixth milestone; a second, dedicated by Spurius Carvilius Maximus, which stood near it;[3] and a third, in the Gardens of Cæsar, at the first milestone.[4]

Besides these there were a Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, at the fourth milestone on the Via Latina,[5] and the above-mentioned Temple of Fortuna ascribed to Servius in the Forum Boarium. Lastly, there was also a temple of Fortuna Virilis, mentioned by Ovid, which Plutarch calls *ναὸς Τύχης ἄρρενος*.[6] Thus it is evident that the only Temple of Fortuna Virilis which can be identified with the Church of S. Maria Egiziaca is that mentioned by Ovid. But his account of the site is far too vague to justify any such identification. It is more probable, as Reber suggests, that we have here the Temple of Servius dedicated to Fortuna without any special title. Dionysius, as we have seen, places this in the Forum Boarium, and Livy describes it as "intra portam Carmentalem," and mentions it in tracing the course of a conflagration between the Salinæ near the Porta Trigemina and the Porta Carmentalis.[7] But there was another temple, that of Mater Matuta,[8] which stood close to the Temple of Fortune; and there is no evidence showing to which of the two the ruin in question belongs. Both were founded by Servius, and reckoned among the most venerable relics of ancient Rome. Becker urges the claims of the sanctuary of Pudicitia Patricia, which Livy places in the Forum Boarium, near the round Temple of Hercules, to this site. But this was merely a small shrine, containing a statue, and not a templum.[9] So far as an opinion can be formed of the date of the building from the materials and style of architecture, it seems to belong to the later Republic.

Temples of Mater Matuta and Pudicitia Patricia.

On the Piazza della Bocca della Verità, at a short distance from the temple we have just been considering, stand the remains of a small round temple, commonly known as the Temple of Vesta. Perhaps of all the ruins of Rome this is the most familiar to the eye of the traveller. A considerable part of the cella is still standing, ornamented with a simple and elegant cornice. Round this stand nineteen graceful Corinthian columns of white marble. The entablature is unfortunately destroyed, and the rude modern tiled roof with which the building has been capped completely spoils the picturesque effect of the ruin.

So-called Temple of Vesta.

The name now given to it rests on no other evidence than its circular shape; and as we have no mention of a Temple of Vesta in the Forum Boarium, it must be at once condemned as a misnomer.[10] The building has also been called the Temple of the Sibyl or the Temple of Cybele,[11] without better reason. The most probable conjecture as to its

[1] Plutarch, De Fortuna Rom. 5.

[2] Beschreibung Roms, iii. 1, 665. [3] Livy, x. 46.

[4] Plut. loc. cit.; Tac. Ann. ii. 41; Plut. Brut. 20; Fasti Amit. viii. Kal. Jul. ad mill. prim. et sext.

[5] Festus, p. 242; *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1854, p. 59.

[6] Ov. Fast. iv. 145; Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 48, § 197; Plut. De Fortuna Rom. 10, Quæst. Rom. 74. Plutarch enumerates seven other designations under which Τύχη was worshipped. See also chap. viii. p. 193, and chap. x. p. 251.

[7] Chap. iv. p. 51; Canina, Indic. p. 503; Livy, xxv. 7, xxiv. 47.

[8] Livy, loc. cit., v. 19, 23, xli. 28.

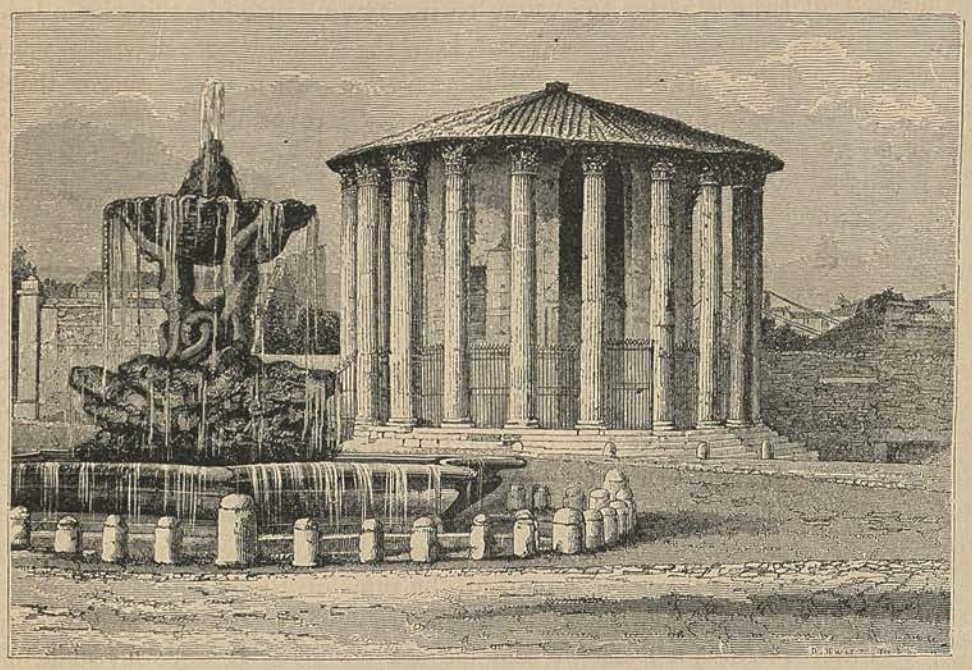
[9] Ibid., x. 23; Festus, 242.

[10] The passage of Horace commonly quoted, Od. i. 2, 15, cannot refer to this temple, but to the temple near the Regia in the Forum.

[11] Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. p. 125.

name is that first suggested by Piale, that it is the round Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium mentioned in the tenth book of Livy, and alluded to by Festus as the Æmilian Temple of Hercules.[1] The appellation "Æmiliana" certainly seems to point to the neighbourhood of the Æmilian bridge. The style of its architecture indicates a restoration in the latter half of the first century A.D. Formerly it was called the Church of Madonna del Sole, from a favourite image of the Virgin in it; at an earlier period S. Stefano delle Carozze, from the discovery of a marble model of a chariot in its neighbourhood; but in 1810 it was cleared out and restored, and since then has not been used as a church, but contains a small collection of marble fragments.

Æmilian Temple of Hercules.



ROUND TEMPLE OF HERCULES, USUALLY CALLED THE TEMPLE OF VESTA.

The oldest name of the valley between the Palatine and Aventine was Vallis Murcia, from a very ancient altar dedicated to Dea Murcia, a title given to Venus, and supposed by Varro and Pliny to be derived from the myrtle bushes in which the valley formerly abounded.[2] It is traversed by a stream called the Aqua Crabra or Marrana, which enters the city near the old Porta Metronia, and runs through the whole length of the valley, entering the Tiber through a cloaca which carries it under the Forum Boarium.

Circus Maximus, or Murcian Valley.

[1] Livy, x. 23; Festus, p. 242: "ubi Æmiliana ædes est Herculis."

[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 154; Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 29, 36; Livy, i. 33; Plut. Quæst. Rom. 20. Other explanations of the name will be found in Aug. Civ. Dei, iv. 16; Paul. Diac. p. 148; Serv. ad Æn. viii. 626; Claud. De Laud. Stil. ii. 404. The Circus was also called Armilustrium, from the military nature of the processions which took place there. Varro, L. L. v. § 153.

At the entrance of the valley of the Circus Maximus, and on the south side of the Piazza della Bocca della Verità, stands the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which is built upon the ruins of an ancient temple. Ten columns still remain in their original places, seven of which stand in a line parallel to the entrance, and three others in the left-hand side wall of the church. Some of the columns are built into the walls of the sacristies on the right of the entrance, and reach through the roofs to the upper story. The material of which they are made is white marble, and their capitals are of the Roman or Composite order. Parts of the wall of the cella may still be seen in the sacristy, built of tufa, which was originally faced with marble. The design of the capitals and chiselling of the ornamental work upon them are of the best period of art, and some of them may be conveniently examined in the room over the sacraria and in the organ loft.[1] Behind the apse of the church are some large chambers built of massive blocks of travertine, which were probably attached to the carceres of the Circus as stables or offices of some kind; and the position of these compels us to assume that the front of the temple faced towards the Velabrum, and that the seven columns parallel to the façade of the present church belonged to the side of the temple, while the three in the left-hand wall formed a part of the front. Otherwise the travertine chambers at the back must have formed some part of the temple; and it is difficult to see how this could have been the case, as they are evidently not the walls of the cella, and cannot be brought into any symmetrical position with the rows of columns.

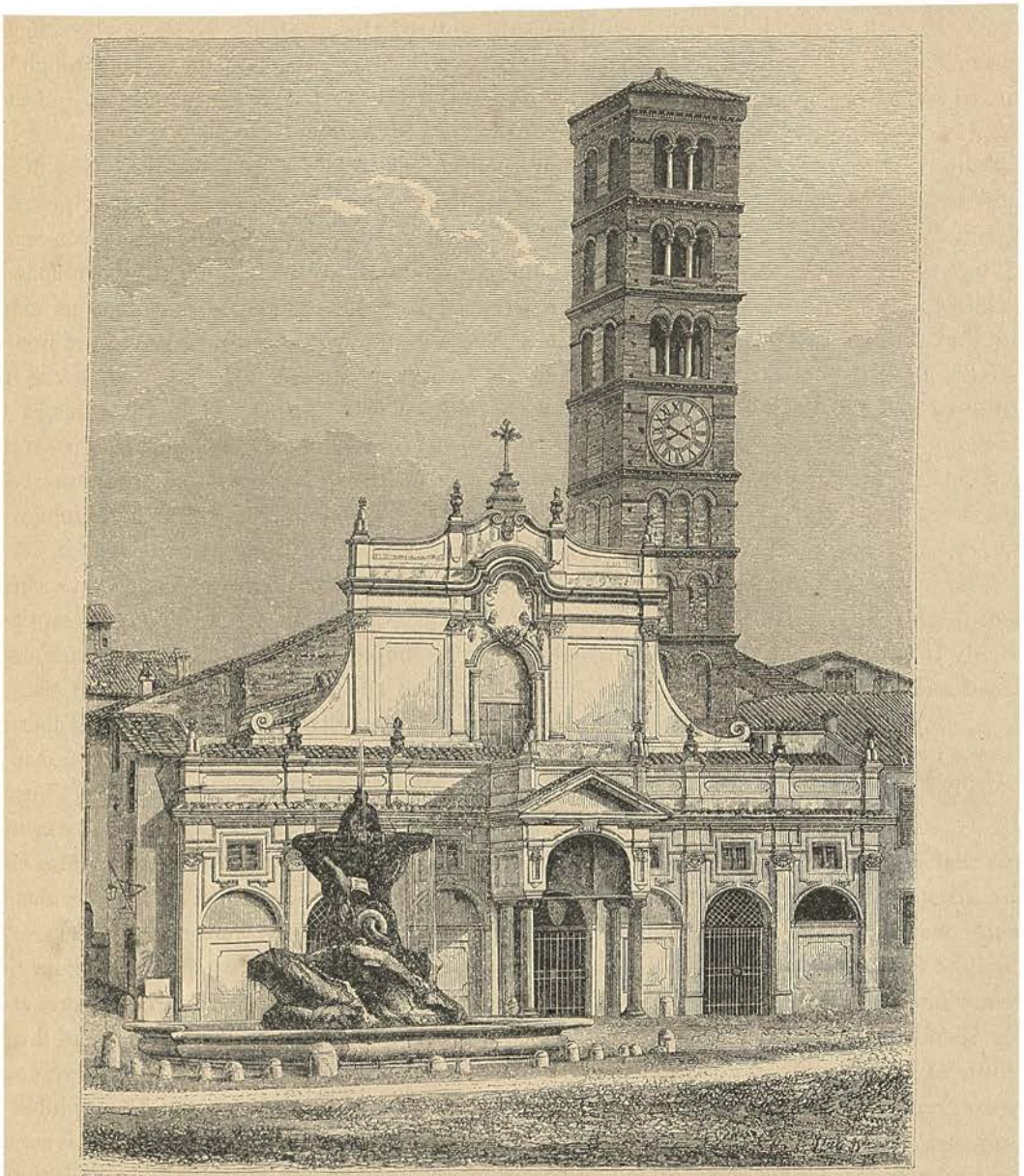
S. Maria in Cosmedin.

The temples of Pudicitia Patricia, of Mater Matuta, and of Fortune have been severally identified with these ruins by the writers of Roman topography. But it has been shown already that the first of these was probably a mere chapel, and that the other two must be placed nearer to the Carmental Gate;[2] and therefore the conjecture of Canina,[3] that the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin was formerly the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, appears much more likely to be true. That temple is included in the eleventh region by the Curiosum and Notitia, and is placed by Vitruvius, Tacitus, and Pliny close to the Circus Maximus, while Dionysius expressly says that it stood (ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀφέσεις) just over the barriers of the Circus Maximus.[4] The account of Vitruvius answers to the ruins which still remain. For he says that the temple was of the description called "araeostyle," *i.e.* with wide intercolumnar intervals; and it will be found that the intervals between the columns now standing are nearly four times heir diameter. Vitruvius also says that it was of the Tuscan order of architecture, and in this seems to contradict Pliny, who, quoting Varro's authority, speaks of it as the first temple at Rome which had Greek ornamental work.[5] Their statements may be reconciled by observing that Pliny is speaking of the decorations of the temple by Damophilus and Gorgasus, and not of the style of architecture. The araeostyle arrangement of the columns was probably preserved even after the complete restoration by Tiberius,[6] at which time, as Pliny relates, the old Greek frescoes were cut out and framed, and the terra-cotta statues removed from the roof.

Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.

[1] Reber, p. 341.
[2] P. 290, notes 8, 9.
[3] Canina, Indic. p. 498.
[4] Curios. Reg. xi.; Vitruv. iii. 3, 5; Plin. xxxv. 4, 24; 10, 19; 12, 154; Tac. Ann. ii. 49; Dionys. vi. 17, 94. See also Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 24.
[5] Plin. xxxv. 12, 154.
[6] Tac. loc. cit.

The temple was first vowed by A. Postumius, the Dictator in the Latin war of 497 B.C., on account of the great scarcity of provisions which then prevailed. It was dedicated three years afterwards by the Consul Spurius Cassius, a statesman who showed a disposition to



S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN.
(Formerly the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.)

imitate the great architectural works of the Regal period, contrary to the generally frugal spirit of the early Republican fathers.[1] In the year 31 B.C. a destructive fire which raged

[1] Dionys. vi. 17, 94.

between the Circus and the Forum Olitorium destroyed the temple,[1] and with it some of the most valuable treasures of Greek art which it contained. Among these, besides the frescoes of Damophilus and Gorgasus above mentioned, was the famous picture of Dionysius by Aristides, for which Attalus bid sixteen talents, a price which excited the attention of Mummius, and induced him, although unable himself to appreciate the merits of such works of art, to suspect its value, and carry it to Rome in spite of the remonstrances of Attalus.[2] The restoration was undertaken by Augustus, and finished by Tiberius in A.D. 17.[3] This temple was the record office and treasury of the plebeian ædiles, as the Temple of Saturn was of the quæstors; and it was enacted that the decrees of the Senate should be delivered over to the ædiles there, an enactment which seems never to have been carried out.[4] The mediæval names of the church, "in Cosmedin" and "in Schola Græca,"[5] seem to point to the possession of the church by Greek monks after the division of the Empire; and the piazza in which it stands is called Bocca della Verità, from the strange figure of a head under the modern portico of the church, in the mouth of which it is said that persons whose veracity lay under suspicion were required to place their hand while making oath, in the belief that the mouth would close upon it if the oath taken was a false one. Immediately behind the church are the arched buildings of travertine blocks, which have already been mentioned as belonging to the carceres of the Circus.

Courtyard of the Carceres.

The largest of these is now used as a store-room of articles of church furniture, and stands on the right side of the tribune of the church. They are perhaps situated too far towards the river to be portions of the actual carceres from which the chariots started, but they may have formed one side of a courtyard behind the carceres, in which the harnessing and preparation for the races took place.[6]

The natural configuration of the Circus valley would, without any artificial constructions, afford a suitable space for contests of chariots and for horse races.[7] Romulus made use of it for the Consualia, at which the seizure of the Sabine women was effected;[8] and the

Ara Consi.

Altar of Consus was one of the most ancient and venerated spots included within it.[9] This altar seems to have stood on the central line or spina of the Circus, and was at a lower level than the other shrines, either from the raising of the level of the ground, or from a superstition which required that it should be concealed under the earth. At the time of the games it was always uncovered and exhibited to the view of the spectators.[10] The expression used by Tertullian ("ad primas metas") probably means that it was not far from the metæ of the Circus where the chariots first turned, and we may therefore, as will appear from the description of the Circus, place it near the south-eastern end of the valley. Tacitus mentions this altar as one of the points near which the line of the Romulean pomœrium ran, and uses it to mark roughly the southern angle of the Palatine settlement.[11]

[1] Dion Cass. l. 10.

[2] Strabo, viii. 23, p. 381; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 4, 24.

[3] Tac. Ann. ii. 49.

[4] Livy, iii. 55; Mommsen, vol. i. p. 284.

[5] Ann. Einsied.; Mirabilia; Anast. Vit. Hadr. i. One of the churches of the sixth century at Ravenna has the same name.

[6] See Canina, Indic. p. 496, who mentions the discovery of another side of this courtyard.

[7] See Bianconi, Descrizioni dei Circi.

[8] Livy, i. 9.

[9] Varro, L. L. vi. § 20.

[10] Plut. Rom. 14; Tertull. De Spect. v. 8.

[11] See above, chap. iii. p. 32; Tac. Ann. xii. 24.

The legendary tales of the city carry us back to a period before that of Romulus, and relate a visit of Hercules to the valley of the Circus, and the foundation by him or by Evander of a still older altar than the Ara Consi—the Ara Maxima. The position of this and of the Temple of Hercules Victor have already been pointed out as near the back of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and at the western corner of the Circus.[1]

Ara Maxima and Temple of Hercules Victor.

After the Romulean era, the valley began to be used for the Ludi Circenses, and the spectators were accommodated upon wooden temporary stages.[2] Tarquinius Priscus is said to have first built permanent seats on the occasion of the games given by him after the capture of Apiolæ, a Latin town, and to have assigned a certain space to each of the thirty Curiæ.[3] From this time the shape of the Circus became fixed, and it was probably similar to that of a Greek stadium in most points, but was adapted more especially to horse and chariot races than foot races.[4] The length of the whole was about 600 yards, and it was divided into two parallel courses by a wall running down the centre, called the "spina." At one end were the barriers whence the chariots started, and the other end was semicircular. Remains of the semicircular part, where the chariots turned, are still traceable at the south-eastern end of the valley; and therefore the carceres must have been at the other end, between S. Maria in Cosmedin and the modern gas works.[5]

The front line of the carceres was not a straight line at right angles to the spina, but was curved in the shape of a segment of a circle described from a point midway between the nearer end of the spina and the side wall of the circus, so as to prevent the chariots which started in the centre from having an unfair advantage.[6] The metæ also were so placed as to give a wider course to the chariots just after turning round them than when on the point of turning. The carceres were arched vaults, closed in front by folding doors, each capable of containing one chariot. The spectators' seats were, according to Dionysius, roofed with some kind of covering.[7] The Tarquinii appear to have expended a large amount of labour and money upon this work, for both Livy and Dionysius rank it with the other great edifices of the kings, the Capitoline Temple and the Cloaca Maxima, and dwell upon the sufferings of the workmen compelled to labour in building it.[8]

Little improvement or alteration seems to have been made in the Circus during the

[1] Chap. iii. p. 32, and note on p. 40; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. book i. chap. xii. p. 174, Eng. trans.

[2] Dionys. iii. 68.

[3] Dionys. loc. cit.; Livy, i. 35.

[4] Mommsen, Rom. Hist. book i. chap. xv. p. 235, and book ii. chap. ix. p. 472, Eng. trans., derives the Ludi Maximi from a Greek source.

[5] Among the fragments of the Plan of Rome engraved on marble plates now preserved in the Capitol may be seen the semicircular end of a circus, which is referred by Canina, Indic. p. 495, to the Circus Maximus. Three large stands for spectators are there represented, which may have been the "mœniana" of Suet. Cal. 18.

[6] This arrangement may be seen in the Circus of Maxentius, on the Appian road. It is commonly said that a rope was stretched in front of the carceres; but this would have destroyed the effect intended to be produced by the curved line of their front. The rope was a Greek device, but not a Roman; see Paus. vi. 20, 7. The carceres were also called Oppidum, from the turrets and pinnacles over them. Varro, L. L. v. § 153. They were divided into twelve cells, six on each side of the principal gate. (Cassiod. Var. iii. 51.) The six factions of the Circus could thus be divided conveniently for starting in the different heats. The fullest account of the Ludi Circenses is in Panvinius, De Circensibus.

[7] Dionys. iii. 68. Livy, i. 35, 56, calls them fori, "decks" or "gangways."

[8] Liv. i. 56; Dionys. iv. 44.

times of the Republic,[1] and it was not until five centuries had elapsed since the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud that Julius Cæsar undertook to repair, or more probably to rebuild, the whole on a more convenient and extensive plan.[2]

As arranged by Cæsar, the Circus Maximus was 700 yards in length and 200 in breadth, and contained seats for at least twice as many spectators as the Coliseum.[3] The upper seats were of wood resting upon stone substructions, and the lower tier were of stone. Round the edge of the arena Cæsar found it necessary to dig a trench seven feet deep and seven feet wide, called an "euripus," in order to prevent the elephants, which were often baited in the Circus, from reaching the spectators, as the iron railings alone had been sometimes found an insufficient protection against their weight and strength.[4] Further improvements and additions were made in the Circus by Augustus after a great fire in 31 B.C. which burnt down the upper tier of seats.[5] He built a pavilion for his own private use,[6] and probably at the same time erected the obelisk, which now stands in the Piazza del Popolo, in the centre of the spina.[7] The south-west side of the Circus under the Aventine was again destroyed by fire in 36 A.D., from which we learn that the upper seats were still built of wood. Claudius then restored them, and at the same time set up gilded marble metæ and marble carceres in place of the old ones, which were constructed of tufa and wood. He also set apart seats for the Senate.[8]

The buildings of the Circus itself do not seem to have suffered much in the great fire of Nero's time, for we find him appearing there almost immediately afterwards at a festival, and placing all the wreaths he had won in chariot races, to the number of 1,808, upon the Obelisk of Augustus. Nero filled up the euripus, and placed seats for the Equites as well as the Senate.[9] The great conflagration in the reign of Titus was confined to the Campus Martius,[10] but the Circus again suffered from fire in Domitian's reign, and we find that he rebuilt the whole with stone taken from his Naumachia, for the express purpose of preventing future accidents of the kind.[11] Twenty years afterwards Trajan boasted that he had at length rendered the Circus worthy of the grandeur of the Roman nation ("digna populo victore gentium sedes").[12] A terrible catastrophe happened to the spectators in the time of Antoninus Pius, which shows the great popularity of the exhibitions in the Circus during the second century. The pillars supporting the roof of one of the rows of seats gave way, and more than a thousand persons were crushed in the ruins.[13]

During the later Empire the Circus was one of the most magnificent groups of buildings at Rome. A succession of splendour-loving Emperors had decorated the spina with

[1] Liv. viii. 20, xli. 27.

[2] Suet. Cæs. 39; Plin. xxxvi. § 102; Dionys. iii. 68.

[3] Dionys. iii. 68 gives the number as 150,000, Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. § 102 as 250,000, and the Regionarii as 385,000.

[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. § 21; Suet. Cæs. 39. In the time of Augustus 3,500 elephants were killed in the Circus games, Mon. Anc. tab. iv. Caligula gave innumerable shows, which lasted from morning to night, and on one occasion had the course strewed with minium and chrysocolla, and the chariots driven by persons of senatorial rank. Suet. Cal. 18; Plin. xxxiii. 27.

[5] Dion Cass. l. 10.

[6] Caligula once viewed the preparations for races from the Domus Gelotiana, probably a part of the palace. Suet. Cal. 18.

[7] Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv. ed. Zumpt; Plin. xxxvi. § 71; Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4.

[8] Tac. Ann. vi. 45; Dion Cass. lviii. 26; Suet. Claud. 21.

[9] Tac. Ann. xv. 38; Dion Cass. lxiii. 21; Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 21.

[10] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24.

[11] Suet. Dom. 5.

[12] Dion Cass. lxviii. 7; Plin. Pan. 51.

[13] Chron. Vet. Ronc. vol. ii. col. 244.

pillars, obelisks, trophies, statues, altars, and shrines, so that it presented a rich and stately appearance. "Constantine spent much labour on these decorations, and in beautifying the building; and his son Constantius brought the obelisk which now stands in the piazza of the Lateran from Alexandria, and placed it on the spina as a rival to the famous obelisk of Augustus. Ammianus Marcellinus gives a full account of the labour which it cost to bring this obelisk from Heliopolis to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, and to erect it in the Circus. A brazen sphere, plated with gold, was at first placed on the top; but this having been destroyed by lightning, a gilded torch was substituted for it, as a symbol of the light and heat of the Sun-god, to whom it was dedicated."[1]

A most interesting bas-relief in the Vatican Museum, representing a chariot-race, gives also a rude sketch of the decorations of the spina as it existed in the Imperial times. At each end are seen the metæ, three marble pillars in the shape of truncated cones, surmounted by ornamental fir-cones. Between these, along the line of the spina, there stand the following objects:—a statue of Apollo Arcitenens, or Sol; another of Cybele, with a lion;[2] a Victory, raised on the top of a column; a chapel, or shrine, with a quadriga; an obelisk; a triumphal arch;[3] two columns supporting an entablature, upon which are the figures of seven dolphins;[4] and two similar columns, supporting seven egg-shaped balls.[5]

The dolphins were dedicated to Neptune, and spouted water from their mouths into a basin below; and the egg-shaped balls alluded to the mythical birth of Castor, the patron of horsemanship. These latter were also used to show the spectators the number of laps which had been run at any period of the race, by taking them away or putting them up one at a time.[6] The number of laps was usually seven, but was sometimes diminished to five. The medals of Trajan represent the sides of the Circus, and the semicircular end, as constructed on the model of an amphitheatre, with exterior porticoes and tiers of columns; and in the interior a podium, and rows of receding seats, surmounted by a gallery. The Imperial pulvinar was on the left of the carceres, whence the signal for starting was given.

Another most valuable source of information about the games of the Circus, besides the Vatican bas-relief, is to be found in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, the celebrated minister of Odoacer and Theodoric at the beginning of the sixth century;[8] and from these it appears that the Circensian Games were still celebrated in his time. The Circus is mentioned in the ninth century by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen: but it was then probably falling into decay. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, like many of the other ruins of Rome, it became a public stone-quarry, from which the Popes and the nobility of Rome helped themselves freely; and consequently all traces of the magnificent buildings which surrounded it have disappeared, with the exception of a small part of the substructions at the semicircular end of the course.

[1] Aur. Vict. Cæs. 40; Amm. Marc. xvii. 4, who gives an interpretation of the hieroglyphics cut upon the obelisk. See Gibbon, chap. xix.

[2] Tertull. De Spec. 8.

[3] The Anon. Einsiedl. mentions an arch erected in the Circus in honour of Titus at the games given after the capture of Jerusalem.

[4] Juv. vi. 590.

[5] Livy, xli. 27; Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. A statue of Pollentia is also mentioned by Livy, xxxix. 7; Varro, De Re Rust. i. 2, § 11.

[6] Dion Cassius, xlix. 43, says that M. Agrippa first put up these dolphins and eggs, and that the dolphins were also intended to show the number of laps run. An egg is preserved in the garden of the Villa Pamfili. Ampère, vol. iv. p. 13.

[7] Prop. iii. 19, 26; Suet. Dom. 4.

[8] Cassiodor. Var. Ep. 51.

The rubbish is now 25 or 30 feet thick, and the level of the arena is but little lower than the surrounding ground. The present road called Via dei Cerchi runs nearly along the line formerly occupied by the higher tiers of seats; the greater part of the arena is occupied by cabbage-gardens; and the dirty brook of the Marrana, half-choked by weeds, crawls along the line of the spina.

It is not surprising to find in the neighbourhood of the Circus Maximus, which was one of the most frequented parts of Rome, and connected with the oldest traditions of Roman history, a number of names of temples which have now entirely disappeared, and whose sites are undiscoverable. A Temple of the Sun is mentioned in the Catalogue of the buildings in the eleventh region; and from a passage in Tertullian,[1] who places it "in medio spatio," compared with the description given of it by Tacitus,[2] as "apud Circum," we may conjecture that it stood on the flank of the Aventine, near the central part of the Circus. The Templum Lunæ, also included in the eleventh region, may have been in the same neighbourhood.[3] There was also a Temple of Mercury in the eleventh region, which overlooked the Circus.[4] It was dedicated in 493 B.C., by M. Lætorius, a centurion.[5] Traces of this temple are said to have been found between the Aventine and the Circus, at a spot where a caduceus and an altar were dug up; but the indication thus given is too uncertain to be of any importance.[6] Temples of the Magna Mater[7] and of Jupiter also stood in the eleventh region.[8]

Temples of the Sun and Moon.

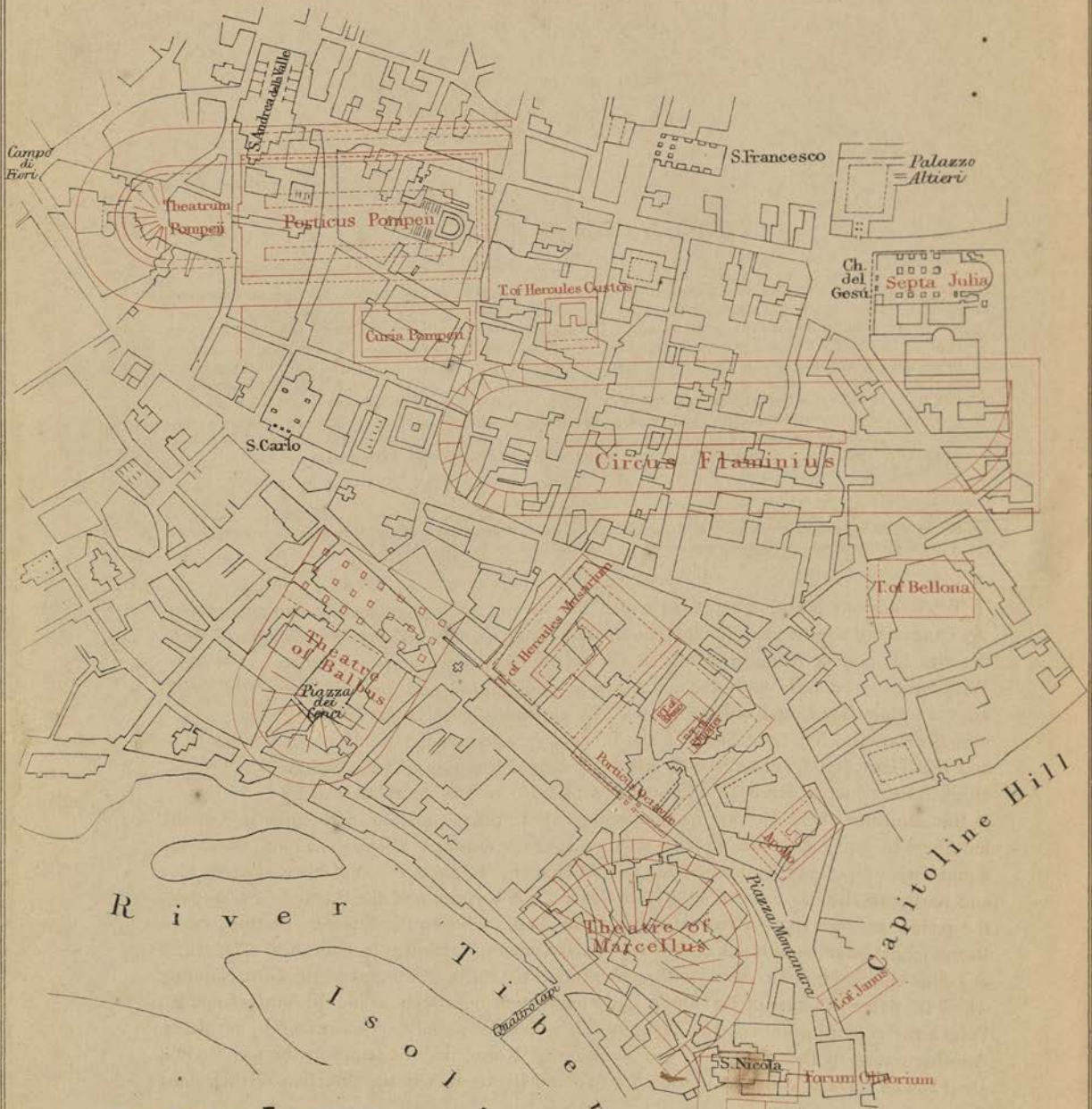
Temple of Mercury.

Temples of Magna Mater and Jupiter.

A Temple of Venus, of which Livy tells us that it was built with the fines levied on the Roman matrons by Q. Fabius Gurges,[9] stood at some distance from the Forum Boarium,[10] along the Circus valley; but we have no more exact clue as to its position.[11] There may have been some connexion between this temple and the ancient name of the valley, Murcia or Myrtea. Our information as to the sites of the Temples of Flora,[12] of Juventus,[13] and of Summanus[14] is equally scanty. We only know that they stood near the Circus Maximus.

Temples of Venus, Flora, Juventus, and Summanus.

[1] Tertull. De Spec. 8. [2] Tac. Ann. xv. 74.
[3] Curiosum Urbis Reg. xi. There were also ædiculæ dedicated to these deities on the spina, Cassiod. Var. iii. 51.
[4] Ov. Fast. v. 669. [5] Livy, ii. 21, 27.
[6] Nardini, Rom. Ant. 245.
[7] Tertull. De Spec. 8.
[8] Curiosum Reg. xi.
[9] Livy, x. 31. [10] Ibid, xxix. 37.
[11] Festus, p. 265; Kal. Capr. xiv. Kal. Sept.
[12] Tac. Ann. ii. 49. [13] Livy, xxxvi. 36.
[14] Ov. Fast. vi. 725; Kal. Amit. xii. Kal. Jul.; Merkel, Proleg. ad Ov. Fast. pp. cxlii. ccvii.: Plin. Nat. Hist. xxix. 4, § 57.



THE CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.

ch. XIII. Part I.

from Nolli's Map, Pl. 19.

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CHAPTER XIII.

PART I.

THE CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.

SITE OF MODERN CITY—CAUSES OF CHANGE OF SITE TO THE CAMPUS MARTIUS—HISTORY OF CAMPUS MARTIUS—PALUS CAPREA—STAGNA TERENTI—AGER TARQUINIUS—BUILDINGS OF CAMPUS MARTIUS—DIVISIONS OF CAMPUS MARTIUS: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS, CAMPUS MARTIUS, VIA LATA—LIMITS OF THE THREE DIVISIONS—CIRCUS FLAMINIUS—THEATRE OF MARCELLUS—TEMPLES OF PIETAS, SPES, JUNO SOSPITA—FORUM OLITORIUM—TEMPLE OF JANUS—S. NICOLA IN CARCERE—PORTICOES OF OCTAVIA AND OCTAVIUS—TEMPLES OF JUNO AND JUPITER STATOR—PORTICUS METELLI—BIBLIOTHECA, CURIA, AND SCHOLA OCTAVIÆ—ÆDES HERCULIS MUSARUM—PORTICUS PHILIPPI—THEATRE OF BALBUS—CRYPTA BALBI—CIRCUS FLAMINIUS—CAMPUS FLAMINIUS—PRATA FLAMINIA—TEMPLES OF DELPHIC APOLLO, BELLONA, HERCULES CUSTOS, BONUS EVENTUS, FORTUNA EQUESTRIS, MARS, DIANA, JUNO REGINA, NEPTUNUS, DIOSCURI, VULCANUS—PORTICUS MINUCIA ET FRUMENTARIA—THEATRE, PORTICUS, AND CURIA OF POMPEIUS—DOMUS HECATOSTYLON—TEMPLE OF VENUS VICTRIX.

Τούτων δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἁρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππασίαν ἀκώλυτον παρέχον τῷ τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν σφαίρᾳ καὶ κρίκῳ καὶ παλαίστρᾳ γυμναζομένων.—STRABO, book v. p. 236.

IT is a curious question, and one which the student of Roman history and topography cannot fail to ask himself, why the modern Romans have so completely migrated from the site of ancient Rome, and settled themselves upon the Campus Martius. While the seven hills, with the exception of the Capitol and Quirinal, are almost uninhabited, and chiefly occupied by vineyards, gardens, and solitary monasteries, the flat tract between the Pincian, Quirinal, and Capitoline hills and the Tiber is now covered with a dense mass of houses and a network of crooked and narrow streets. The causes which led to this complete change in the situation of the city are to be traced partly to the occupation of the hills and public buildings of ancient Rome, in the Middle Ages, by a swarm of oppressive and barbarous nobles, who repelled the mass of the people from the neighbourhood of their strongholds; and partly to the importance, at a later time, of the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo, the residence and the fortress of those great Popes who, in the fifteenth century, raised Rome from the ruins in which centuries of barbarism and terrorism had laid her. The reigns of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, in the sixteenth century, during which the great masters of Italian art and architecture flourished, made the Vatican and St. Peter's the central points of the city, towards which the population was naturally attracted. Another cause of the change in the situation of Rome may be found in the fact that all great towns have a constant tendency to spread themselves in the direction of their most

Site of Modern City. Causes of change of site to the Campus Martius.

active intercourse with other centres of population.[1] With the loss of her foreign empire Rome lost her interest in the Tiber and the Appian road, those great avenues of communication with the western and eastern provinces of Europe. But the importance of the great northern roads, the Flaminian and Aurelian, was maintained by the constant intercourse kept up in the Middle Ages between Rome, Ravenna, and the great cities of Tuscany and Lombardy. Hence the tendency of the city to extend itself northwards along the great northern routes. A further cause of the change of situation which gradually came into play was the difficulty of carrying on traffic with wheeled vehicles in the hilly parts of the city. The ancient Romans did not generally use carriages in the streets, but walked from place to place, or were carried in litters. When carriages became common, the steep streets of the ancient site presented impediments which made it more convenient to live on level ground, and rendered the Campus Martius a more favourite site for the houses of the wealthier citizens."

History of Campus Martius.

The history of the Campus Martius presents us with a series of striking contrasts. It has been covered in successive ages, first by the cornfields of the Tarquinian dynasty, then by the parade-ground of the great military Republic, next by a forest of marble colonnades and porticoes, and, lastly, by a confused mass of mean and filthy streets, clustering round vast mansions, and innumerable churches of every size and description. If we ascend to a still earlier point of its history, and question the soil itself as to the geological changes through which it has passed, we find it entirely composed, even to a considerable height on the flanks of the surrounding hills, of fluviatile deposits, showing that the Tiber once spread itself across the whole width of the valley between the Quirinal and the Vatican hills, and was a much wider and more stately river than the present rushing, turbid stream.[2] The mass of the original soil, now buried under twenty or thirty feet of rubbish, has been proved by the investigations of Brocchi to consist of beds of marl and sand, with patches of gravel here and there. He found clear indications of the freshwater origin of these formations, and also of the partially stagnant state of the water during long ages of past time.[3]

Palus Caprea.
Stagna Terenti.

Two indications of this former state of the Tiber valley remained to a later time in the names Palus Caprea and Stagna Terenti, which were applied to certain places in the Campus Martius. Nardini and Brocchi think that the former was in the neighbourhood of S. Andrea della Valle, and that it was along the channel formerly occupied by it that Agrippa conducted his main sewer to the Tiber.[4] This depression of the ground seems to run from the bank of the river, between the Ponte S. Sisto and Ponte Quattro Capi, towards S. Carlo a Catinari, S. Andrea della Valle, and the Piazza Navona. It was the scene of the legendary apotheosis of Romulus, who was said to have been carried up to heaven in a thunderstorm while reviewing his army on its banks;[5] and it was also on the banks of this marsh, and between it and the sharp bend

[1] Most towns now extend themselves, so far as the mass of population is concerned, towards the railway stations, and along the lines of railway.

[2] See Brocchi, who gives from 130 to 140 feet as the alteration of level which has taken place.

[3] Brocchi, pp. 87—93. See above, chap. ii. pp. 18—20.

[4] See above, chap. xii. p. 286; Brocchi, p. 19.

[5] Livy, i. 16; Ov. Fast. ii. 489; Solin. i. 20; Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 2.

of the river below the Ponte S. Angelo, that he is said to have instituted the Equiria in honour of Mars.[1]

The latter of these two marshes, the Vada or Stagna Terenti, was, according to Festus and Zosimus, at the extremity of the Campus Martius, where it is narrowest.[2] This must mean the northern edge, near the Via di Tor di Nona and the Apollo theatre; or perhaps still further north, near the Mausoleum of Augustus. The Ludi Sæculares were held here on the bank of the Tiber;[3] altars of Dis and Proserpine stood there, in whose honour the games were celebrated.[4] The worship of these infernal deities seems to have originated in the neighbourhood of a hot spring, or some other indications of subterranean fire.[5]

Ager Tarquinius.

In the time of the later Roman kings we find the Campus spoken of as arable land. The Tarquins held it either as freehold or as domain land, and cultivated corn upon it, or perhaps only upon part of it,[6] for previous to their time, as we have seen, both Romulus and Servius fixed upon it as the place of assembly for the general meetings of the Roman people, and for reviews of the national army. Parts of it seem also to have been private property; as, for instance, the lands of the Vestal Taracia, which were given by their owner to the Roman people.[7]

During the time of the Republic the whole Campus seems to have been considered State property, and was used as a military and athletic exercise-ground and a place of meeting for the Comitia Centuriata. No buildings of any importance were erected upon it. We only hear of two altars dedicated to Mars,[8] the above-mentioned altars of Dis Pater and Proserpine,[9] a few temples, the Temple of Apollo, built in 428 B.C.,[10] the Temple of Bellona, in 296 B.C.,[11] and several others, all near the Porta Carmentalis.

In the latest years of the Republic the public buildings gradually occupied that part of the plain which lies immediately under the Capitol, and before the death of Augustus some were built as far north as the Church of S. Carlo and the Piazza di Spagna. The buildings of Agrippa on the Campus were perhaps the most extensive and most celebrated of the Augustan age. It has been previously mentioned that Julius Cæsar entertained a colossal scheme for diverting the course of the Tiber from the Milvian bridge and cutting a channel for it under the Monte Mario and Vatican, so as to add the Campus Vaticanus and the Prata Quinctia to the Campus Martius.[12] From this it may be seen that even in the earlier times of the Empire the need of space for the expansion of the city was felt; and after the Augustan age the difficulty of buying large tracts of land, such as were required for the colossal schemes of the great Roman builders, must have become almost insuperable. The extensions of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, by Nero and Caligula, were probably effected by forcible evictions, and contributed largely to the hatred with which those Emperors were regarded. By the fire in Nero's reign, and also by the appropriation of his immense pleasure-grounds on the Esquiline, a space was cleared

[1] Ov. Fast. ii. 857, iii. 519; Festus, p. 81.

[2] Festus, pp. 329, 350; Zosimus, ii. 1, 4; Ov. Fast. i. 501.

[3] Serv. Ad Æn. viii. 63; Martial, iv. 1, 8; x. 63, 3; Auson. Id. xi. 34.

[4] Livy, Epit. xlix.; Stat. Silv. iv. 1, 38.

[5] Val. Max. ii. 4, 5. The name is variously written—Terentum, Terentus, and Tarentum.

[6] Livy, ii. 5; Dionys. v. 13. See chap. xi. p. 263.

[7] Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 6, 11, § 25; Gell. vii. 7. It is possible that this may refer to the Transtiberine Campus Tiberinus.

[8] Livy, xl. 45.

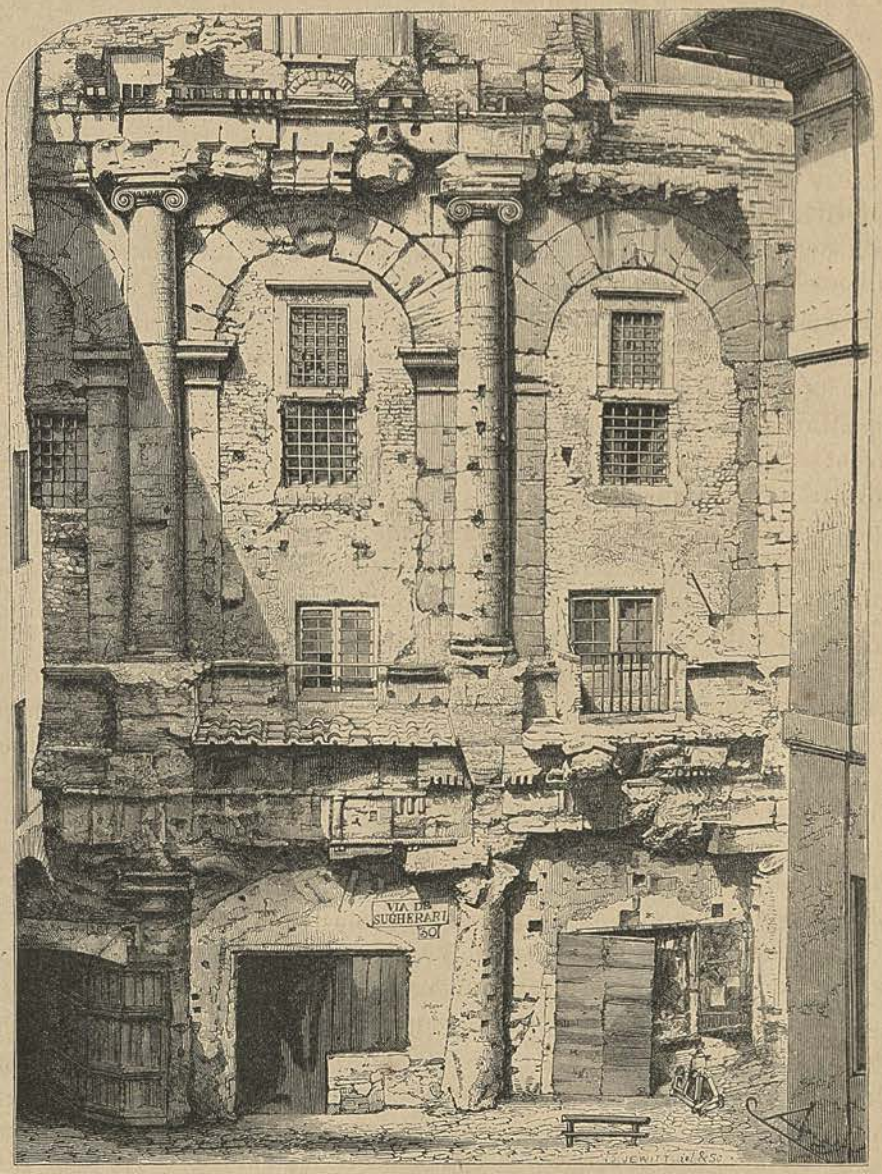
[9] Val. Max. loc. cit.; Festus, p. 329.

[10] Livy, iv. 25, 29, vii. 20.

[11] Ibid, x. 19.

[12] Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 33, cb. xi. p. 268.

for the Flavian Emperors to build the Coliseum and Baths of Titus, and the tide of building was for a time diverted from the Campus Martius; but in the age of the



THEATRE OF MARCELLUS.

(About a third part of the lower arcade is below the level of the present street.)

Antonines it again returned, and during their long reigns they covered a large space in its centre with temples and colonnades. The last great building of the Cæsars in the

Campus Martius was the Thermæ of Alexander Severus; and the same Emperor also restored the Stadium in the Piazza Navona. Distinctive names were given to various parts of the Campus Martius, and especially to three extensive districts—the Circus Flaminius, the Campus Martius proper, and the Via Lata. So far as we can ascertain, their limits were not strictly defined.

Circus Flaminius. *Campus Martius proper.*

The first of these, the quarter called Circus Flaminius, lay just outside the Carmental gate, and was occupied by buildings long before the rest of the adjoining plain. It appears to have extended northwards nearly to the theatre of Pompeius, and eastwards to the Septa and Villa Publica, and the boundary line, so far as it may be said to have had a defined limit, between it and the Campus Martius proper was probably near the line of the modern Via di S. Marco and Via delle Botteghe Oscure. Thus the Campus Martius, in the narrower sense, included the whole northern part of the plain. Strabo, in describing the Campus Martius, mentions two πέδια,[1] whence a Campus Major and Campus Minor have been assumed by topographers; and a passage of Catullus,[2] in which he speaks of a Campus Minor, has been quoted in support of this view. But the passage of Catullus seems more probably to refer to the Martialis Campus, which was near the Circus Maximus, and it is likely that Strabo meant to denote by ἄλλο πέδιον the Campus Agrippæ, a name given sometimes to the central part of the Campus Martius.[3]

Via Lata.

The name Via Lata appears in the Catalogue of the Curiosum as belonging to the street which in ancient Rome occupied the southern end of the Corso, and the flat ground to the east of that street.[4] The same name occurs also in the description of the sites of several ancient churches in Anastasius' "Lives of the Popes;"[5] and it was still current during the sixteenth century, in the time of Lucio Fauno, the topographer.[6] The district comprised under this name may perhaps be supposed to have extended along both sides of the Corso as far as the Palazzo Fiano.

Theatre of Marcellus.

The ruins of the theatre of Marcellus, which are still standing in the Piazza Montanara, afford us a fixed point from which to begin our survey of the region of the Circus Flaminius. For it appears certain that the ancient half columns, arches, and other ruins, evidently parts of a semicircular theatre, which are now covered by the Palazzo Orsini Savelli, belonged to the theatre of Marcellus. Suetonius distinctly places this theatre under the Tarpeian hill,[7] and of the other two stone theatres at Rome we know that the Pompeian lay further north, and that the theatre of Balbus was near the Ponte Sisto.[8]

The masonry and architectural details of this building, though corresponding in many respects with the Coliseum, are more carefully worked, and show an earlier and better period of art. There had previously been a stone scena built near the spot by Æmilius

[1] Strabo, v. 3, 8.

[2] Catull. liii. (lv.) 3: "Te quæsivimus in Minore Campo, te in Circo," &c.

[3] Chap. ix. p. 220; Dion Cass. lv. 8: πέδιον Ἀγρίππειον.

[4] Curios. Urb. Reg. vii.

[5] Anast. Vit. Greg. iv. p. 339; Hadr. p. 266; Bened. iii. p. 401.

[6] Lucio Fauno, Ant. di Rom. p. 130, ed. 1548. The Church of S. Maria in Via Lata still bears the name.

[7] Suet. Cæs. 44.

[8] See below, pp. 312, 316. Auson. Sept. Sap. Prolog. 22: "Cuneata crevit hæc theatri immanitas, Pompeius hanc et Balbus et Cæsar dedit Octavianus concertantes sumptibus."

Lepidus,[1] which was perhaps used by Julius Cæsar, who first began to build this theatre. It was not finished until the year 13 B.C., when Augustus opened it, and named it after his nephew Marcellus, son of Octavia.[2]

In the time of the Flavii the scena was rebuilt, having perhaps suffered from the fire which burnt the Porticus Octaviæ ;[3] and it seems to have again required repairs in the time of Alexander Severus, who is said to have wished to restore it.[4]

The Curiosum mentions it as if still in use, and states that the number of spectators it would contain was 20,000. In the Middle Ages it was, like all the other great buildings of Rome, turned into a castle by Pietro Leone ; a nobleman of great power in the time of Urban II. and Pascal II., and celebrated for his factious violence. The shape of the building was thus completely altered. The great family of the Savelli came into possession of it in the twelfth century, following Pietro Leone ; and after them the Orsini, whose property it now is.[5] The lower stories are now occupied by workshops, small wine vaults, and rag and bone warehouses, frequented by the rustics of the Campagna, who are usually to be seen in considerable numbers crowding the Piazza Montanara in front of the ruin.

From the piazza two rows of the exterior arcades are visible, each containing twelve arches and thirteen columns of travertine. The lower arcade is now buried to the depth of one-third of its height below the level of the present ground. Its half-columns are of the Doric order, with a Doric entablature and triglyphs, and are surmounted by a low attica with projecting bases for the half-columns of the upper arcade. The height of this upper arcade was originally somewhat less than that of the lower. It has half-columns of the Ionic order, carrying a simple entablature with an architrave of three projecting ledges, a plain frieze, and a cornice with toothed mouldings. No actual remains of a third arcade above these two are now to be found, but it can hardly be doubted that one existed originally, and that it was decorated with half-columns of the Corinthian order. Some parts of the substructions of the seats are said to be still extant in the cellars of the Savelli residence, consisting of diverging walls, similar to those still to be seen in the Coliseum. By means of these the ground plan of the cavea of the theatre can be completely restored.[6] As there are no remains of the scena, recourse has been had to the Capitoline plan of the city, upon one of the fragments of which, partly restored, the name Theatrum Marcelli is legible. There seems, however, to be some doubt as to the genuineness of this fragment, because the inscription is turned towards the opposite side of the plan to that towards which the inscription of the Basilica Julia and other names are turned, so that to a person looking at the plan from the western side, from which the other inscriptions are intended to be read, this one would appear upside down.[7]

To make room for the theatre of Marcellus the Temple of Pietas was removed,[8] which

[1] Livy, xl. 51, "ad Apollinis." See pp. 306, 308, 314.

[2] Suet. Oct. 29; Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv. 20, ed. Zumpt; Dionys. xliii. 49.

[3] Suet. Vesp. 19; Dionys. lxvi. 24.

[4] Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 44.

[5] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, Parte ii. Antica, p. 595 ; Pandulpho Pisano, in Muratori, Rer. It. Scr. tom. iii. part i.

[6] Guattani, Roma Descritta, 1805, part i. pp. 81—83.

[7] See Canina's Map, Frag. xxx., and Note A on chap. viii. part ii. p. 198.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. § 121 ; Dionys. xliii. 49.

stood in the Forum Olitorium;[1] and as the theatre belonged to the ninth region, which was outside the wall, it is plain that the Forum Olitorium was just outside the Servian walls, between the Capitol and the river. The Temple of Pietas was built by M. Acilius Glabrio in the year B.C. 180, and has been marked by the chroniclers of Roman art as having contained the first gilt statue ever introduced into a Roman temple.[2] Near it and also in the Forum Olitorium were the Temples of Spes and Juno Sospita.[3] The former of these was built by M. Atilius Calatinus, just outside the Carmental gate, and was twice burnt down and restored, first in 213 B.C.,[4] and again in A.D. 17.[5] The latter was built by C. Cornelius Cethegus in 196 B.C., and must not be confounded with the Temple of Juno Matuta or Mater Matuta, inside the Carmental gate.[6] The Temple of Spes stood nearer to the gate than this temple, as may be inferred from the fact that the fire which in 213 B.C. raged from the Salinæ across the Forum Boarium reached the Temple of Spes, but not the other neighbouring temples.[7]

Temple of Pietas.

Forum Olitorium.

Temples of Spes and Juno Sospita.

Besides the above, a Temple of Janus stood in the Forum Olitorium. Servius confounds this with the ancient Temple of Janus, built by Numa in the Argiletum; but the express statements of Tacitus and Festus leave no doubt as to its situation.[8]

Temple of Janus.

The Church of S. Nicola in Carcere, which stands in the Via della Bocca della Verità, close to the Piazza Montanara, contains the remains of two or perhaps of three temples, which may with much probability be identified with some of the above-mentioned.[9] Three fluted columns of travertine with Ionic capitals stand in the façade of the Church of S. Nicola. Above them is a part of the ancient entablature, and in the room to the left of the portico of the church are two more columns built into the wall. In the nave of the church on the left hand are remains of the cella of the temple to the pronaos of which the five columns belonged. The walls of the cella were, as has been discovered by excavations, constructed of travertine blocks. At the end of this left hand wall of the cella there stood, before the last restoration of the church, the remains of a pilaster of the Doric order with an Attic base, and opposite to this pilaster another column. The position of the above-mentioned six columns shows that the temple was of the form called peripteros, *i.e.* surrounded by a continuous colonnade.

Church of S. Nicola in Carcere.

In the right hand side aisle of the church are five other columns built into the wall, and a pilaster, which evidently belonged to a second temple, standing side by side with the first. These columns are not so high as those of the first temple described,

[1] Varro, L. L. v. § 146; Livy, xl. 34. The legend of the daughter supporting her father with her milk belongs to this temple. Pliny, vii. § 121; Festus, p. 209. Livy, however, gives a different account of its origin. Another temple or shrine of Pietas was in the Circus Flaminius itself. Jul. Obs. 114.

[2] Val. Max. ii. 5, 1.

[3] Livy, xxi. 62.

[4] Cic. De Leg. ii. 11, 28; Livy, xxiv. 47, xxv. 7.

[5] Tac. Ann. ii. 49; Dion Cass. l. 10. Cic., De Nat. Deor. ii. 23, calls it the Temple of Fides, probably by a clerical error.

[6] Livy calls it Juno Sospita in xxxii. 30, but Matuta in Foro Olitorio in xxxiv. 53. The term Forum Olitorium is probably used somewhat vaguely in the latter passage.

[7] Livy, xxiv. 47, xxv. 7.

[8] Tac. Ann. ii. 49. Festus, p. 285. Serv. Ad Æn. vii. 607. See on this passage of Servius, Jordan's remarks in Hermes, vol. iv. p. 233; and Donati, De Urbe Roma, 1665, p. 212.

[9] See Canina in the *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1850, p. 347; Monumenti, vol. v. tav. xxiv.

and their style and the intervals between them are different. A portion of the entablature, which is of a simple character, still surmounts them. Two more columns of this temple are to be seen in the wall of the house which stands to the right of the church. It was surrounded with colonnades on three sides, but the back of the cella was ornamented with pilasters only.

On the left hand side of the church are six more half-exposed columns, and some remains of an entablature, which may have either belonged to a third and smaller temple, standing by the side of the first, or may have been merely a portion of some other building.

The materials of which these buildings consist are chiefly travertine and peperino, and their different style shows them to have been erected at different times, probably during the age of the Republic. It is commonly assumed, from their position near the Theatre of Marcellus, that they are to be identified with the above-mentioned temples of Spes and Juno Sospita. As the Temple of Pietas was removed to make room for the theatre, we cannot suppose that we have here any part of it, and the Temple of Janus would probably have been built in a different form.[1]

It is recorded by Livy, that M. Acilius Glabrio erected an equestrian statue near the Temple of Pietas.[2] During some excavations made in 1808, by the architect Valadier, the pedestal of an equestrian statue was found in the small piazza opposite to the Church of S. Nicola.[3] It appears possible that, when the Temple of Pietas was removed to make way for the theatre, this statue may have been preserved, and set up here as near as possible to the original site.

In the street called the Via di Pescaria, which runs north-westwards from the Theatre of Marcellus, stand four fluted Corinthian columns, two on each side of the street. These formed part of the principal entrance to a colonnade or portico; some of the other columns of which can be traced at intervals in the walls of the houses further on in the Via di Pescaria, along which the line of the colonnade ran. The entrance or gateway faced towards the south-west, and over the arch looking into the little Piazza di Pescaria will be seen an inscription recording its restoration after a fire by Septimius Severus and Caracalla (M. Aurelius Antoninus), in the year 203 A.D., the eleventh year of the tribunitian power of Severus. No traces can be found of the erasure of Geta's name, which Caracalla, as we have seen, caused to be effaced after his death from all the inscriptions containing it.[4] There is no doubt, however, that it was originally placed here after the name of Caracalla, since Severus was careful to pay equal honours to both of his sons in all respects. The whole inscription may have been replaced by a new one, or the fourth line may have been completely effaced and altered. As it now stands the inscription has been restored as follows:—IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIUS. SEVERUS. PIUS. PERTINAX. AUG. ARABIC. ADIABENIC. PARTHIC. MAXIMUS. TRIB. POTEST. XI. IMP. XI. COS. III. P. P. ET IMP. CAES. M. AURELIUS. ANTONINUS. PIUS. FELIX. AUG. TRIB. POTEST. VI. COS. PROCOS. PORTICUM INCENDIO CONSUMPTAM RESTITUERUNT.

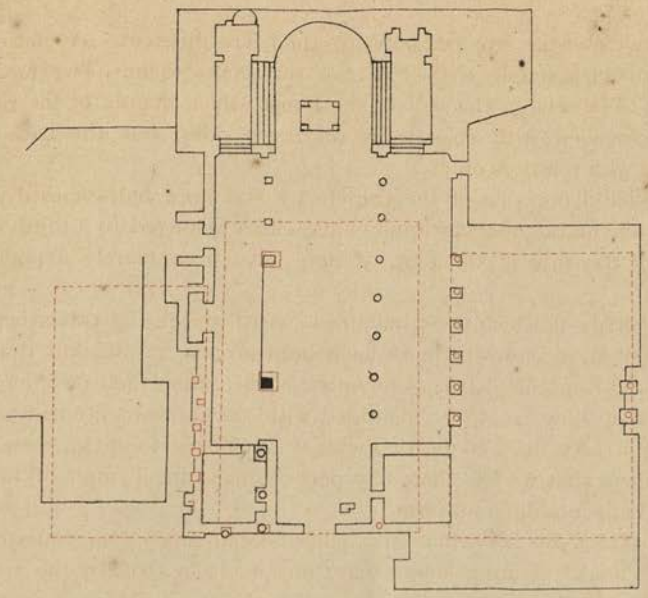
Portico of Octavia.

[1] The third temple may have been the Ædes Apollinis Medici mentioned by Livy, xl. 51, as "post Spei ad Tiberim."

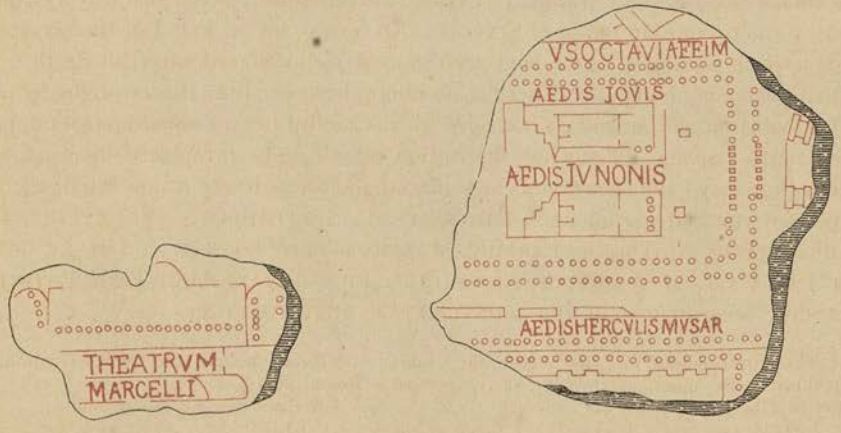
[2] Livy, xl. 34.

[3] Reber, p. 209, who quotes Guattani's Memorie. Roma, 1816.

[4] See above, chap. xii. p. 286.



S. NICOLA IN CARCERE (CANINA)
ch. XIII. p.306.



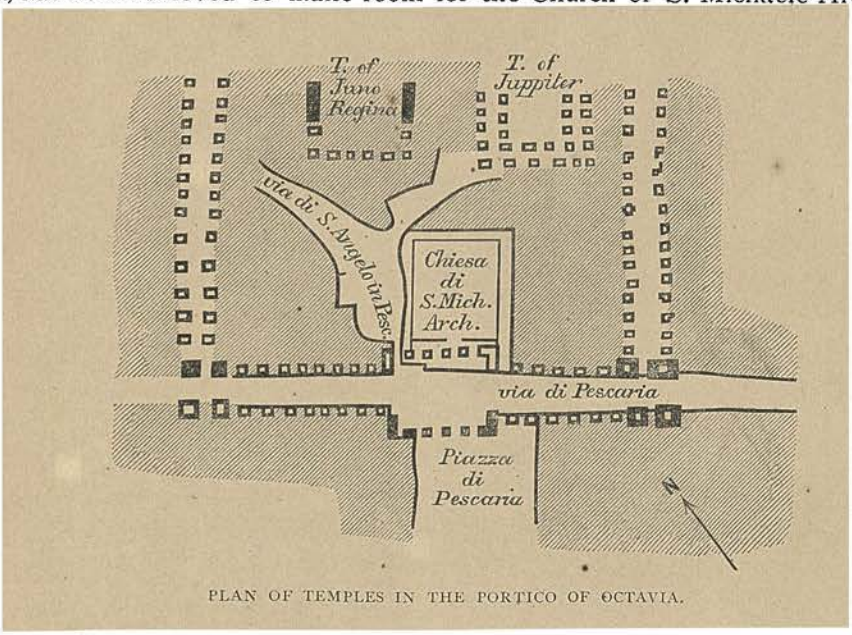
Fragments of the Capitoline Plan.

THEATRE OF MARCELLUS (STAGE) AND PORTICUS OCTAVIÆ.
ch. XIII. Part I. p.306.

Edwd. Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

The pediment and tympanum over the inscription are still preserved, but two of the columns below have been replaced by a high brickwork arch, probably built in the fifth century to repair the damage done by the earthquake of A.D. 442;[1] and this arch now supports the inscriptions and pediment. Passing round again into the street Via di Pescaria, we find ourselves in the interior of the gateway. It consisted of four columns, placed on each side between two antæ or projecting piers, ornamented with pilasters, and was of larger dimensions than the colonnades to which it formed the entrance. The brickwork of the antæ was originally faced with marble, and they supported arches which led into the colonnade along the line of the street. The bases of the columns are now buried in rubbish, but parts of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, which are of a simple description, may be still traced over the front. The inner side of the gateway, with the exception of the two columns and the pier which stand at the entrance of the Via di S. Angelo in Pescaria, has been removed to make room for the Church of S. Michaele Archangelo.[2]



PLAN OF TEMPLES IN THE PORTICO OF OCTAVIA.

If we enter the street last mentioned, the capital of a column may be seen on the right hand, over the wall of the yard belonging to No. 12, and in the yard itself stand three others, with a portion of the architrave above them. Their position shows that they formed the corner of a temple.

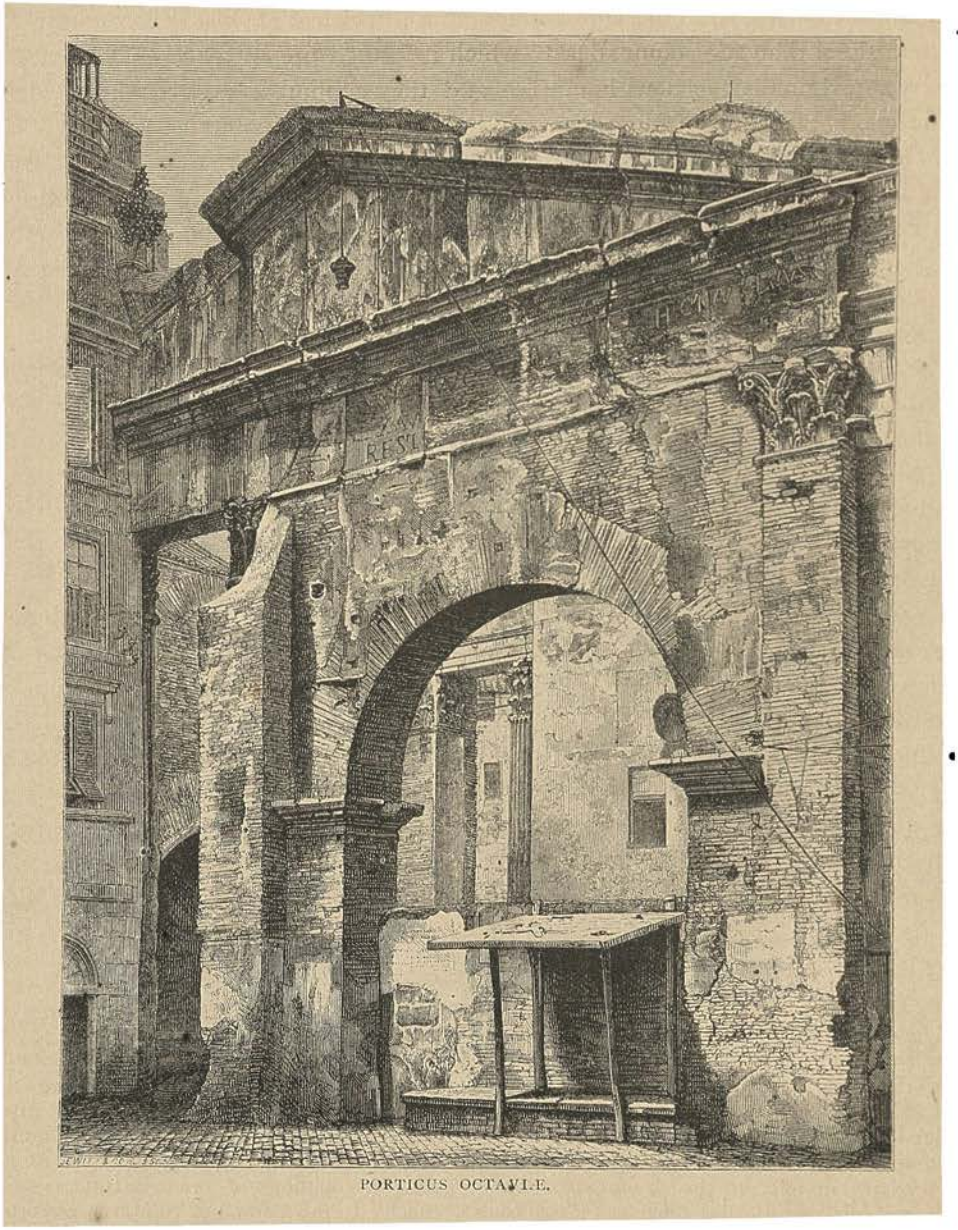
There is ample proof that we have in the ruins just described the entrance gateway of the Porticus Octaviæ and the corner of the Temple of Juno Regina. For Festus states that there were two Octavian porticoes, one built in honour of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, near the Theatre of Marcellus, and a second close to the Theatre of Pompeius,

[1] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838 : Parte ii. Antica, p. 604. Muratori, R. I. S. tom. i. part i. p. 96 : "Tam terribili terræ motu Roma concussa est, ut plurimæ ædes ejus et ædificia corruerint." See the woodcut on p. 309.

[2] The Church of S. Michaele has lately (1868) been restored, and the two other columns have been found built up into the wall of the church, and also large substructions of tufa. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1868, p. 108.

built by Cn. Octavius, the conqueror of Perses.[1] The site upon which the former was built had been previously occupied by the Porticus Metelli, built by Q. Metellus Macedonicus, proprætor in 146 B.C., and the portico of Octavia was a complete restoration of this by Augustus.[2]

Portico of Octavius.



PORTICUS OCTAVIÆ.

Pliny also mentions two statues of Apollo near the Porticus Octaviæ, which probably stood in the Temple of Apollo, known to have been situated outside the Porta Carmentalis,

Festus, p. 178, Müll.

Velleius, i. 11, 3, ii. 1, 2; Livy, Epit. 52; Val. Max. vii. 1, 1.

between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius.[1] But the principal evidence is derived from the plan of Rome, now on the staircase of the Capitoline Museum, where the whole design of this portico is laid down, and the temples which it enclosed are named.[2] We learn from the plan that the portico was in form an oblong space enclosed with colonnades, and that the ruins now remaining constituted the principal entrance to this court and to the Temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator, which it enclosed. The line of the Via di Pescaria corresponds to one of the shorter sides of the court, and in the centre of this side the gateway stood. In two points only the Capitoline map fails to correspond with the actually existing ruins. The antæ of the gateway are not represented, and the corner column of the Temple of Juno is omitted. The former of these two omissions may be explained by supposing that the plan was probably made before the restoration of the portico by Severus took place, and that the antæ were then for the first time added to the portico. A fragment of the plan itself contains the names of Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla) as the reigning emperors at the time of its execution. The omission of the corner column of the Temple of Juno is more difficult to explain, as the corner columns would be the most important in the whole building, and this omission must be considered as probably a mistake made by the carelessness of the artist who executed the plan.[3]

Temples of Juno and Jupiter Stator.

By the side of the Temple of Juno is given the ground-plan of a Temple of Jupiter Stator, the same probably with that mentioned by Vitruvius as the work of Hermodorus.[4] Pliny, however, names two Laconian Greeks, Sauras and Batrachus, as the builders, and tells a popular legend to the effect that these two Greeks, who were wealthy men, had spent a large sum upon the temples, in hopes of being allowed to inscribe their names upon them. As they could not obtain permission to do this, they carved, in allusion to their names, symbolical figures of lizards and frogs, which might be seen in Pliny's time, upon the bases of the columns.[5] The absence of inscriptions in these two temples is noticed by another writer, Velleius Paterculus; and in this fact, coupled with the strange hieroglyphics on the bases of the columns, we may look for the origin of Pliny's legend, which can hardly be regarded as historical.

There are no traces of such figures upon the bases of the columns now extant; but, as Pliny distinctly affirms that they were to be seen in his time, we must suppose that none of the bases which bore them are left; and this is not at all improbable, as the Temple of Jupiter has completely disappeared, and the Church of S. Maria in Campitelli stands upon

[1] Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 5, 4, § 34; Ascon. ad Cic. in toga cand. p. 90, Orell. A fragment of an ancient calendar preserved by Fabretti, Insc. p. 455, gives the following names: Apollini Latonæ ad theatrum Marcelli, Felicitati in Campo Martio, Jovi Statori Junoni Reginæ ad circum Flaminium.

[2] See chap. viii. part ii. Note A, p. 198.

[3] See Jordan's article in the *Monatsbericht der preussischen Akademie*, Berlin, 1867, p. 538. Jordan gives other instances of defective execution, especially in the orthography of names.

[4] Vitruv. iii. 2, 5, ed. Schneider.

[5] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 42; Vell. Pat. i. 11, 3. The capital commonly shown in the Basilica of S. Lorenzo with frogs and lizards in the *volutes* was supposed by Winckelmann (Œuvres, ii. p. 589) to have belonged to this temple. But Pliny distinctly says that in the Temple of Jupiter Stator the frogs and lizards were upon the *bases* (spiræ). Fea, in his notes on Winckelmann, gives it as his opinion that the column in S. Lorenzo is of a date later than Augustus, and cites the opinions of other architects to the same effect. In the Church of S. Maria in Porticu, which adjoins the Portico of Octavia there were in Bellori's time a number of Ionic columns, which probably belonged formerly to some part of the temples or portico. Bellori, quoted by Winckelmann loc. cit.

its site. Pliny goes on to remark that all the paintings and ornaments in the Temple of Jupiter were appropriate to a goddess and not to a god; and explains this by another legend, that when the two statues were first set up in the temples, a mistake was made by the porters who brought them, so that Jupiter's statue was carried into Juno's temple, and Juno's into Jupiter's, and that the mistake was not corrected because the deities were thought to have thus chosen their future abodes for themselves.[1] It may be concluded from this that the two temples were both consecrated at the same time, in the year 180 B.C. M. Æmilius Lepidus built that of Juno in fulfilment of a vow made by him in the Ligurian wars, but it is not known what was the origin of the Temple of Jupiter.[2]

A Temple of Jupiter was built by Q. Cæcilius Metellus, which was celebrated as the first marble temple ever seen in Rome.[3] But this cannot be identified with the temple enclosed within the porticoes; for Pliny clearly distinguishes the ivory statue of the god by Pasiteles, in the Temple of Metellus, from the statue executed by Polycles and Dionysius, which stood in the temple where the interchange of statues took place.[4] Besides this, Pliny's account of the paintings and the interchange of statues is difficult to reconcile with any complete restoration of the temple in the time of Metellus. It is therefore more likely that the Temple of Jupiter built by Metellus was situated elsewhere, and that when Metellus, in the year B.C. 146, built the original Porticus Metelli,[5] enclosing the two previously existing Temples of Jupiter and Juno, these temples were not at the same time restored. But, however this may have been, Augustus replaced the Porticus Metelli by a new one built of marble, and named it, after his wife and sister, the Porticus Liviæ et Octaviæ.[6] He also restored or faced the two temples with marble and the whole work was called Opera Octaviæ.[7] In the Capitoline plan we find at the back of the temples the outline of some additional buildings; and these have been conjectured, not without probability, to be the ground-plans of the library, public hall, and notaries' offices, mentioned by Plutarch, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and Pliny under the names Bibliotheca, Curia, and Schola Octaviæ.[8]

Porticus Metelli.

Bibliotheca, Curia, and Schola Octaviæ.

Few of the most magnificent buildings in Rome were so rich as the Porticus Octaviæ and its twin temples in masterworks of sculpture and painting. The Temple of Jupiter contained a celebrated statue of the god from the chisel of Polycles and Dionysius; that of Juno an Æsculapius, and also a Diana by Cephisodotus, the son of Praxiteles, who inherited his father's talent.[9] One of the most elaborate groups of Lysippus, which had been executed by him under the orders of Alexander, containing the equestrian statues of

[1] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 42.

[2] Livy, xxxix. 2, xl. 52.

[3] Vell. Paterc. i. 11, 3. Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 476, Eng. trans. book iv. chap. xiii., is mistaken in placing the marble temple in the Porticus.

[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 5, § 35, 40.

[5] Velleius, i. 11, 3, ii. 1, 2.

[6] Suet. Aug. 29; Ov. Art. iii. 391, i. 69.

[7] Plin. xxxiv. 6, § 31, xxxvi. 5, § 15. Augustus most probably built the Porticus Octaviæ after B.C. 29, for Vitruvius, who calls it Porticus *Metelli*, wrote after the assumption of the title Augustus by Octavian in 29 B.C. Dion Cassius places it in B.C. 33 (xlix. 43). But the library was certainly not dedicated till after the death of Marcellus, B.C. 23. Plut. Marc. 30.

[8] Plut. Marc. 30; Suet. Ill. Gr. 21; Dion Cass. xlix. 43, lxvi. 24; Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 28, xxxv. 10, § 114, xxxvi. 5, § 22, 29. See Note A at the end of this chapter.

[9] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 24, 25.

twenty-five Macedonian companions of the great conqueror who fell at the battle of the Granicus, was brought by Metellus from Dium and placed in front of the temples.[1] Upon the Capitoline plan two pedestals are marked in front of the temples within the enclosure, and two larger ones outside the gateway. It is most probable that so large a group was placed upon the latter pair of pedestals, as the former appear to have supported single statues only. Besides these, a Venus of Phidias and a seated statue of Cornelia are mentioned as "in Operibus Octaviæ."[2] In the Curia of Octavia was a noted statue by an unknown sculptor, of Cupid holding a thunderbolt;[3] and in the Schola, besides a number of much admired works by unknown sculptors, was a large group of Satyrs, one carrying the god Liber upon his shoulders, another the goddess Libera, while a third was endeavouring to soothe the cries of the child-god, and a fourth presenting a bowl of drink to his companion. Here were also two Auræ spreading their robes like sails to the wind,[4] and above all the famous Thespian Cupid of Praxiteles,—"propter quem," as Cicero says, "Thespiæ visebantur, nam alia visendi causa nulla est."[5] The Schola was also ornamented with paintings by Antiphilus, the rival of Apelles, among which was his Hesione and the group of Alexander and Philip with Minerva.[6]

In A.D. 80 the celebrated meeting of the Senate to receive Vespasian and Titus on their return from the capture of Jerusalem took place in the Curia Octaviæ; and not long afterwards the whole of this splendid enclosure was burnt to the ground,[7] and remained in ruins for 123 years, till the time of Septimius Severus, who, as we have before mentioned, rebuilt it. The famous Medicean Venus, now in the Tribune of the Uffizi gallery at Florence, is said by Pietro Santi Bartoli to have been found here;[8] but another account states that it was found at the villa of Hadrian. The "orbis pictus" designed by Agrippa was also probably kept here.[9] In the Middle Ages the ruins were known by the names Porticus Severini, Templum Severianum, Porticus Ædis Mercurii, and Porticus Junonis ad Viam Triumphalem.[10] The anonymous writer of Einsiedlen omits all mention of them.

The Capitoline plan fixes the site of another temple in this quarter, the Ædes Herculis Musarum, built by M. Fulvius Nobilior, probably after his triumph over the Ætolians in 187 B.C.[11] Fulvius was not only a soldier but also a patron of literature and art, and a friend of the poet Ennius.[12] He brought a number of works of art from his Grecian campaigns, and among them some famous terra-cotta

Ædes Herculis Musarum.

[1] Arrian, Anab. i. 16, 4; Vell. i. 11, 3; Plin. xxxiv. 8, § 64. Canina—in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1849, p. 161; 1850, p. 108—thinks that the bronze horse and human leg and foot found in the Vicolo delle Palme in the Trastevere, and now preserved in the Capitoline Museum, belonged to this group. The Library seems to have been divided like the Bibliotheca Ulpia, into two compartments, Greek and Latin. Fabretti, Inscr. p. 337, No. 506; Orelli, 6270–73.

[2] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 15, xxxiv. 6, § 31.

[3] Plin. xxxiv. 6, § 28.

[4] Ibid. § 29.

[5] Ibid. § 22; Cic. In Verrem, II. lib. iv. § 4, 135.

[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 10, § 114.

[7] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, Dindorf; Dion Cass. lxvi. 24. See above, chap. iv. p. 46.

[8] Fea, Miscell. p. cclii. No. 109.

[9] Plin. iii. 2, § 17, and Ritschl, Rhein. Mus. 1842, i. p. 506.

[10] See the Ordo Romanus, the Mirabilia, Poggio, and Palladio.

[11] Livy, xxxix. 1-5; Plin. xxxv. 10, § 66; Macrob. Sat. i. 12; Plut. Q. R. 59; Serv. Ad Æn. i. 12; Pianta Capit. tab. ii.; Canina, Pianta di Roma, No. xxix. See Jordan, *Monatsbericht der preussischen Akad.* 1867, p. 538.

[12] Cic. Pro Archia, xi. § 27. The Greek name was Hercules Musagetes.

statues of the Muses by Zeuxis, and one of Hercules playing on the lyre, from which the temple derived its name.[1]

Porticus Philippi.

The temple was restored by L. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Augustus,[2] and was surrounded by him with a court and cloisters like those of the Porticus Octaviæ,[3] and probably closely united with that building. On the Capitoline plan the name given to the whole enclosure, including the two porticoes, is Porticus Octaviæ et Philippi.[4] The statues of Liber Pater, Alexander as a boy, and Hippolytus terrified by the bull, works of the great sculptor Antiphilus, stood in court.[5]

Theatre of Balbus.

The Theatre of Balbus, which was placed so near the river that when the water was high it could only be approached in boats, probably stood at a short distance to the north-west of the Temple of Hercules Musagetes, in the neighbourhood of the modern Piazza Cenci.[6] For although we have no more distinct notice in classical writers of the situation of this theatre, which was built in B.C. 13 by Cornelius Balbus, the friend of Augustus,[7] than the above-mentioned fact that it was not far from the river-bank, yet by the help of mediæval allusions, and the traces of a large mass of buildings near the Piazza Cenci, sufficient evidence may be collected to show approximately where it was placed. The Regionarii mention it in the Catalogue of the ninth region; and the Ordo Romanus, in the twelfth century, describes a theatre through which the Papal processions passed in turning from the Via di Cacaberis (Craticula) into the Via della Regola (Avenulæ).[8] The name of Theatrum Antonini is there given to the theatre; and the same name, with the further indication that it stood near the Pons Antoninus, or Ponte S. Sisto, is applied to a theatre in this quarter by the author of the Mirabilia Romæ.[9] Now of the three principal theatres at Rome, the Pompeian, the Marcelline, and that of Balbus, the site of the second is well ascertained, and the ruins of the two others have been discovered to be, the one near S. Andrea della Valle, and the other at the Palazzo Cenci. It is not, therefore, a rash assumption to suppose that the one nearest to the river of the two last is the Theatrum Balbi. The name Antonine may have been given to it on account of an inscription recording its restoration by Severus and Caracalla, after the great fire of A.D. 80 in which it was destroyed,[10] as was the case with the Porticus Octaviæ, which is called Porticus Severini in the mediæval writers. Or perhaps it may be so called from the Pons Antonini; or the name may be merely an ignorant misnomer, such as abound in the farrago of names collected by the authors of the Mirabilia and Ordo.

Near the Palazzo Cenci, in the Via di S. Maria in Cacaberis, No. 23, there are two Doric columns of travertine half buried in the ground, with a portion of entablature above them,

[1] Plin. xxv. 10, § 66; Ov. Fast. vi. 812.

[2] Suet. Aug. 29; Ov. Fast. vi. 799.

[3] Mart. v. 49, 12: "Vites, censeo, porticum Philippi; Si te viderit Hercules, peristi." Ov. Art. iii. 167: "Femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis, proque suis alios efficit ære suos. Nec rubor est emisse palam, venire videmus Herculis ante oculos virgineumque chorum." Chignons, the poet, means, were sold near the Temple of Hercules and the Muses.

[4] Pianta Capit. tab. ii.; Canina, xxix. Canina and Reber both give an imperfect representation of the plan. See Jordan, *Monatsbericht der preussischen Akad.* 1867, p. 538.

[5] Plin. xxxv. 10, § 114.

[6] Dion Cass. liv. 25; Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. ii. p. 154; Canina, Indic. p. 367.

[7] Suet. Aug. 29; Plin. xxxvi. 7, § 60; Dion Cass. loc. cit.

[8] Ord. Rom. in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. p. 126.

[9] See above, chap. xi. p. 266. Mirabilia Rómæ, ed. Parthey, 1869, pp. 8, 9.

[10] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24. The Curiosum estimate the number of seats as 11,510, the Notitia 30,085.

and between them an ancient brick arch, forming the entrance to a stable. In the interior of the stable are two other similar arches and columns, and above these there are indications of an upper story. Other ruins of the same description are built into the next house (No. 22), and into several other houses near.[1] In the sixteenth century, the Bolognese architect Serlio saw more ruins here, and he represents in his sketch an upper story with Corinthian pillars. The name Crypta Balbi, which is found in the catalogue of places in the ninth region, has been given with much probability to these ruins. A crypta, or cryptoporticus, according to Pliny, was a covered corridor, with windows which could be shut or opened at pleasure.[2] Such a building was used for exercise in wet or hot weather. Some were open on one side, others closed on both sides. A cryptoporticus of the latter kind is to be seen in the ruins of Nero's Domus Aurea, under the Baths of Titus.[3] The building in the Via di Cacaberis appears to have had open arches at the sides. This cryptoporticus was probably attached to the Theatre of Balbus, as the Porticus Pompeii was to the Theatrum Pompeii; and Venuti thinks that it extended along the back of the scena, and that it was intended as a place of shelter for the spectators, in case of the sudden showers of rain peculiar to the Roman climate.[4]

Crypta Balbi.

A considerable number of buildings in this quarter were grouped round the Circus Flaminius, and it will be necessary, before attempting to define their situations, to fix as far as possible the position of the circus itself. Unfortunately, the notices we have about it in classical writers are very scanty, and afford us but little assistance. Before the Second Punic War, the Censor C. Flaminius Nepos, who fell at the battle of Trasimenus, in the year 220 B.C., constructed a circus, and also the great northern road, both named after him the Flaminian.[5] The circus was in the Prata Flaminia, also called the Campus Flaminius, a spot which had been frequently before used for the Ludi Taurii and Apollinares, and also for assemblies of the people and of the Senate, when it was necessary (as in the case of a Consul holding the imperium) to convene them outside the walls.[6] It is probable, therefore, that the site of the circus must be sought for in the district which lies between the southern part of the Corso, or Via Lata, which was the commencement of the old Flaminian road, and the Tiber. The space within which we have to seek is narrowed on the west by the known positions of the Porticus of Octavia and Philip, the Theatre of Balbus, and the Theatre of Pompey, which leave no room for the circus in that part of the district which lies along the bank of the river, and immediately under the Capitol. On the eastern side, the space near S. Marco and the Piazza Venezia was occupied, as we shall see, by the

Circus Flaminius.

Prata Flaminia or Campus Flaminius.

[1] See Reber, Ruinen Roms, pp. 220, 221; Veutin, vol. ii. p. 154; Canina, Indic. p. 367.

[2] Plin. Ep. ii. 17, 16; v. 6, 27; vii. 21, 2; ix. 3, 3. Suet. Cal. 58. Caligula was assassinated in a crypta leading from the palace to the circus.

[3] Chap. ix. p. 232.

[4] Venuti, vol. ii. p. 154. The name of the street Cacaberis or Caccavari has been derived from Crypticula. The Mirabilia calls these ruins "templum Craticule;" Mirab. Romæ, ed. Parthey, p. 25, "Ad Caccavarios templum Craticule." For an instance of the sudden showers of the Roman climate, see Story's Roba di Roma, vol. i. p. 235. The scene there described was doubtless often enacted at the theatre and crypta of Balbus. Vitruvius, v. 9, says: "Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint habeat populus quo se recipiat ex theatro; choragiaque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum."

[5] Livy, Epit. xx.

[6] Livy, iii. 54, 63; Varro, L. L. v. § 154.

Septa and Villa Publica, and no room left for the circus in that direction. We should, therefore, expect to find it in the quarter traversed by the Via della Botteghe Oscure, and in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Mattei. The circus was destroyed before the ninth century,[1] and there are no traces of it left to guide us; but before the erection, in the fifteenth century, of the larger houses in this quarter, some few ruins appear to have been visible in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Mattei. These are described by Andrea Fulvio and Ligorio as having belonged to the Circus Flaminius; and, according to their account, the length of the circus lay in a direction from west to east, and reached from the Palazzo Mattei, where the semicircular end was situated, to the Piazza Margana, where the carceres lay.[2] A tower now called the Torre Citrangole was once called the Torre Metangole, and marked the spot where the metæ of the circus stood.[3]

Temple of Delphic Apollo.

One of the oldest sites near the Circus Flaminius was that of the Temple of the Delphic Apollo, called in early times the Apollinare,[4] and probably connected with the Ludi Apollinares held in the circus. This temple was vowed in the year 430 B.C., dedicated two years afterwards by C. Julius, and restored in B.C. 350, a singular proof of the very early influence of the Greek religion and culture upon the Roman people.[5] Asconius describes the situation of the temple as outside the Carmental gate, between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius, and Pliny places it near the Porticus Octaviæ.[6] We may therefore, with some probability, suppose that it stood a short distance north of the Theatre of Marcellus. Many important assemblies of the Senate were held in this temple, and it was, apparently from its antiquity, regarded with great veneration.[7] The procession in honour of Juno Regina began its course from thence; and a curious statue of Apollo, made of cedar-wood, was placed there in the time of the first triumvirate, by Sosius, prefect of Syria and Cilicia.[8] A restoration by Constantius is recorded by an inscription in Gruter's collection.[9] The statues of the children of Niobe, which were ascribed to the hand of Scopas or Praxiteles, stood in this temple.[10]

Temples of Bellona and Hercules Custos.

In the neighbourhood of the Circus Flaminius were also the Temples of Bellona and of Hercules Custos; and it has been inferred from Ovid's description that they stood at opposite ends of the circus. We are told that the Temple of Bellona was within hearing of the Septa and Villa Publica, and it therefore probably stood to the north-east of the Temple of the Delphic Apollo, and near the carceres of the circus; while that of Hercules Custos was at the semicircular end, in or near

[1] The Anon. MS. of Einsied. misplaces it in the Piazza Navona. See the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pædagogik*, 1837, Bd. v. Hft. 1, S. 132, 134.

[2] See Nibby's edition of Nardini, Roma Antica, vol. iii. p. 21, where Fulvio and Ligorio are quoted at full length. Jordan, in Hermes, ii. p. 412, quotes Grimaldi in Cod. Vat. 6437, as a confirmation of Nibby's statement: "Ibique" (near the Church of S. Lucia) "cernuntur magni lapides quadrati cinericii quod peperinum dicitur forte e ruinis dicti circi."

[3] Canina, Indicaz. p. 360.

[4] Livy, iii. 63.

[5] Ibid. iv. 25, 29, vii. 20; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 452.

[6] Ascon. in Cic. in tog. cand. p. 90; Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 34.

[7] Livy, xxxiv. 43, xxxvii. 58, xxxix. 4, xli. 17; Cic. Ad Quint. ii. 3, 3.

[8] Livy, xxvii. 37.

[9] Plin. xiii. 5, 28, xxxvi. 5, § 53; Gruter, Inscr. xxxviii. 6.

[10] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 28. The group of Niobe and her children, now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, was found near the Porta S. Paolo, and cannot with any probability be identified as the group spoken of by Pliny.

the Piazza Paganica.[1] According to Livy, the former temple was vowed by Appius Claudius Cæcus in B.C. 296. Pliny, however, assigns it to the older Claudius Regillensis.[2] This was the usual place outside the pomœrium for meetings of the Senate, and was therefore sometimes called a senaculum.[3] Behind it was the Columna Bellica, whence the Fetialis threw the spear when war was declared, a ceremony kept up until the time of Marcus Aurelius.[4]

The name of the Temple of Hercules Custos has been often given to some ruins in a Carmelite monastery at No. 56, Piazza di S. Nicolo a Cesarini, where the plan of a round temple has been discovered. It is, however, evident that, if the above approximate determination of the site of this temple be correct, the Piazza di S. Nicolo lies too far north. From the appearance of the ruins, which consist of four fluted Corinthian columns of tufa covered with stucco, and some portions of others belonging to a round temple, the ground-plan of which may be traced, they must probably be assigned to a small and unimportant building of a late date. Reber conjectures that they belonged to the Temple of Bonus Eventus, which was situated near the Thermæ of Agrippa, and gave its name to the adjoining Porticus Boni Eventus, built by the prefect of the city, Claudius, in the reign of Valentinian I.[5] As there are many remains of the Porticus in the Via della Ciambella, a short distance to the north of the ruins of the round temple, this seems not unlikely. The Temple of Fortuna Equestris, dedicated in 177 B.C. by Fulvius Flaccus, which stood near "the stone theatre," had been destroyed already in A.D. 22.[6]

Temple of Bonus Eventus.

Temple of Fortuna Equestris.

Another temple also in the neighbourhood of the Circus Flaminius was the Temple of Mars, built by the Greek architect Hermodorus for Junius Brutus Callaicus, consul in B.C. 138. This temple contained a colossal statue of Mars by Scopas, and a Venus by the same celebrated artist.[7] Canina and Urlichs have identified a ruined temple at the corner of the Via di S. Salvatori in Campo and the Via degli Speechi with this Temple of Mars. The ruins are not of much importance, consisting only of six broken columns, five of which stand in a line, and the sixth at a distance of a dozen yards from them, and they are much injured by violence and the waste of time. Whether they stand on their original site may be doubted. At all events the conjunction of fluted columns with Tuscan bases would seem to show that the building is in a late and degraded style of architecture.[8] When first discovered these columns were supposed to have belonged to the Porticus Octavii, which Cn. Octavius, the conqueror of Perses, the last king of Macedonia in B.C. 167, built near the Theatre of Pompeius.[9] Pliny speaks as if the peculiar capitals of Corinthian brass which it contained had been removed or replaced before his time; and this may have been done by Augustus, who rebuilt the whole, as recorded in the Monumentum Ancyranum.[10]

Temple of Mars.

[1] Ov. Fasti, vi. 203—210. See also Seneca, De Clem. i. 12; Livy, Ep. lxxxviii.; Lucan, Phars. ii. 197; Val. Max. ix. 2, 1; Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 341.

[2] Livy, x. 19; Plin. xxxv. 3, § 12; Fast. Ven. iii. Non. Jun.

[3] See Becker's Handb. Note No. 1280; Festus, p. 347.

[4] Ov. Fast. vi. 205; Dion Cass. l. 4, lxxi. 33.

[5] Amm. Marcell. xxix. 6 ad fin.; Reber, p. 227.

[6] Vitruv. iii. 2 (3 Schneid.); Tac. Ann. iii. 71.

[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 5, § 26; Dion Cass. lvi. 24, lx. 5, 3; Ov. Fast. ii. 860.

[8] Canina, Indicaz. p. 385.

[9] Livy, xlv. 42; Festus, p. 178; Vell. ii. 1. See above, p. 308.

[10] Plin. xxxiv. 3, § 13; Mon. Ancyr. tab. iv.

There are, however, strong reasons against the identification of these columns with the Porticus Octavii. It is hardly possible that the columns of a portico should have been placed so close together as these, since Vitruvius expressly says that the columns of a portico were always to be separated by wide intervals.[1] Besides this, it can hardly be supposed that the hybrid architectural style was the product of the Augustan age.

The other hypothesis, that the ruins belonged to the Temple of Mars, is sufficiently refuted by the above-mentioned fact, that the Temple of Mars was near the Circus Flaminius; and the same reason is fatal to the claims of the Temple of Bellona, which have also been urged. There are several other temples named in classical authors as situated in the district of the Circus Flaminius.

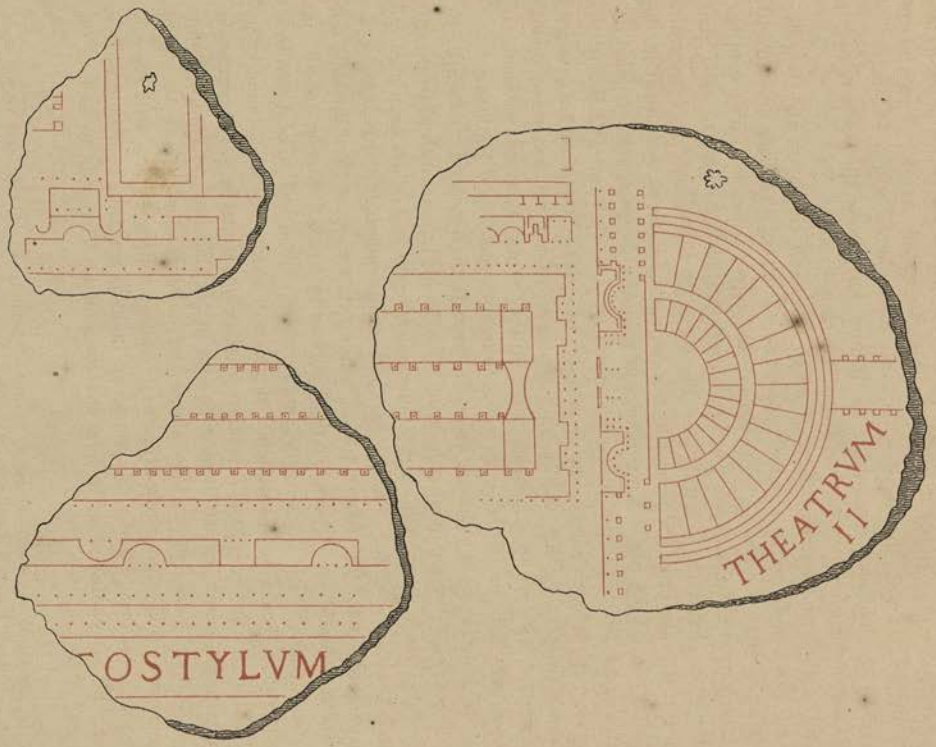
Temples of Diana, Juno Regina, Neptune, Dioscuri, and Vulcan. Porticus Minucia et Frumentaria.

Livy mentions the Temples of Diana and Juno Regina, the latter of which must be distinguished from the temple of the same deity in the Porticus Octaviæ;[2] and a Temple of Neptune is named in an inscription and in a passage of Pliny.[3] A Temple of the Dioscuri,[4] some baths called Balneæ Pallacinæ, and a Temple of Vulcan were also in this district.[5] There is no evidence in the case of any of these to enable us to fix their sites more exactly, nor can the locality of the Porticus Minucia et Frumentaria, placed by the Curiosum in the Circus Flaminius, be accurately determined. The last-mentioned building was possibly the place where the doles of corn were distributed.[6]

Theatre of Pompeius; Porticus, Curia, and Domus.

Passing now to the second division of the Campus Martius, which was called Campus Martius in the narrower sense, we find upon the boundary line between it and the Campus Flaminius the ruins of a vast range of buildings, the Theatre, Porticus, Curia, and Domus Pompeii. That these ruins, which are situated at the back of the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, and are plainly those of a theatre, belonged to the Theatre of Pompey, is clear, if the proofs already given of the situation of the other two theatres in ancient Rome be admitted as sufficient. The place was so familiar to the Romans that we hardly ever find its locality indicated even in any such general terms as "in Campo Martio" or "juxta Tiberim," expressions commonly applied to other buildings of less note in the Campus Martius. A passage of Pliny clearly shows that it was in the Campus Martius, but whether the name is here used in the wide or the more restricted sense is doubtful.[7] It seems probable that the Theatre of Pompey stood just upon the boundary between the districts of the Circus Flaminius and the Campus Martius proper. For, as Becker has shown,[8] the Villa Publica, which must be placed near the Palazzo Venezia, is mentioned by Varro as situated on the edge of the Campus Martius;[9] and taking this as our starting-point, if we draw the probable boundary line from thence to the river, it will pass nearly through the ruins of the Theatre and Portico of Pompey. And further, the gardens and a house of Pompey, besides the one he had in the Carinæ, were attached to the theatre; and these can hardly have been built upon the Campus Martius in the time of the later Republic.

[1] Vitruv. v. 9.
[2] Livy, xl. 52; Jul. Obs. 75; Fast. Amit. Id. Aug.
[3] Grut. Inscr. 318, 5; Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 26.
[4] Vitruv. iv. 8, 4; Fast. Am. Id. Aug.
[5] Fast. Cap. x. Kal. Sept. See Note B at the end of this chapter.
[6] Livy, iv. 12; Vell. ii. 8, 3; Cic. Phil. ii. § 84.
[7] Plin. xxxiv. 7, 18.
[8] Handbuch, pp. 624, 625.
[9] Varro, R. R. iii. 2.



FRAGMENTS OF PIANTA CAPITOLINA.

THEATRE OF POMPEY

Ch. XIII. Part 1. P. 317.

Edw.d Weller, lith.

Cambridge. Deighton, Bell & Co.

The remains which are now left of these celebrated buildings are to be seen in the small Piazza of S. Maria di Grotta Pinta, behind the Church of S. Andrea della Valle. They consist of ranges of travertine walls converging to a centre, similar to those still visible in the interior of the Theatre of Marcellus and in the Coliseum, and are plainly the remains of the substructions supporting the cavea of a theatre.

Further remains of piers and converging archways of peperino are visible in the cellars of the adjoining Palazzo Pio; and during some excavations made in 1837 a part of the outer walls of the theatre was discovered, with Doric half-columns and a Doric cornice. Most fortunately, the ground-plan, not only of the theatre, but also of the whole adjoining portico, is given upon some fragments of the Capitoline plan.

There are three of these fragments,[1] one of which represents the cavea, and the other two give plans of some parts of the annexed porticoes. The two which are marked with asterisks belong to a later restoration of the plan,[2] but agree sufficiently well with the older fragment, upon which the word "hecatostylon" partially remains, to show that they refer to the same building. On the plan the scena of the theatre is represented as ornamented with a number of columns, and the porticoes communicate with it at the back by a central door or janus. This door leads into a large space occupied by several parallel colonnades, with gardens and avenues of trees between them. In the centre of all was a clear open space, on each side of which was a broad covered portico, open on both sides. This was again enclosed by another extensive double colonnade ornamented with niches, in which the statues of the fourteen nations conquered by Pompey may have stood; whence it was sometimes called "ad Nationes."[3]

The first idea of building such a theatre seems to have been suggested to Pompey by his visit to the theatre at Mitylene, whither he went after the Mithridatic war, to be present at a contest of rival poets held in his honour. Only one attempt had before been made to build a permanent theatre in Rome.[4] The Censor C. Cassius Longinus, in the year B.C. 154,[5] had entered into a contract for the construction of a stone theatre, near the Lupercal; but the Senate, by the advice of Scipio Nasica, a rigid puritan of the old Roman school, and jealous of the introduction of Greek luxury, ordered it, when half finished, to be demolished, and the materials sold. The same decree inflicted penalties on any one who should either in the city, or within a mile of its walls, venture to place any seats for spectators at the games, or sit down while looking on at them.[6] Tacitus states that even in Pompey's time the conservative Romans retained the same dread lest indolence and luxury should be promoted by the construction of permanent theatres;[7] and Tertullian declares that Pompey was obliged to conceal his design under the pretext of building a temple to Venus Victrix, the steps of which he so contrived as to form the cavea of his Victrix in or behind the

[1] Nos. 12, 15, 16, on the Capitoline staircase wall.

[2] See chap. viii. part 2, Note A; Becker's Handbuch, vol. i. pl. 4.

[3] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 41; Suet. Nero, 46.

[4] There had been some enormous wooden theatres before this time. That of Curio is well known, which was double, and turned on hinges so as to form an amphitheatre. But the most huge was the wooden theatre of Scaurus, which contained 80,000 seats. See Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, § 113—120.

[5] Livy, Epit. 48; Vell. i. 15; Orosius, iv. 21; App. Bell. Civ. i. 28; Aug. De Civ. i. 31.

[6] Val. Max. ii. 4, 2. The "theatrum et proscenium ad Apollinis" mentioned above, p. 304, was probably only a stone scena. Livy, xl. 51.

[7] Tac. Ann. xiv. 20.

theatre.[1] This seems hardly probable; but that there was a Temple of Venus cavea is certain. Another account, which is ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman and secretary, calls it the Temple of Victoria;[2] but had this been true, Plutarch's story of Pompey's dream, in which he thought he saw the Temple of Venus in his theatre decorated with trophies in honour of Cæsar, the descendant of Venus, would be without meaning.[3] A slab of marble was found near the Church of S. Maria di Grotta Pinta in the sixteenth century, with the inscription "Veneris Victricis."[4] There were also chapels or altars of other deities within the theatre, or close to it. Suetonius speaks of more than one temple raised above the cavea,[5] and the Fasti mention expressly those of Honor, Virtus, and Felicitas in the Marble Theatre,[6] a name which Vitruvius gives to this theatre as the first built of that material.[7]

Temple of Venus Victrix.

The exact position of this Temple of Venus Victrix with respect to the theatre is difficult to determine. No traces of it appear in the Capitoline plan, for the double row of columns which is there traced at the back of the cavea belonged to a porticus, and not to any part of a temple. It was most probably a small temple or shrine, and was placed in the orchestra, where the thymele of the Mytilenæan theatre would have stood.

Pompey opened the theatre for the first time in his second consulate, 55 B.C.;[8] but it was not quite completed at that time, for we find that a grammatical controversy arose as to the wording of the inscription, whether it ought to be written "consul tertio" or "consul tertium," and that Cicero cut the knot by recommending that Pompey should write the numeral abbreviated, "tert."[9] The third consulship of Pompey was in B.C. 52, so that three years probably elapsed between the first opening and the completion. A grand entertainment was given on the occasion, including gymnastic and literary contests, and wild beast shows, at which five hundred lions were killed, and some elephants were hunted,—"a most astounding spectacle," says Plutarch.[10] In carrying out this grand design, Pompey was assisted by his freedman Demetrius, who had amassed immense riches during his master's campaigns, and took this opportunity of paying his acknowledgments to the author of his wealth.[11] The capabilities of the theatre must have been very great, nor need we be surprised to hear that it contained 40,000 seats,[12] for the remaining fragments show that it comprehended the whole space between the Via de' Chiavari (which corresponds nearly to the line of the scena), the Via di Giubbonari, the Campo di Fiore, and the Via del Paradiso. Eastwards from the Via de' Chiavari stretched the long ranges of colonnades of which the Capitoline plan gives the outline, and beyond them the Curia and a temple, with a variety of offices and shops, as far as the Via di Torre Argentina, including the modern Teatro Argentina within their compass.

The principal entrance to the colonnades from the theatre was by the door called the Regia, in the centre of the scena, which led under a marble janus or archway, represented

1 Tertull. De Spect. 10; Plin. viii. 7, 7, § 20.
2 Gell. x. 1, 7.
3 Plutarch, Pomp. 68.
4 Canina, Indic. p. 370; Fauno, Ant. di Roma, 1548, p. 141.
5 Suet. Claud. 21.
6 Fast. Amit. Prid. Id. Aug.
7 Vitruv. iii. 2 (3 Schneid.).
8 Dion Cass. xxxix. 38; Plutarch, Pomp. 52; Vell. ii. 48.
9 Gell. x. 1, 7. See below on the Pantheon, p. 327.
10 Plut. Pomp. 52.
11 Dion Cass. xxxix. 38.
12 Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 24.

in the Capitoline plan by two curved lines. Over this janus the statue of Pompey, which previously stood in the Curia, was placed by Augustus.[1] The rectangular court into which this led was divided into three long parterres by two porticoes, and these parterres were planted with avenues of plane-trees, among which a number of fountains cooled the air, and bronze or marble figures of wild animals were tastefully arranged.[2] As in the case of the Crypta Balbi before mentioned, the colonnades served as a place of shelter in case of rain, and were useful for marshalling the long processions which sometimes marched across the Roman stage.[3] Round the sides of the rectangular court were other colonnades, with niches and statues, but no distinctly separate annex can be traced to which the name Hecatostylon, found in the Capitoline plan upon the north side of the Porticus, can be assigned. It seems most probable that this name, alluded to by Martial, and quoted by Hieronymus,[4] was applied to the whole series of colonnades comprised in the Pompeian buildings, and that it was synonymous with Porticus Pompeii. *Hecatostylon.*

The Curia Pompeii, rendered famous in the world's history for the assassination of Cæsar,[5] was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Porticus, and probably upon the south side, for the fragments of the Capitoline plan show that it did not stand upon the north side, while at the eastern end the ruins of the round temple in the Piazza di S. Nicolo hardly afford room for so large a building.[6] The Curia was of the form called an Exedra, or hall furnished with seats, and was decorated with pictures of Cadmus and Europa by Antiphilus, and with a large piece by Pausias, representing a sacrifice of oxen, and with the statue of Pompey, at the foot of which Cæsar fell.[7]

After Cæsar's death the Curia was burnt, the spot declared to be a "locus sceleratus," and the statue removed by Augustus, who placed it above the janus of the Porticus, as previously mentioned.[8] At a short distance from the Porticus was the house of Pompey, which was of no great size or splendour, and but little better than his former residence in the Carinæ; so that, says Plutarch, the next owner who succeeded him, on taking possession, inquired in astonishment, "where the great Pompey could have dined."[9]

Augustus restored the theatre at great cost, and took credit to himself for not having replaced Pompey's name by his own in the dedicatory inscription.[10] In the reign of Tiberius it was destroyed by fire; but that emperor, who had no taste for building, restored the scena only, and Caligula afterwards completed the undertaking.[11] Claudius, we are told, replaced the name of Pompey, which Caligula had removed, in the inscription, and,

1 Suet. Oct. 31. The name Regia given to the central door of the theatre has strangely puzzled the commentators on Suetonius, who think that it refers to a basilica not mentioned elsewhere.

2 Mart. iii. 19, ii. 14, 9, 10, v. 10, 5; Propert. iii. 30, 11 et seq.; Ov. Art. i. 67. Cf. Mart. xi. 47, 3. This avenue was frequently used as a promenade, Cic. De Fato, c. 4.

3 Vitruv. v. 9. They contained paintings. See Plin. xxxv. 9, § 59.

4 Mart. ii. 14, iii. 19; Hieron. Chron. ed. Roncalli, i. 475.

5 Plut. Cæs. 66; Ov. Met. xv. 802.

6 See above, p. 315.

7 Plut. Brut. 14; Plin. xxxv. 10, § 114, 11, § 126; Cic. De Div. ii. 9, § 23.

8 App. B. C. ii. 147; Suet. Cæs. 88, Aug. 31. The statue of Pompey now in the Palazzo Spada was found in the Palazzo della Cancellaria, close to the Campo di Fiori. See Fea, p. lxviii. 57, who gives an amusing account of the discovery. Dion Cassius says of the Curia: ὕστερον ἐς ἄφοδον μετεσκεύασαν, xlvii. 19.

9 Plut. Pomp. 40.

10 Mon. Ancyr. iv. ed. Zumpt.

11 Tac. Ann. iii. 72, vi. 45; Suet. Cal. 21.

with the pedantry for which he was noted, erased the word "tert." and inserted "iii." in its place.[1]

It was in this theatre that Nero gave the grand entertainment to Tiridates, called his "golden day," on which occasion not only the scena, but the whole interior of the theatre and its furniture was covered with gilding, and a purple velarium stretched over it, upon which Nero himself was represented driving his chariot, in the character of the Sun-god, with golden stars glittering around him.[2] The scena was burnt in the great fire in A.D. 80, but restored again by Vespasian.[3] Two other conflagrations and restorations are recorded in the first half of the third century, one in the reign of Philippus in 249 A.D., and a second in that of Diocletian.[4] An inscription was found in the Via de' Chiavari in 1551, which commemorates the restoration of one of the colonnades under the name of Jovius, a title which Diocletian often assumed, and in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus the theatre could still be reckoned among the *mirabilia urbis*.[5] Another inscription, given by the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS., records a rebuilding by Arcadius and Honorius, about A.D. 395.[6] At the time the Notitia was compiled, the number of seats had diminished from 40,000, as given by Pliny, to 27,580, or even less; and the theatre was, therefore, probably in a ruinous state when the last-mentioned restoration took place.

The building naturally suffered much in the Gothic wars, and we find that it was again restored by Symmachus in the time of Theodoric,[7] after which it is mentioned under the right name of Theatrum Pompeii, by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen, in the ninth, and the Ordo Romanus in the twelfth centuries; but in the thirteenth the Orsini family had occupied it, and so changed the building that at the beginning of the fourteenth century it is called in the Mirabilia Palatium Pompeii.[8] The Florentine Poggio saw the ruins of the outer wall still standing in the Campo di Fiore in the fifteenth century; but the name of Pompey was then no longer connected with them, until Marliani, Fulvio, and Fauno, the topographers of the sixteenth century, revived the right designation.[9] Canina, in his work on ancient architecture, has taken the greatest pains to give a full description of the ruins now left, and it is from him that most of our information is derived.[10]

[1] Dion Cass. lx. 6; Gell. x. 1, 9.

[2] Dion Cass. lxiii. 6; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 3, § 54.

[3] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24; Suet. Vesp. 8.

[4] Hier. Chron. ed. Roncalli, i. 475, ii. 247; Hist. Aug. Carinus, 19.

[5] Grut. Inscr. p. cxi. 6; Aur. Victor Cæs. 39, 18, 33, 40, 1; Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.

[6] Mabillon, Vet. An. vol. iv. p. 497, Paris, 1685; Hänel in *Archiv für Phil. und Pæd.* 1837, Bd. v. Hft. 1, S. 126. The inscription has been restored by Th. Mommsen, Ep. An. 14; Berichte der K. S. Gesell. 1850, S. 307.

[7] Cassiod. Var. iv. 51; Donati, p. 293.

[8] Mirabilia Romæ, ed. Parthey, p. 5.

[9] Faunô, Ant. di Roma, 1548, p. 140; Fulvio, Ant. di Roma, 1588, p. 117; Gamucci, Ant. di Roma, 1569, lib. iii. p. 145.

[10] Canina, L'Architettura Antica, Sez. iii. Parte ii. cap. 6, p. 341.

NOTE A, p. 310.—PORTICO OF OCTAVIA.

The excavations carried on in 1861 by Pellegrini and Contigliozzi established the following limits for the Portico of Octavia (see *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1868, p. 108):—

1. The southern corner of the rectangle was occupied by a quadrifrontal archway (Janus Quadrifrons), and this was situated near No. 4 in the Via della Catena di Pescheria. From this, the south-western side of the portico ran nearly along the line of the street till it reached the gateway to which the present ruins belong near the Oratory of S. Angelo. The western corner of the portico was also formed by a quadrifrontal archway.

The north-western side passed through the Church of S. Ambrogio, a little below the high altar, and then skirted the Palazzo Righetti near the Piazza di S. Caterina de' Funari, where it joined the north-eastern and shorter side. In this side there was a pediment supported by pilasters corresponding to the gateway on the opposite side, but not containing a real entrance. This stood near the angle of the Palazzo Cavaletti, in the Via de' Delphini. The eastern angle was near the Palazzo Capizucchi, and the south-eastern side passed close to the convent of monks of the order of Madre di Dio, attached to the Church of S. Maria in Portico in the Piazza di Campitelli.

2. The three composite columns of marble which still stand in the house No. 11 in the Via di S. Angelo, in Pescheria, belonged to the Temple of Juno, and stood at the western angle of that temple.

3. The remains of the Temple of Jupiter are hidden under the Church of S. Maria in Portico, and the street which is now called Via della Tribuna di Campitelli occupies the line of the interval between the two temples. A part of one of the side walls of the Temple of Jupiter rises a little above the ground at the corner of the Church of S. Maria in Portico.

4. The School or Academy of Augustus was behind the temples, and stood near the centre of the Via della Tribuna di Campitelli. The back of this formed a part of the northern side of the Portico. The Curia stood behind the Schola, and on each side of it were placed the libraries of Greek and Latin books.

NOTE B, p. 316.—THE BALNEÆ PALLACINÆ.

Cic., Pro Roscio Am. vii. 18, has "occiditur ad *Balneas Pallacinæ* de cena rediens S. Roscius." The topographers have altered this to "Palatinas," but without authority.

"Vicus Pallacinæ" occurs in a fragment of the same oration (p. 436, Orelli), and in an inscription (De Rossi, Insc. Christ. i. p. 62), and in the name of the Convent S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis (Martinelli, Roma Sacra, p. 364). This convent can be proved, by passages in the "Liber Pontificalis," to have been between S. Marco and the Ghetto (Lib. Pontificalis, Hadr. i. c. 94; Benedict III. c. 23). It was replaced by S. Caterina ai Funari (Bunsen, Beschr. iii. 3, p. 516), near the Palazzo Mattei and the Piazza Serlupi, or, as Zangemeister thinks, near the Piazza del Gesù. The name "Vicus Pallacinæ" must be a corrupt mediæval Latin expression for Vicus Pallacinarum, like Vicus Caput Africæ for Vicus Capitis Africæ (Nuove Mem. S. 231). See Jordan in Hermes, ii. pp. 76, 413, and Zangemeister, id. p. 470.

CHAPTER XIII.

PART II.

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS AND THE VIA LATA.

CAMPUS MARTIUS PROPER: THE SEPTA—ARCH OF CLAUDIUS—VILLA PUBLICA—TEMPLES OF ISIS AND SERAPIS—TEMPLE OF MINERVA CHALCIDICA—THERMÆ AGRIPPÆ—THE PANTHEON—CAMPUS AGRIPPÆ—PORTICUS POLÆ PORTICUS EUROPÆ—PORTICUS VIPSANIA—DIRIBITORIUM—POSIDONIUM, OR PORTICUS NEPTUNI—BASILICA NEPTUNI—RUIN IN THE PIAZZA DI PIETRA—TEMPLES OF MARCIANA AND HADRIAN—PORTICUS MELEAGRI—BASILICA MATIDIÆ—BASILICA MARCIANÆ—GNOMON OBELISK—PILLAR OF ANTONINUS PIUS—TEMPLE AND PILLAR OF M. AURELIUS—ARCH OF M. AURELIUS—STADIUM ALEXANDRINUM (PIAZZA NAVONA)—ODEUM—THERMÆ NERONIANÆ—THERMÆ ALEXANDRINÆ—ARCH OF TIBERIUS—STABULA FACTIONUM—TEMPLES OF LARES PERMARINI AND JUTURNA—VIA TECTA—PORTICUS FLAMINIA—ALTARS OF FORTUNA REDUX AND PAX—AMPHITHEATRE OF STATILIUS—PRÆDIA ÆMILIANA—MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS—USTRINA CÆSARUM. VIA LATA: NAME OF VIA LATA—ALTAR OF MARS—ARCHES OF AQUA VIRGO—TOMB OF BIBULUS—TEMPLE OF SOL.

"Profecto incendia puniunt luxum, nec tamen effici potest ut mores aliquid ipso homine mortalius esse intellegant."
PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 15, § 110.

THE Theatre of Pompey and the adjoining public buildings stood, as we have seen, upon the verge of the Campus Martius proper. Upon the description of that part of the Campus we now enter. It is separated from the region of the Via Lata on the east by the long straight street of the Corso, and extends northwards to the Piazza del Popolo, where the Pincian approaches the bank of the Tiber. Several great and complex masses of buildings, all belonging to the Imperial age, were spread over this quarter, and covered at least three-fourths of its surface. In the south-eastern part, near the Piazza of S. Marco, a large space was occupied by the Septa and Villa Publica. Beyond these to the north-west, and occupying nearly the whole central portion of the district, were the colossal buildings of Agrippa, grouped round the Pantheon. On the west of these stood the Stadium Alexandrinum, now the Piazza Navona, and on the north-east the colossal pillar of Marcus Aurelius formed the central point of a great group of buildings erected by the Antonines. At the northern end stood the Mausoleum of Augustus, and near it the Ustrina Cæsarum. Accordingly, a small portion only of the Campus between the Piazza Navona and the Tiber was still left in Imperial times as open ground for the military and gymnastic exercises of the Roman youth, which were patronized by the Emperors, following the example of Augustus,

Campus Martius proper.

long after the inhabitants of the great city had devolved their real military duties on foreign legionaries.[1]

The Septa.

The site of the Septa is determined by a most valuable notice in Frontinus, who states that the arches of the Aqua Virgo ended near the front of the Septa. This aqueduct now ends at the Fontana Trevi, but was formerly carried across the Via Lata to supply the Thermæ of Agrippa near the Pantheon.[2] We should therefore expect to find the foundations of the arches by which it was carried over the Via Lata somewhere on the line between the Fontana Trevi and the Pantheon. And exactly in this direction a discovery of part of the aqueduct itself was made in the middle of the seventeenth century, during some excavations opened in front of the Church of S. Ignazio. The ruins then found belonged to an archway including three arches, a larger between two smaller ones, which were plainly intended to carry the aqueduct over a street parallel to the Via Lata or Corso. At the same time some of the huge leaden pipes for conveying the water were found.[3]

Arch of Claudius.

In the same line between the Fontana Trevi and the Pantheon another arch was also found at the same time (about 1650) near the corner of the Palazzo Sciarra, exactly where the aqueduct must have passed over the Via Lata. The inscription which was found upon this arch has been restored as follows:—"Ti. Claudio Drusi F. Caisari Augusto Germanico Pontifici Max. Trib. Pot. XI. Cos. V. Imperatori XXIIII. P. P. Senatus Populusque Romanus quod Reges Britanniai perduelles sine ulla jactura suorum domuerit, gentesque barbaras ultra Oceanum primus in dicionem populi R. redegerit."[4] The arch therefore was a triumphal arch, and erected in commemoration of Claudius's triumph after his return from Britain in A.D. 43;[5] and this agrees very well with the fact related by Suetonius, that Claudius restored the arches of the Aqua Virgo, which had been broken down by Caligula to make room for his intended amphitheatre near the Septa.[6] Claudius may very possibly, as in the cases of the Arch of Drusus and the Porta Capena, have made use of his triumphal arch for the conveyance of the Aqua Virgo. In the time of Pius IV. a great quantity of fragments of marble belonging to this arch were found near the Palazzo Sciarra, and Flaminio Vacca, who relates the discovery, says that he bought a hundred and thirty-six cart-loads of them, and that among them were many historical reliefs, containing likenesses of Claudius.[7]

Another triumphal arch seems to have spanned the Via Lata at a point nearly opposite the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata. This was discovered about twenty years before the last-mentioned. It stood too far south along the Corso to have belonged to the aqueduct of the Aqua Virgo.[8] We must therefore look for the Septa somewhere in the vicinity of the Church of S. Ignazio. That the building was not to the north of this is shown by the facts that both the Septa and Villa Publica are

[1] See Hor. Od. i. 8, iii. 7, 25, iv. 1, 39; Sat. ii. 6, 49, i. 6, 126; Ep. i. 7, 59, i. 11, 4; Ars Poet. 162. Cic. Pro Cælio, xv. § 36, speaks of swimming baths; Mart. ii. 14, iv. 8; Hist. Aug. Claudius, 13; Merivale, Hist. of Romans, vol. vii. p. 556.

[2] Frontin. De Aquæd. i. 22.

[3] Donati, Roma Vetus ac Recens, p. 400, gives a sketch of the arch and the pipes.

[4] Donati, p. 385.

[5] Suet. Claud. 17.

[6] Ib. Cal. 21.

[7] Flamm. Vacc. ap. Fea, Misc. p. 67.

[8] L. Fauno, Ant. di Roma, 1548, p. 130.

mentioned as situated near the Circus Flaminius, but upon the Campus Martius, and not far from the Temple of Bellona,[1] and that they were injured in the fire of A.D. 80, which only affected the buildings in the southern part of the Campus Martius.[2] They are also said to have been near the Temple of Isis, which precludes the possibility of their having been on the eastern side of the Via Lata, for the Temple of Isis was close to the Thermæ of Agrippa.[3] The space, therefore, within which we must look for any remains of the Septa, includes only the Church of S. Ignazio, the Collegio Romano, the Palazzo Boncampagni, the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata, and the Palazzo Doria. Now under the two last-mentioned buildings some ruins of a very peculiar character are situated. They consist of ancient piers of travertine about 39 inches square, standing in rows at distances of five or six yards, and evidently belonging to the remains of a portico. There are three rows of these, each containing eight piers, under the Palazzo Doria, and five rows under the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata, containing each five piers. It is plain that they were originally faced with marble, as the exterior surface of the travertine is rough hewn. The situation of these pillars agrees well with the locality in which the Septa are placed by classical writers; and a further proof that they certainly formed a part of that building is given by the Capitoline plan, upon which we find a large tract occupied by a building resting upon piers arranged in regular rows, exactly corresponding to the piers under the Church of S. Maria and the Palazzo Doria.[4] Upon these fragments the letters SÆPT and LIA are legible, which appear to belong to the words SÆPTA JULIA. The shape of the building is very peculiar. It must have reached along the side of the Via Lata from the Piazza di S. Marco to the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata, and consisted of a long cloister supported by parallel rows of eight marble piers. This cannot have been the arrangement of the place in the Republican or early Imperial times, for a design less adapted for the orderly meeting of a large body of people can hardly be conceived. It is much more probable that in the present ruins we have the remains of Hadrian's Septa,[5] built when the original purpose of the building, the reception and division of the centuries when they voted, had become an affair of the past.

The design of these spacious covered cloisters seems to have been to afford a sheltered place for various classes of the Roman populace. Already in Domitian's time the Septa had become the common resort of slave vendors,[6] dealers in fancy goods,[7] *flâneurs* and loungers,[8] and the new arcades were intended possibly for the express accommodation of such persons. The wide court in which the great assemblies of the centuries had previously been held was partly filled up by these new buildings, and partly occupied by private houses, as the Capitoline plan shows. When that plan was prepared, in the time of Septimius Severus, the old Septa had entirely lost their form and original use, and the name only remained attached to the spacious colonnades of Hadrian.

In the early times of the Republic the Septa were simply an enclosed place on the Campus Martius, partitioned off into a number of different plots by means of ropes or

[1] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 16; Plut. Sylla, 30; Sen. De Clem. i. 12; Liv. Ep. lxxxviii.; Val. Max. ix. 2, 1; Lucan, Phars. ii. 191; Strabo, v. 4, 11.

[2] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24.

[3] Juven. vi. 528 et seq.; Mart. ii. 14, 7.

[4] Fragm. vest. Vet. Rom. Bellori, ap. Græv. Thes. tom. iv. tab. x.

[5] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19, 10.

[6] Mart. ix. 60.

[7] Ibid. x. 80.

[8] Ibid. ii. 14, 5; 57, 2.

slight railings, in each of which one century assembled, and whence the presidents passed one by one over the pontes to deliver the vote of their respective century.[1] Hence arose the nickname of *ovilia*, which was given to the Septa on account of their similarity to a sheep-fold.[2] Julius Cæsar first entertained the idea of setting up marble enclosures for the Comitia Centuriata, and surrounding them with a magnificent portico.[3] The whole formed a spacious cloistered court, decorated with works of art, and closely connected with the Villa Publica.[4] Cæsar's design was completed after his death by Agrippa in B.C. 27, and he gave the building the name Septa Julia.[5] A rostrum was erected in it;[6] and such was the extent of the space enclosed, that gladiatorial shows and sometimes naumachiæ were held there.[7]

Villa Publica.

The Villa Publica, built in 431 B.C., was situated, according to Varro, at the verge of the Campus Martius; and we must therefore place it at the southern end of the Septa, near S. Marco.[8] It was a large public hall, which served not only the purpose of holding the census and conducting the business of levying troops, but also for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors.[9] Whether Cæsar's plan, mentioned by Cicero, for building a new Villa Publica together with his new Septa, was ever carried out is not known.[10] It is possible that Josephus may allude to this new building under the name of *βασίλεια*.[11]

A horrible massacre was committed in the year 82 B.C. by Sulla in this building, when, after defeating the Samnites and democrats before the Colline gate, he collected the prisoners, to the number of between 3,000 and 4,000, including the generals Pontius of Telesia, Carrinas, and L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, in the Villa Publica, and cut them down to the last man, so that the cries of the wounded and dying could be distinctly heard in the neighbouring Temple of Bellona, where a meeting of the Senate was being held.[12]

Temples of Isis, Serapis, and Minerva Chalcidica.

Westwards from the Septa, and nearly upon the sites now occupied by the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco, the little Via di Pie di Marmo, and a part of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, stood the Temples of Isis, Serapis, and Minerva Chalcidica.[13] The names of these three temples are given in the Catalogue of the Curiosum in the ninth region, and the sites of the two first, the Iseum and Serapeum, have been sufficiently traced by the numerous Egyptian antiquities which have been found near the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Of these the most remarkable are the two obelisks, one of which now stands in the Piazza della Rotonda in front of the Pantheon, and the other in the Piazza della Minerva. The latter of these was found between the Church of S. Ignazio and that of S. Maria in the time of Alexander VII. in 1665, and the former had stood, previously to its erection on the present pedestal, in the

[1] Thus Dionysius says of the Comitia Tributa in the Forum, *χώρια περισχοινίσαντες*; Dion. vii. 59. Appian, B. C. iii. 30.

[2] Serv. Ad Ecl. i. 34; Juv. vi. 528.

[3] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 16, sub fin.

[4] Cic. loc. cit.; Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. § 201, xxxvi. 5, § 29.

[5] Dion Cass. liii. 23.

[6] Ibid. lvi. 1.

[7] Ibid. lv. 8, 10, lix. 10; Suet. Aug. 43, Cal. 18, Claud. 21, Nero, 12.

[8] Varro, R. R. iii. 2; Livy, iv. 22, xxxiv. 44.

[9] Livy, xxx. 21, xxxiii. 24.

[10] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 16. See Sachse's Rom. ii. p. 65.

[11] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, 4.

[12] Seneca, De Clem. i. 12; Lucan, ii. 197; Livy, Epit. lxxxviii. App. B. C. i. 93.

[13] Juv. vi. 529: "Ædes Isidis antiquo quæ proxima surgit Ovili." Marching from the Flaminian road to the Portico of Octavia and Porta Triumphalis, the army of Vespasian is said by Josephus to have passed near the Iseum; Bell. Jud. vii. 5, 4.

little Piazza di S. Macuto, whence it was removed by Clement XI. The antiquarian Fea, in his "Miscellanea," gives an account of various other Egyptian relics found on the south-east side of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which undoubtedly belonged to the Iseum and Serapeum.

Among these were the statue of Isis now in the hall of the Dying Gladiator in the Capitol, the two Egyptian lions now at the foot of the steps of the Capitol, the famous group of the Nile now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, and two fragments of an altar with Egyptian reliefs and the inscription "Isidi sacrum."[1] Further traces of the same Egyptian worship were found by Canina in the year 1852, of which he has given an account in the *Annali dell' Instituto* for that year. The Emperors Commodus and Caracalla were particularly given to the worship of Egyptian deities, and the Emperor Alexander Severus is said to have bestowed additional decorations upon these temples.[2]

The third temple, that of Minerva Chalcidica, which was restored by Domitian together with the Iseum and Serapeum after the fire in A.D. 80,[3] stood nearer to the Pantheon,[4] and probably occupied the site of the present church called S. Maria sopra Minerva. The statue of Minerva, formerly in the Giustiniani Palace, and now placed in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, was found here.[5] Some few remains of pilasters which are built into the foundations of the houses between the Via della Minerva and the Via di Pie di Marmo may have belonged to this temple.

Immediately to the west of these temples a vast space of ground extending from the Via della Minerva to the Piazza Navona was covered with the buildings belonging to the Thermæ of Agrippa and the Thermæ of Nero, afterwards rebuilt by Alexander Severus and called the Thermæ Alexandrinæ.[6]

For the determination of the site of the Thermæ of Agrippa we have the conclusive evidence of the above-mentioned arches of the Aqua Virgo, which supplied them with water. The castellum or reservoir of the aqueduct is placed by Canina at the north-west corner of the Church of S. Ignazio, whence the water was conveyed in pipes underground to the back of the Pantheon, where the great court of the Thermæ was probably situated. Agrippa brought the Aqua Virgo into the city in B.C. 23, and two years afterwards he opened his public baths, the first ever constructed in Rome.[7] The Roman poets speak of them as one of the most popular resorts of the citizens, and the water enjoyed the reputation of being the coldest and freshest in the whole city.[8]

The halls and colonnades of this great building were decorated with the most costly paintings, with numbers of marble and bronze statues, and with artistic designs in stucco and encaustic tiles.[9] Among these was the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus, which Augustus coveted so much that he had it removed to his palace and a copy substituted, but was obliged by the indignation expressed against such appropriation to restore it to the

[1] Fea, Misc. pp. lxvi. 26, cxxv. 17, ccvii. 8, ccliv. 112. [2] Hist. Aug. Carac. 9; Alex. Sev. 26.

[3] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24; Roncalli, Cat. Imp. Vienn. tom. ii. p. 243.

[4] See Urlichs, Memorie Nuove dell' Inst. i. p. 88 et seq.; Mirabilia, ap. Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 292; Anon. Eins. in the *Archiv für Phil. und Pæd.* 1837, Bd. v. Hft. 1, S. 133, 134.

[5] Fea, Misc. p. ccliv. 112. [6] See below, p. 341.

[7] Front. i. 10, 22; Dion Cass. liv. 11.

[8] Sen. Ep. lxxxiii. 5; Stat. Sylv. i. 5, 25; Ov. De Art. Am. iii. 385, "gelidissima Virgo;" Mart. vi. 42, 18, "cruda Virgine," the "hard" water of the Aqua Virgo; vii. 32, 11, "niveas undas," "snow-cold;" Plin. xxxi. 3, § 42, "Virgo tactu præstat."

[9] Plin. xxxv. 4, § 26; xxxvi. 25, § 189.

baths.[1] After his death Agrippa munificently bequeathed the Thermæ and his pleasure-grounds to the public.[2] They were much injured in the great fire of A.D. 80, but were restored partly by Domitian and again by Hadrian.[3] The remains which are still left are not sufficient to enable us to trace out the ground-plan of the Thermæ. They consist of the ruins of a semicircular building (exedra), and a few piers of brickwork on the north side of the Via della Palombella, and in the Via della Ciambella at the back of the Pantheon.[4] The brickwork here is apparently of the third century, and belongs to a restoration by one of the later Emperors, of which we have no mention in history.

At the end of the fifth century these baths were still in use.[5] The anonymous writer of Einsiedlen calls them the Thermæ Commodianæ, probably misled by some inscription recording a partial restoration by Commodus, while the Mirabilia of the twelfth century gives the right name, and Albertini, who wrote in the fifteenth century, speaks of the ruins of the baths of Agrippa as situated in the locality called Ciambella, whence the modern street takes its name.[6]

At the same time with his Thermæ, Agrippa built the famous dome, called by Pliny and Dion Cassius, and in the inscription of Severus on the architrave of the building itself, the Pantheon,[7] and still retaining that name, though now consecrated as a Christian church under the name of S. Maria ad Martyres or della Rotonda.[8] *The Pantheon.* This consecration, together with the colossal thickness of the walls, has secured the building against the attacks of time, and the still more destructive attacks of the barons of the Middle Ages, who destroyed most of the other great edifices of Imperial Rome, by either making them their strongholds or pulling them down for building materials.

The pronaos rests upon sixteen granite columns with marble Corinthian capitals. It was formerly approached by six steps, but two only are now above the level of the surrounding ground. The architrave and frieze are plain, and on the latter stands the inscription, which formerly, as may be seen by the holes for nails, was formed by metallic letters:—M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM. FECIT.[9] Another inscription in smaller characters stands under this upon the two upper ledges of the architrave, commemorating the restoration of the building by Severus and Caracalla. The pediment, as may be seen by the holes of the metal fastenings, formerly contained a bronze relief representing Jupiter hurling thunderbolts upon the giants.[10]

The roof of the pronaos was originally arched, but the vaulting has been replaced by strong beams, and on the outside the gilded bronze tiles have been replaced by sheets of lead. In the interior of the pronaos, on each side of the entrance, are two huge niches, which formerly contained the statues of Augustus and Agrippa,[11] but are now empty.

[1] Plin. xxxiv. 8, § 62.

[2] Dion Cass. liv. 29.

[3] Roncalli, Cat. Imp. Vienn. p. 243; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19.

[4] Fea, Miscell. p. lxxvi. 53, 54, 55, mentions a number of fragments as dug up here.

[5] Sid. Ap. ad Consent. v. 460.

[6] Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. p. 286; Mirab. Rom. ed. Parthey, p. 8; Albertini, De Mirab. p. 13, "in loco qui vulgo Ciambella dicitur." The street was called Ciambella from the discovery of a crown there in the shape of the cake called Ciambella. See Venuti, vol. ii. p. 134; Fea, Misc. p. lxxvi. 53; *Archiv für Phil. und Pæd.* 1837, Bd. v. Hft. 1, S. 133, 134.

[7] Plin. xxxvi. 5, § 38; Dion Cass. liii. 27, lxvi. 24.

[8] Anastas. Bibl. Vit. Pont. p. 52.

[9] The grammatical controversy of which Gellius speaks (x. 1, 7), as to the correctness of the forms *tertio* and *tertium*, seems to be here decided in favour of *tertium*. See above, p. 318.

[10] Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, vol. ii. p. 283.

[11] Dion Cass. liii. 27.

The pronaos is connected with the rotunda by two massive projections of masonry, ornamented at the sides with marble pilasters and exquisitely-worked reliefs in pentelic marble, representing candelabra and sacrificial implements entwined with wreaths. These connecting walls originally rose to an equal height with the walls of the rotunda, but are now hidden by the bell-towers, erected by Bernini in the time of Urban VIII.[1]

The doorway is of magnificently-carved marble slabs, and the folding doors, moving on massive hinges fixed in two projecting pilasters, are of bronze.[2]

PANTHEON.

The rotunda rests on a rectangular base, similar to those which support the cylindrical parts of the mausoleum of Hadrian and the tomb of Cæcilia Metella. In the parts where the thickness of the wall is not lessened by niches in the interior it has the amazing breadth of nineteen feet in solid brickwork. In addition to this it is strengthened with

[1] Donati, p. 389, gives a view of the Pantheon without the bell-towers.

[2] Venuti, Antich. di Roma, vol. ii. p. 118, and Nardini, Roma Antica, vol. iii. p. 50, think that the original bronze doors were carried away by Genseric. But Nibby, in his Notes on Nardini, and Winckelmann (Sur l'Arch. vol. ii. p. 606) have shown that the present doors are probably ancient, though the method of hanging them may have been altered. The grating above the door is similar to one represented in a fresco at Herculaneum. Pitt. d'Ercol. tom. i. tav. 13, p. 73; Nibby on Nardini, loc. cit.

numerous arches built into the wall. Three cornices run round the exterior of the rotunda and divide it into three rings, the lowest of which was faced with marble, and the two upper with stucco. The dome springs from the second cornice, and consists first of a ring of masonry seven feet high, and then of six concentric rings, presenting on the exterior the appearance of six steps. The top is flat, and is pierced in the centre with a large round opening twenty-seven feet in diameter. Round the opening is a ring of ornamental gilded bronze, which is the only part of the old bronze-gilt roof now remaining. The masonry of the dome is of wedge-shaped pumice stones, chosen for this purpose on account of their lightness. The same kind of stone is used in several other buildings in Rome, where lightness combined with moderate strength is required.[1]

The exterior of the dome is flat and heavy, and impressive only from its stern and massive solidity. The proportions of the interior are altogether different, and have been universally admired for their elegance, and the exquisitely simple taste with which they are decorated. The lower part contains eight deep niches, alternately semicircular and square, in one of which the entrance doors are placed, while the others were filled with statues of deities, now replaced by altars. The niches are decorated with pilasters, and two Corinthian columns stand in front of each, supporting the entablature, which runs round the whole interior. Between the eight principal niches are eight smaller ones, now used as altars, faced with ædiculæ, consisting of two small columns with entablature and pediment. The two ring cornices in the interior answer in position to the two lower exterior cornices. Above the upper cornice, which runs quite round the building, there were originally twelve niches, surrounded with elegant marbles and stucco work. These were altered in 1747, and their effect injured by the introduction of heavy pediments, and by the removal of the marbles and stucco work. The interior of the roof is relieved by well-designed rectangular coffer-work, decreasing in size towards the apex of the dome, so as to give the impression of height and space. The floor is laid with slabs of Phrygian and Numidian marbles, porphyry, and grey granite, in alternate squares and circles, set in reticulated work. In the centre it has a depression pierced with small holes to carry off the rain-water from the aperture above. This drain probably communicated with the great cloaca built by Agrippa to drain the Campus Martius.[2]

The proportions of the interior of the dome are admirably adjusted, so that no part of the building has an undue prominence, contrasting favourably in this respect with St. Peter's, where the immense size of the piers on which the dome is supported dwarf the upper part too much. The Pantheon will always be reckoned among the masterpieces of architecture for solid durability combined with beauty of interior effect.

The Romans prided themselves greatly upon it as one of the wonders of their great capital, and no other dome of antiquity could rival its colossal dimensions.[3] The height from the pavement to the crown of the dome is 143 feet, half of which is occupied by the cylindrical wall and half by the dome. This height is insignificant when compared with

[1] As in the vaulted arches of the Coliseum. See Parker's Lecture before the Archæological Society of Rome.

[2] See above, chap. xii. p. 286; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, 24; Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. ii. p. 121.

[3] Amm. Marc. xvi. 10: "Pantheon speciosa celsitudine fornicatum;" Seneca, De Ben. iii. 32: "Agrippa, qui tot in urbe maxima opera excitavit, quæ et priorem magnificentiam vincerent et nulla postea vincerentur."

St. Peter's, the dome of which is 405 feet from the pavement to the base of the lantern, and the exterior appearance of St. Peter's is far finer; but the diameter of the Pantheon is the greater, and the proportions of the interior more harmonious.

The inscription assigns its completion to the year A.D. 27, the third Consulship of Agrippa. For a long time the mistaken notion prevailed that the building was dedicated to Mars Ultor,[1] a misapprehension arising from a corrupt reading in a passage of Pliny, where the words "Jovis Ultoris" had been inserted instead of "Diribitori."[2] The original name Pantheon, taken in connexion with the numerous niches for statues of the gods in the interior, seems to contradict the idea that it was dedicated to any peculiar deity or class of deities. The seven principal niches may have been intended for the seven superior deities, and the eight ædiculæ for the next in dignity, while the twelve niches in the upper ring were occupied by the inferior inhabitants of Olympus. Dion hints at this explanation when he suggests that the name was taken from the resemblance of the dome to the vault of heaven.[3]

Originally, to all appearance, the Pantheon was not intended for a temple, but for a part of Agrippa's Thermæ. Its shape corresponds very closely with the description given by Vitruvius of the laconicum or sudatio attached to all Roman thermæ.[4] He recommends for this part of the thermæ a dome-shaped building with a round opening, like that of the Pantheon, at the crown, which can be opened or closed at pleasure, so as to lower or raise the temperature, by the removal or application of a lid (clypeum) moved by chains. And on an examination of the pronaos it will be found that the stones in its upper part, which abut on the central building, are not bonded into it, but are only placed against it, showing that the pronaos was an afterthought, and was not erected till the rotunda had been finished. It follows that Agrippa must have changed the design of the building after the completion of the dome; and perhaps because he found it too vast for the purposes of a vapour-bath, or because he thought it too splendid a building to be employed for such a purpose, have determined to dedicate it to the gods of heathendom.[5] The bronze-gilt statuary, the work of Diogenes of Athens, with which the temple was decorated, was much admired by the Roman connoisseurs, and in particular the group upon the pediment and the caryatides. The statue of Venus was adorned with the two divided halves of the famous pearl of Cleopatra, fellow to the one which she is said to have dissolved in vinegar in order to win the wager that she could spend ten million sesterces in one dinner.[6]

In the fire of A.D. 80 the Pantheon suffered with the rest of the buildings in this part of the Campus Martius,[7] but from the solidity of its construction the injury done was not great, and was repaired soon afterwards by Domitian.[8] It was damaged by lightning in

[1] Hirt, Gesch. der Baukunst, vol. ii. p. 283.

[2] Plin. xxxvi. 15, § 102.

[3] Dion Cass. liii. 27. Becker, from the fact that Mars and Venus are particularly mentioned, thinks that the Pantheon was dedicated to the gods of the Julian gens. But there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

[4] Vitruv. v. 10; Dion Cass. liii. 27. It seems possible in this passage of Dion Cass. to suppose that the *πυριατήριον* or sudatio was identical with the Pantheon.

[5] It is to be observed that Pliny, xxxvi. 5, 38, and Macrobius, Sat. ii. 13 (iii. 17), distinctly call it a templum. Hadrian afterwards built a pantheon at Athens; Paus. Attica, 18, 9.

[6] Plin. loc. cit.; Macrob. loc. cit.

[7] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24.

[8] Roncalli, Chron. ii. col. 197, 243.

the reign of Trajan, but restored by Hadrian, who used it frequently as a court of justice.[1] A hundred years after this the restoration by Septimius Severus, recorded in the present inscription, took place. Honorius closed this temple with the other temples of Rome in 399 A.D., but it was not consecrated as a Christian church until two hundred years afterwards, when Boniface IV. dedicated it to All Saints, in allusion to the Pagan name of Pantheon, giving the name of S. Maria ad Martyres.[2] Two acts of plunder perpetrated upon the building deserve mention. In the middle of the seventh century Constans II. took off the gilded bronze tiles of the roof, and was carrying them to Constantinople with the plunder of the Forum of Trajan, when he was intercepted at Syracuse by the Saracens and killed.[3] His act of plunder was imitated by Urban VIII., who in 1632 took away the bronze girders which supported the roof of the pronaos, and had them melted down and used, partly for the pillars of the baldacchino in St. Peter's and partly for the cannon of the castle of S. Angelo.[4] At the same time we must not deny him the credit of having restored one of the corners of the pronaos, where on the capital of a column may be seen the crest of the Barberini family, the bee.

Campus Agrippæ.

The district adjoining the Thermæ Agrippinæ and the Pantheon is generally spoken of by Roman topographers as the Campus Agrippæ, but there is no classical authority for this appellation. The Notitia, however, mentions the Campus Agrippæ in the seventh region, the Via Lata, next to the Templum Solis; and Dion speaks of a portico in the Campus Agrippæ as having been "built by Pola, Agrippa's sister,[5] who also decorated the Circus." Now, this Porticus Polæ, Becker thinks, was identical with the Porticus Europæ, often mentioned by Martial as a place decorated with a fresco of Europa and the bull,[6] where Roman loungers congregated, and which was exposed to the rays of the evening sun under the slope of the Quirinal or Pincian. The name Porticus Vipsania, which we find mentioned as a barrack for the legions, may also possibly have belonged to this colonnade,[7] for the building so called seems to have been within sight of Martial's house on the Quirinal.[8] Martial places it near one of the arches on the Via Lata, over which an aqueduct passed, perhaps the above-mentioned Arch of Claudius.[9]

Porticus Polæ, Europæ, Vipsania.

Diribitorium.

Another great building of Agrippa in this district and near the Septa was the Diribitorium, a colossal hall, of which Dion says that it was the largest building ever erected under a single roof, and that in his time the roof had been pulled down, being too large and heavy to be safe.[10] The Diribitorium was intended, as its name implies, for sorting and dividing the votes at the Comitia, but it was probably used for many other public purposes. Caligula gave theatrical representations in it, and perhaps also gladiatorial combats.[11]

[1] Orosius, vi. 12; Roncalli, Chron. i. col. 450; Dion Cass. lxix. 7; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19.

[2] Anastas. Bibl. Vit. Pont. p. 52. See Donati, p. 468.

[3] See above, chap. vii. p. 151.

[4] Hence the famous epigram: "Quod non fecere Barbari, fecere Barberini." See Donati, p. 388; Venuti, Roma Antica, vol. ii. pp. 114—133, who gives in page 121 the names of the principal writers on the Pantheon.

[5] Dion Cass. lv. 8.

[6] Mart. ii. 14, 3, 15; iii. 20, 12; vii. 32, 12.

[7] Tac. Hist. i. 31; Plut. Galb. 25. Hence possibly called *castra* in the Notitia.

[8] Mart. i. 108, 3.

[9] Ibid. iv. 18. See above, p. 323.

[10] Dion Cass. lv. 8; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 15, § 102, xvi. § 201. Pliny gives the length of one of the beams used in the roof as 100 feet. Hence it has been somewhat hastily inferred that this was the width of the roof, and that it was constructed of timber.

[11] Dion Cass. lix. 7; Suet. Cal. 18.

In the same neighbourhood must also be placed the Posidonium or Porticus Neptuni built by Agrippa. This porticus was built in commemoration of Agrippa's naval victories, and adorned with frescoes representing the voyage and adventures of the Argonauts.[1] Spartianus, in his Life of Hadrian, calls it Basilica Neptuni,[2] and it may possibly have been connected with a basilica. Some topographers have identified the ruin in the Piazza di Pietra, now the Dogana, with this basilica or Posidonium; but, unless that building be a later restoration after the fire of A.D. 80, which is possible enough, the style is not such as to allow us to assign it to the Augustan age. It has eleven fluted Corinthian marble columns, supporting a tolerably well preserved entablature, and plainly belonging to the longer side of a basilica or temple. The architrave, frieze, and cornice have a heavy and unimpressive appearance, though some of the details of the work are rich and carefully executed. In the courtyard of the building a portion of the wall of the cella and the spring of the arches of the vaulted roof can be seen now incorporated into the modern building. Various conjectures have been made as to the name and history of this building.

Posidonium or Porticus Neptuni.

Basilica Neptuni.

Ruin in Piazza di Pietra.

Some of the older topographers thought that it was the Temple of M. Aurelius, which seems however to have been nearer to the column of that Emperor than the ruin in question is.[4] Nor does the position of this ruin allow us to suppose that it formed any part of a series of buildings placed symmetrically round the column. Palladio gives an elaborate ground-plan, with all the details, and calls it the Temple of Mars; but there does not appear to be any evidence in favour of this supposition, nor is it known how much of Palladio's design is taken from what remained of the ruin in his times, and how much is merely conjectural restoration. The conjecture of Urlichs, that the Temple of Marciana, Trajan's sister, stood here, rests on no evidence but that of the Notitia, and is rendered very improbable by the great size of the building, and by the fact that the expression in the Notitia is "Basilica Marciani" and not "Templum Marcianæ." Another hypothesis, which Professor Reber maintains, has more to recommend it.[5] Antoninus Pius is said to have erected a temple in honour of his adopted father Hadrian.[6] This temple could not have stood in the Forum of Trajan, where there was no room left for such a building, and would most probably be placed near the rest of the Antonine buildings, not far from the Column of M. Aurelius. In the Mirabilia the Temple of Hadrian is placed near the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro,[7] which corresponded to the modern Chiesa degli Orfanelli; and part of a temple precinct built of travertine has been discovered in the Palazzo Cini, and is perhaps a relic of this temple. A medal of the year 151 A.D. contains a representation of the Temple of Hadrian, which corresponds tolerably well with the extant ruins,[8] and in the neighbourhood of the Piazza di Pietra several statues and fragments of inscriptions bearing the names of Antoninus Pius have been found at different times.[9] When it is added that the style of building and

Temple of Marciana.

Temple of Hadrian.

[1] Dion Cass. liii. 27, lxvi. 24; Mart. iii. 20.

[2] Spart. Hadr. 19.

[3] Canina, Indic. p. 406; Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, Parte ii., Antica, p. 681.

[4] The Curiosum gives in the ninth region "Templum Antonini et Columnam cochlidem," implying that they stood together.

[5] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 260.

[6] Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, cap. viii.; Verus, cap. iii.

[7] Mirabilia Romæ, ed. Parthey, 1869, p. 16.

[8] Eckhel, ii. 7, 22.

[9] Fea, Miscell. pp. lxiii. 21, ccxlii. 78, cclv. 115.

execution of the ornamental work belong to the Antonine era, it will be seen that, although there is nothing more than probable evidence in favour of the above supposition, yet it has more in its favour than any of the other conjectures mentioned.

The present building was erected by Innocent XII. at the end of the seventeenth century, in order to prevent the fall of the columns, which had become dangerously disjointed. The entablature has been restored in many parts, and a kind of attica erected over it, which gives the ruin the appearance of being in better preservation than it really is.

Porticus Meleagri.

Basilicæ Matidiæ et Marcianæ.

So far as we have any means of ascertaining their sites, the Porticus Meleagri and the Basilicæ of Matidia and Marciana, the sister and niece of Trajan, mentioned in the Notitia, must have stood near the Piazza di Pietra.[1] A fragment of a leaden pipe, in connection with the Aqua Virgo, was found near the Church of S. Ignazio, bearing the inscription "Templo Matidiæ,"[2] and the columns of cipollino which are to be seen in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and in the Piazza Capranica[3] may very possibly have belonged to one or the other of these edifices.

Gnomon Obelisk.

North of the Piazza Capranica, in the open space called the Piazza di Monte Citorio, is a large obelisk of red syenite. This is the Gnomon Obelisk, of which Pliny gives an interesting account in his Natural History.[4] It was brought by Augustus from Egypt, with that which is now in the Piazza del Popolo, and was erected on the Campus Martius, under the directions of the mathematician Facundus Novus, to serve as a sundial, by which not only the hour of the day but also the day of the month might be shown. For this purpose the pavement of the piazza in which it stood was marked out with a complicated system of lines in bronze, and, to prevent any disturbances caused by the settlement of the foundations, they were laid as deep below the ground as the height of the obelisk itself. Pliny remarks that when he wrote the Gnomon had ceased for thirty years to mark the time rightly, and he ascribes this inaccuracy to some displacement of the obelisk due to natural causes, such as earthquakes or inundations. It is more probable that the inaccuracy of the Julian Calendar gradually produced the change. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Notitia, and the anonymous writer of the Einsiedlen MS., all mention this obelisk as still standing on the place where Augustus placed it. It was then, after the ninth century, lost for a time, but discovered again in 1463, with a part of the figures of the dial. Marliani, in the first half of the sixteenth century, mentions a part of the obelisk as lying neglected in a cellar near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and it was not erected upon the present site until 1792.

To the east and north of the Monte Citorio lay the great buildings of the Antonine era, of which we still have some remains in the base of the Pillar of Antoninus Pius now in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican, the magnificent Pillar of M. Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna, and the remains of the arch of the latter Emperor, now in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol.

The first of these, the Pillar of Antoninus Pius,[5] was a monolith of red syenite, resting

[1] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 5.
[2] Donati, Roma Vetus ac Recens, pp. 401, 402.
[3] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 262.
[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 9, § 71, 72.
[5] An account is given of the history of this pillar by Vignoli, Diss. de Col. Imp. Ant. P. Rom. 1705.

upon a pedestal of the same stone, ornamented with reliefs. These remained upon their original site in the garden of the Casa della Missione, near the Monte Citorio, until the time of Benedict XIV., when the pedestal was removed and placed in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, near the Gnomon Obelisk, but the monolith was found to be so damaged as not to be worth the expense of re-erection.

Pillar of Antoninus Pius.

Pius VI., when he placed the Gnomon Obelisk in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, removed this pedestal and took it to the Vatican Gardens, and it was finally placed in the Giardino della Pigna by Gregory XVI., who caused it to be carefully restored by De Fabris.

BAS-RELIEF ON PEDESTAL OF ANTONINE COLUMN: GROUPS OF CAVALRY AND INFANTRY.

On one side is an inscription recording its dedication to Antoninus Pius, and on the other sides are reliefs, the principal of which represents the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina. The Emperor and his wife are seen ascending through the air on the shoulder of a Genius, and accompanied by a pair of eagles. Below is a seated figure of Roma, surrounded with numerous trophies of arms, and another Genius grasping an obelisk in his left hand. The reliefs upon the other two sides represent groups of cavalry and infantry. The style of these sculptures is not unlike that of the reliefs upon the Arch of Severus, and they have a stiffness in the execution which lowers them as works of art far below the level of the sculptures of Trajan's time.

The shaft of the column is now lost, as it was sawn up into pieces by Pius VI., and used in the repairs of the Gnomon Obelisk and in the decorations of the Vatican Library. One fragment, which is now placed upon the pedestal, contains a Greek inscription,

ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΟΥ
ΑΘ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ
ΔΥΟ ΑΝΑ ΠΟΔΕC Ν
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΥ,

showing that the stone of which the column was formed was originally cut in the ninth year of Trajan, under the directions of Dioskurus and Aristides the architect, and was subsequently made use of, after lying for a long time in the Imperial stoneyard, to form the Column of Antoninus.[1]

Pillar of M. Aurelius.

The second of the great Antonine monuments, the Column of M. Aurelius, still stands upon its original site, in the Piazza Colonna. Formerly the centre point of a group of massive temples and colossal halls, which have entirely perished, it is now surrounded by houses of modern construction, and, surmounted by a statue of St. Paul, looks like a grey veteran, clothed in the dress of a later generation, in which he feels self-conscious and ill at ease. The only remains of the colonnades which once enclosed the court in which it stood are to be found on the east side of the piazza in the palace of the Prince of Piombino. They consist of a portion of a triple portico of brickwork, probably faced in ancient times with marble. The Temple of M. Aurelius, which stood, like that of Trajan, in front of the column, was probably upon the western side towards the Piazza di Monte Citorio;[2] and it was from the ruins of this temple, and not of the Amphitheatre of Statilius, as is commonly supposed, that the mound of ruins called Monte Citorio was formed. But no traces of the substructions, or of the walls or columns, have been found.

Temple of M. Aurelius.

The column itself, which is a close imitation of that of Trajan, described in a previous chapter,[3] stands upon a pedestal, which was so altered by the repairs of Fontana from its original shape as to present a totally different appearance. The ancient pedestal was much less massive, and better proportioned to the upper part of the monument. Its base stood at a level thirteen feet lower than the present pavement of the square, and it consisted of a basement of solid stonework, about sixteen feet in height, resting on three steps. Nearly the whole of this basement is now under the level of the surrounding ground. On the east side was the door by which the spiral staircase in the interior was reached. Upon the basement stood a large square flat stone, ornamented with genii and triumphal and military reliefs,[4] and above this the pedestal, upon which, before the restorations by Fontana, only the words CONSECRATIO and D. ANTONINI. AUG. PII were legible. The original shape and inscription of this lower part are only known to us from

[1] Δύο ἀνὰ πόδες ν is explained by Sarti to mean "two columns each of fifty feet in length:" ἀνὰ πόδες is a solecism for ἀνὰ πόδας.

[2] See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 338; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* vol. v. tav. xl. A bas-relief in the Villa Medici is supposed to represent the front of the Temple of M. Aurelius.

[3] Whether the buildings approached the column as closely as in the Forum of Trajan is not known. See chap. vii. p. 146.

[4] See the woodcut in Gamucci, Ant. di Roma, 1569, lib. iii. p. 156.

old prints and antiquarian notes in Gamucci, Du Pérac, and Piranesi's works. It became necessary for the safety of the pillar in 1589 to restore the base, and the whole was cased in marble and repaired by Fontana, under the orders of Sixtus V., who at the same time placed the statue of St. Paul upon the top. From a want of accurate historical information, however, the old inscription was supposed to refer to the elder of the Antonines, Antoninus Pius, and the new inscription accordingly speaks of the monument as dedicated to him. The error was discovered by a narrower inspection of the reliefs upon the shaft, which clearly relate to the exploits of M. Aurelius.

The plinth is quite simple, and the base of the shaft is formed, like the Column of Trajan, in the shape of a laurel crown. The whole of the shaft is occupied by a spiral series of reliefs, and only a small ring of fluted mouldings separates them from the capital, which is of the Romano-Doric order. The whole pillar measures 122 feet in height, being two feet lower than that of Trajan. The shafts of the two are exactly of the same height (100 Roman feet), and are formed in the same way of solid cylinders of marble, in the centre of which the spiral staircase which leads to the top is hewn.[1] The great winding wreath of bas-reliefs, which twines round the column, contains scenes from the history of the German wars, in the years from 167—179 A.D., in which a number of the tribes north of the Danube, the Marcomanni, Quadi, Suevi, Hermonduri, Jazyges, Vandali, Sarmati, Alani, and Roxolani, with many others took part.[2] The representations begin with an army on the march crossing a river (the Danube); then follow, as on the Pillar of Trajan, scenes in which the general harangues his troops, the enemy's encampments are seen, and a great victory is won, accompanied with the usual thank-offerings.

The most remarkable part of the whole series is a scene which plainly corresponds to the account given by Dion Cassius of the sudden and, as it seemed, supernatural relief afforded by a thunderstorm to the Roman army, when hard pressed by the Quadi, who had surrounded them, and succeeded in preventing all their efforts to escape. "The Roman army," says Dion,[3] "were in the greatest distress from fatigue; many of them were wounded; and they were hemmed in by the enemy, without water, under a burning sun. They could neither fight nor retreat, and would have been compelled to stand in their ranks and die under the scorching heat, had not some thick clouds suddenly gathered and a heavy rain fallen, which refreshed them and afforded them drink. This did not happen without the intervention of the gods (οὐκ ἀθεεί), for it is said that one Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, was with Marcus Aurelius, and that he, by invoking the aid of Hermes, the god of the air, and some other deities, by means of incantations, drew down the rain." Xiphilinus, however, from whose abridgment of Dion we have the above account, declares that "Dion has purposely falsified the circumstances, for he must have known that the 'Legio Fulminata' obtained its name from the incident, the true history of which was as follows. There was a legion in the army of Marcus Aurelius consisting entirely of Christians. The Emperor, being told that their prayers in such an emergency never remained unanswered, requested them to pray for help to their God. When they had prayed, God immediately smote the

[1] See chap. vii. p. 147. From the fact that the shafts of these columns, including the bases and capitals, are each exactly 100 Roman feet in height, the length of the Roman mile has been determined by Canina to be 1482·275 metres. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 255.

[2] Dion Cass. ap. Xiphilin. lxxi. 8—20.

[3] Ibid. lxxi. 8.

enemy with lightning, but refreshed the Roman army by a copious rain; upon which Marcus published a decree, in which he complimented the Christian legion, and bestowed the name Fulminata upon it."

History, however, does not bear out this wonderful tale of Xiphilinus, for the name Fulminata is known from inscriptions to have been given to the twelfth legion as early as the reign of Augustus.[1] Upon the pillar the scene is represented by the figure of Jupiter Pluvius dripping with rain, which the soldiers are eagerly catching in their shields.

The drought is followed by an inundation, in which many of the Germans are drowned. A grand battle takes place, followed by the burning of the enemy's huts and the seizure of numerous captives. The figure of Marcus Aurelius on horseback accompanying a long train of spoil taken from the German tribes, and a long series of battles, conflagrations of villages and towns, and conferences with the enemy's generals follow; and the end of the first campaign at a point nearly half way up the column is represented by a profusion of trophies and spoils of war, in the midst of which a figure of Victory inscribes the triumph on a shield.

Over this figure of Victory begins the history of the second campaign, in which four battles are represented, and various military scenes, as the crossing of the Danube in boats, the thanksgiving sacrifices after victory, the Emperor addressing his army, captures of women and children, and, finally, a long train of captives and spoils led off in triumph. This great marble history is a close imitation of the design of that on Trajan's Column. The style of execution is, however, somewhat different, the figures stand out much more from the surface, are more roughly cut, and have a heavier and stiffer look, resembling that of the reliefs upon the Arch of Severus and the base of the Pillar of Antoninus Pius. The column is called in all ancient writings Columna Antonini, which may apply to either of the Antonines. But it is perfectly evident from the spiral reliefs representing the frequent crossings of the Danube, and especially from the incident of the sudden storm which extricated the Roman army from their difficulties, that the German wars of Marcus Aurelius are the subject commemorated. Aurelius Victor and Julius Capitolinus state that temples, *columns*, and priesthoods were dedicated to this Emperor after his death;[2] and some inscriptions discovered in 1777 in the Piazza Colonna completely establish the conclusion that this pillar was erected in his honour. These inscriptions, now in the Gallery of Inscriptions in the Vatican, contain a petition from Adrastus, a freedman of Septimius Severus, and custodian of the Pillar of Marcus Aurelius, addressed to the Emperor Severus, requesting leave to have the miserable hut (*cannaba*)[3] in which he lived changed into a habitable house (*solarium*) for himself and his heirs. They also contain the decree of the Emperor giving the permission and assigning materials and a site. The petition was presented immediately on the accession of Severus, and the decree is dated in the consulship of Falco and Clarus, A.D. 193, two months after that Emperor had taken possession of the palace.[4]

[1] Dion Cassius, lv. 23; Orelli, Inscr. 517, 5447, 6497, 6522, 6777. See Böcking's note on the Notitia Dignitatum, vol. i. p. 422, and Becker's Handbuch, Theil ii. Abth. 2, S. 353; Merivale's History of the Romans, vol. vii. p. 585, and note.

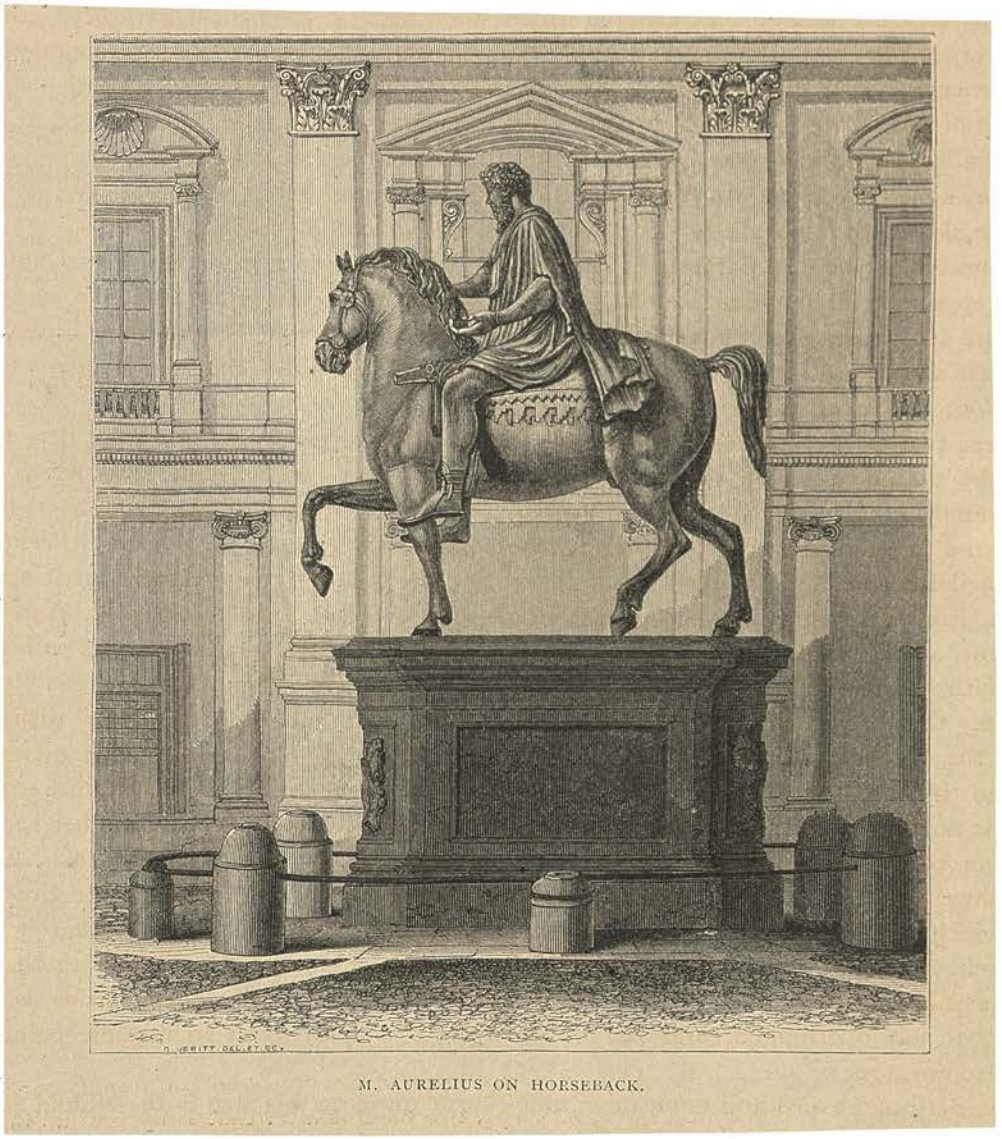
[2] Aur. Vict. Cæs. 16; Hist. Aug. M. Aur. 18.

[3] See Gruter, Inscr. 466-7.

[4] Fea, Frammenti di Fast. Cons. p. 77.

In this inscription the pillar is called the Columna Centenaria, and exact measurements of the shaft have shown that it is just 100 Roman feet in height, including the base and capital.

The bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius which stood on the summit was probably carried off by the Byzantine Emperor Constans II. to Syracuse, and was there taken by the



M. AURELIUS ON HORSEBACK.

Saracens from him and conveyed to Alexandria, with the rest of the plunder he had stripped from the buildings of Rome.[1] To distinguish this column from the above-mentioned pillar of Antoninus Pius it is called in some of the legal documents of the tenth century "Columpna major Antonina."[2] As recorded in the inscription on

[1] See above, p. 331, and chap. vii. p. 151.

[2] See Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte ii. p. 640.

the modern base it was much injured by lightning in the fourteenth century, and restored by Sixtus V.

At the corner where the Strada della Vite crosses the Corso is a tablet recording the improvements made by Alexander VII. in the Corso at that point, whence he removed the ruins of an ancient triumphal arch which impeded the thoroughfare. A view of this is given by Donati, who calls it the Arcus Domitiani.[1] But Nardini and all topographers since his time are agreed that the arch which stood here till 1662 must have been erected at a later time in honour of M. Aurelius.[2] When it was pulled down "publicæ commoditati et ornamento," as the inscription has it, there were still four columns of verde antico standing, two of which are now used to adorn the principal altar in the Church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, and two are in the Corsini Chapel in the Lateran Basilica. The keystone of the arch is preserved in the Collegio della Sapienza. On each side of the arch there were two reliefs, now placed in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol, on the landing-places at the top of the stairs. One of these represents M. Aurelius standing on a suggestum to deliver an harangue, and the other the apotheosis of the younger Faustina his wife, who is being carried up to heaven by a Genius, while the Emperor is seated below, and at his feet the Genius of Halala, a town at the foot of Mount Taurus, where Faustina died.[3]

Arch of M. Aurelius.

These two reliefs were removed into the Palace of the Conservators in order that they might be placed near four other reliefs, supposed to belong to the same arch, which had been found in the sixteenth century in the Church of S. Martina near the Capitol. A fifth, also found in the same church, is now in the Palazzo Torlonia in the Piazza di Venezia. The earlier history of the removal of these last five reliefs is not known, but it seems certain, from their style and subjects, that they belonged to the Arch of M. Aurelius. The four which are now in the Conservators' Palace represent Marcus Aurelius on horseback with his army and a group of barbarians kneeling before him; the goddess Roma receiving the Emperor, who comes on foot to the gates, and presenting him with the globe, the symbol of empire; the triumphal procession of M. Aurelius in a quadriga crowned by Victory; and his thanksgiving sacrifice in the Capitol. The fifth relief, which is now in the Palazzo Torlonia, represents either M. Aurelius or his brother Lucius Verus in conference with some barbarians, who kneel as suppliants before him. Even supposing that the last-mentioned five reliefs do not belong to this arch, yet the two first, which are known to have stood upon it, are quite sufficient to prove that it was the Arch of M. Aurelius. The similarity between the representation of the apotheosis of Faustina the younger and that of Antoninus Pius and the elder Faustina is too evident to be overlooked, and the whole style of sculpture and architecture point to the Antonine age.

A variety of absurd and unmeaning names were given to this arch in the Middle Ages. It was called "Triopoli" or "Tripoli" from a fragment of the inscription upon which three cities were mentioned, "Tres fascicelæ" from the torches carried by the genii of the reliefs, "Retrofoli" or "Triphali" or "Tropholi" from the trophies represented upon it, and at a

[1] Donati, p. 378.

[2] Nardini, Rom. Ant. lib. vi. cap. 9.

[3] Hist. Aug. M. Aur. 26.

later time "Arco di Portogallo" from the residence of the Portuguese ambassador at the neighbouring Palazzo Fiano.[1]

Stadium Alexandrinum.

Passing now from the Antonine group of buildings to the western side of the great group of Agrippa's Thermæ, we find in the spacious Piazza Navona the scanty relics of an ancient stadium. The northern end of the piazza is semicircular, the longer sides are parallel, and the southern end is a straight line at right angles to them. Remains of the substructions of the seats have been found under the Church of S. Agnese, and at various other points round the piazza.[2]

The Notitia mentions a stadium in the ninth region capable of holding 30,088 spectators, and from the earliest times the Campus Martius, and probably this particular part of it, where the river makes a sudden bend, was the scene of races and gymnastic sports.[3] Romulus had celebrated the Equiria here in honour of Mars.[4] But after the Circus Flaminius was built the horse-races were transferred to it, and Cæsar erected a temporary wooden stadium for the athletic sports, which had previously been held upon the open field.[5] Augustus also built a wooden platform for the spectators of the sports.[6] But both these were only temporary, and were pulled down at the conclusion of the exhibitions, and Domitian first erected a permanent stadium, which was probably upon the spot previously used by Cæsar and Augustus.[7] Alexander Severus appears to have restored this stadium, which lay near his Thermæ;[8] and it was called after him, in the twelfth century, Circus Alexandrinus, by a confusion between circus and stadium, easily arising from their somewhat similar shape.[9] Another name applied to this piazza in the Middle Ages was Campus Agonis, probably in allusion to the Agon Capitolinus of Domitian.[10] Hence arose the common modern name Circus Agonalis, which is entirely inapplicable, since the place was not a circus, nor were the games held in a circus ever called Agonalia.

But the strongest evidence we have in favour of the hypothesis that the Piazza Navona was anciently a stadium and not a circus rests on the shape of the piazza and of the ruins. One of the essential parts of a circus, the spina, is entirely wanting, and the end from which the runners started is at right angles to the longer sides, while in a circus, as has been shown in the case of the Circus Maximus, the carceres always stood in a slanting direction across the course, in order to equalize the distances round the spina.[11]

The obelisk, which now stands in the centre of the piazza, was brought by Innocent V.

[1] See Poggio, De Fortun. var.; L. Fauno, Dell' Ant. di Roma, 1548, p. 126; Anast. Vit. Hadr. i.; Fea, Misc. p. lix. 11; Donati, p. 378, &c.

[2] Fea, Misc. p. 68, note *c*.

[3] Ov. Fast. iii. 519.

[4] Festus, p. 131.

[5] Suet. Cæs. 39.

[6] Dion Cass. liii. 1, *σταδίου τινος ἐν τῷ ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κατασκευασθέντος*. The Gymnasium of Nero may also have been on this spot. See Tac. Ann. xiv. 47; Suet. Ner. 12.

[7] Suet. Dom. 5; Chron. ap. Ronc. ii. 197, 243.

[8] Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 24; Anon. Eins. in the *Archiv für Phil. und Pæd.* 1837, Bd. v. Hft. 1, s. 133. The Circus Flaminius stands here for the Piazza Navona by a mistake of the worthy monk.

[9] See the Ordo Romanus and A. Fulvio's Ant. Urbis Romæ, 1548, p. 135.

[10] Nibby, Roma nell' Anno 1838, parte i. pp. 599, 600; Suet. Dom. 4; Ov. Fast. i. 318 sq.

[11] See Krause, Die Gymnastik der Hellenen, p. 131, § 14, and above, p. 295. Excavations are now (Feb. 1870) being carried on in the Piazza Navona, which are said to have brought to light the substructions of the ancient seats and one of the interior gates.

from the Circus of Maxentius on the Appian road. The Circus of Maxentius was not, however, its original site, for the hieroglyphics are of Roman execution, and contain the name of Domitian.[1]

Canina places the Odeum at the southern end of the Piazza Navona. Its exact site is altogether uncertain, and the existence of a permanent building of this kind, a small roofed theatre for musical performances, is only known to us by the statement of Suetonius, that it was built by Domitian after the fire of A.D. 80 in the Campus Martius.[2] Ammianus Marcellinus mentions it among the great buildings of Rome,[3] and the Curiosum states that it contained 10,600 seats. *Odeum.*

In the same neighbourhood, between the Piazza Navona and the Pantheon, were the Thermæ Neronianæ,[4] which were afterwards restored and enlarged by Alexander Severus, and named after him Thermæ Alexandrinæ.[5] These are mentioned several times by the anonymous writer of Einsiedlen as standing between the Piazza Navona, (which he calls the Circus Flaminius,) and the Pantheon. Becker conjectures that the stadium in the Piazza Navona was originally the building called Gymnasium Neronis by Tacitus,[6] which was in connection with the Thermæ of Nero, and that Alexander Severus afterwards enlarged the area of the Thermæ, so that they reached to the Piazza Madama and S. Luigi dei Francesi. The Latin poets, Martial and Statius, are loud in their praises of the elegance and excellence of the Baths of Nero;[7] but subsequently to the enlargement by Alexander Severus the name Neronianæ was lost, and they were always called Alexandrinæ. *Thermæ Neronianæ.* *Thermæ Alexandrinæ.*

A few other buildings and localities must be mentioned, which were probably situated in this part of the Campus Martius, though we know nothing which enables us to determine their exact position. A marble arch was erected by Claudius in memory of Tiberius in the neighbourhood of Pompey's Theatre.[8] This arch had probably been previously decreed by the Senate to be erected at the time when Tiberius restored the Theatre of Pompey, but the intention was not carried out at the time.[9] *Arch of Tiberius.*

The stables of the factiones of the Circus are mentioned by the Notitia as in the ninth region. These may be the stables alluded to by Suetonius and Dion, when, in relating the mad passion of Caligula for horse-races, they state that he used to live for whole days in the stables.[10] Vitellius is said by Tacitus to have squandered money in building stables for the factions, so that the extent of these stables may have been considerable, and their architecture costly.[11] *Stabula Factionum.*

[1] See Overbeke, Reliquiæ Urb. Romæ, vol. ii. p. 31.

[2] Suet. Dom. 5; Chron. ap. Ronc. p. 197.

[3] Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10.

[4] Suet. Nero, 12; Aur. Vict. Epit. 5; Chron. ap. Ronc. 433.

[5] Cassiod. ap. Ronc. ii. 194, 209, 245, 473; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 25; Aur. Vict. Cæs. 24.

[6] Tac. Ann. xiv. 47; Becker, Handbuch, p. 685.

[7] Mart. ii. 48, 8, iii. 25, vii. 34, 5, xii. 83, 5; Stat. Silv. i. 5, 62. Another account places the Thermæ Neronianæ on the Pincian. See Merivale, vol. vi. p. 177, note; Ampère, Hist. Rom. à Rome, iii.

[8] Suet. Claud. 11.

[9] Ib. Tib. 47.

[10] Ibid. Cal. 55; Dion Cass. lix. 14.

[11] Tac. Hist. ii. 94. Becker thinks that the words of the Notitia, "Stabula iiii. factionum vi." are to be interpreted as meaning that there were six stables belonging to the four factions; the two factions added by Domitian having died out. See Handbuch, p. 714, note.

Temple of Lares Permarini.

A temple dedicated to the Lares Permarini is mentioned by Livy and Macrobius as situated in the Campus Martius. It was dedicated by M. Æmilius when Censor, in B.C. 179, having been vowed by Q. Æmilius Regillus eleven years before, in the great naval battle against the fleet of Antiochus at Myonnesus on the coast of Asia Minor.[1]

Temple of Juturna.

A temple of the nymph Juturna seems to have stood near the arches of the Aqua Virgo. Ovid says, very distinctly marking the locality:—

> "Te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, æde recepit
> Hic ubi virginea Campus obitur aqua."[2]

But as the Aqua Virgo was carried through a considerable distance across the Campus from the Pincian hill to the Thermæ of Agrippa, we are still left in ignorance of the exact position of this temple.[3]

Via Tecta.

The Via Tecta, a colonnade closed in on both sides, seems to have been near the Terentum and Altar of Dis, and not far from the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Ustrina of the Cæsars, for Seneca describes Claudius as descending "ad inferos" at a spot between the Tiber and the Via Tecta.[4]

Porticus Flaminia.

There was also a Porticus Flaminia, extending along the Via Flaminia.[5]

The position of the Ara Fortunæ Reducis and the temple dedicated to the same goddess by Domitian depends upon the site of the Porta Triumphalis. If with Becker we conclude that the Porta Triumphalis stood between the Temple of Isis and the Porticus Octaviæ, then we must place the altar and Temple of Fortuna Redux there, for Martial plainly unites the two, and it was natural enough that the generals on their return should sacrifice to Fortuna Redux before entering the city in triumph.[6]

Altar of Fortuna Redux.

Altars of Pax.

There were also several altars dedicated to Pax in the Campus Martius, which possibly stood near the Porta Triumphalis.[7]

Amphitheatre of Statilius.

Of the stone amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, built in the Campus Martius in the fourth consulship of Augustus, we know nothing more than the bare mention of its name.[8] Some topographers have conjectured that the heaps of ruin which formed the Monte Citorio were the remains of this building, and others have conjectured the same of Monte Giordano, but no evidence has been produced in confirmation of either supposition.

Prædia Æmiliana.

Tacitus mentions a place called the Prædia Æmiliana, where the fire in Nero's reign broke out a second time, and Suetonius seems to hint that this was near the Septa and the Diribitorium. But we know nothing further about the situation of the district.[9]

[1] Livy, xl. 52; Macr. Sat. i. 10, 10. See Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 268, Eng. trans.

[2] Ov. Fast. i. 463. See pp. 259, 323, 326.

[3] Serv. Æn. xii. 139; Cic. Pro Cluent. 36.

[4] Seneca, Ludus de Morte Claudii, xiii. 1; Livy, xxii. 36, calls it Via fornicata; Mart. iii. 5, viii. 75.

[5] Hist. Aug. Gallien. 18.

[6] Mart. viii. 65; Claud. De VI. Cons. Hon. i. 1; Dion Cass. liv. 10; Fast. Amit. iii. Non. Oct, xviii. Jan. Kal.

[7] Fast. Am. iv. Non. Jul. Fast. Præn. iii. Kal. Feb.; Dion Cass. liv. 25, 35; Ov. Fast. i. 709, iii. 182.

[8] Dion Cass. ii. 23, lxii. 18; Suet. Aug. 29.

[9] Tac. Ann. xv. 40; Suet. Claud. 18; Varro, R. R. iii. 2, 6; Gruter, Insc. 176, 2.

The northern part of the Campus Martius contained only one great building of which we have any knowledge. This was the Mausoleum of Augustus, the ruins of which are now buried under the Teatro Correa, and are approached by a narrow entry leading out of the Via dei Pontefici. All that can now be seen of the shapeless mass which this once stately building presents is a small part of the cylindrical brickwork basement on the left of the entrance to the Teatro Correa, and another fragment of the same at the back of the Church of S. Rocco. The proofs that these are the remains of the Mausoleum of Augustus are quite indisputable. Suetonius places it between the Tiber and the Flaminian road, and Strabo speaks of it as standing near the bank of the river, descriptions which, though they are not very definite, agree with the site of the Teatro Correa sufficiently.[1] Complete certainty is, however, afforded by the inscriptions which have been found on the site of the Ustrina Cæsarum, where the bodies were burnt before burial. These were found near the Corso, between the Via degli Otto Cantoni and the Via dei Pontefici, a spot answering to Strabo's notice of the site of the Ustrina as standing (ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πεδίῳ) in the middle of the Campus, which is here narrowed by the approach of the Pincian hill towards the river.[2]

Mausoleum of Augustus.

Augustus had built this magnificent tomb in his sixth consulship (28 B.C.). At that time the course of the Flaminian road through the Campus was lined with the tombs of many eminent Roman statesmen and public characters, which have all, with the exception of the insignificant tomb of Bibulus, totally disappeared. The modern city has entirely effaced all traces of these, but we may in all probability suppose that the Flaminian presented no less striking a spectacle in the days of Augustus than the Appian, which we are accustomed to regard as the great burying-place of Rome.[3]

The name "mausoleum" was apparently given to this tomb, if not immediately yet soon after its completion, not from any resemblance in the plan of the building to the famous monument of the Halicarnassian queen, which differed entirely in shape and design, but because the expression "mausoleum" had already become a name used to designate any tomb of colossal proportions.[4] The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus was a rectangular building, surrounded with a colonnade,[5] while the tomb of Augustus was cylindrical, and ornamented with deep niches. Strabo gives the following description of the latter monument: "The most remarkable of all the tombs in the Campus is that called the Mausoleum, which consists of a huge mound of earth, raised upon a lofty base of white marble near the river bank, and planted to the summit with evergreen trees. Upon the top is a bronze statue of Cæsar Augustus, and under the mound are the burial-places of Augustus and his family and friends, while behind it is a spacious wood, containing admirably designed walks. In the middle of the Campus is the enclosure Augustus made for burning the corpses (καύστρα), also of white marble, surrounded by an iron railing, and planted with poplar trees." [6]

The mound of earth here described by Strabo was probably of a conical shape, and the trees were planted on terraced ledges. The mass of the building was cylindrical, like the

[1] Suet. Oct. 100; Strabo, v. 3, 8, p. 236.
[2] Strabo, loc. cit.
[3] Ibid.; Juv. i. 171: "Experiar quid concedatur in illos quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina."
[4] It is called Tumulus Cæsarum in Tac. Ann. iii. 9.
[5] See Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst, vol. ii. p. 69, § 35.
[6] Strabo, loc. cit.

central portions of Hadrian's Mausoleum, and of the tombs of Plautius at Tivoli and Cæcilia Metella on the Appian road, and was supported upon a square basement, which is now entirely buried beneath the level of the ground. The exterior of the cylindrical part was relieved by large niches, which doubtless contained statues, and broke the otherwise heavy uniformity of the surface. At the entrance were the bronze pillars which Augustus had ordered to be erected after his death, on which was engraved a catalogue of the acts of his reign.[1] We now possess a fragment of a copy of this interesting document in the famous Monumentum Ancyranum, found at Ancyra, in the vestibule of the Temple of Augustus.[2] Besides these pillars, two obelisks stood in front of the entrance door, one of which is now placed in the Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, while the other stands between the statues of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal. These obelisks were not, however, placed there at the time when the tomb was first built, but at a later period of the Empire.[3] The entrance fronted towards the city, *i.e.* to the south, near the apse of the Church of S. Rocco, and appears to have had a portico with columns, the traces of which are still left.

The interior was formed by massive concentric walls, the spaces between which were vaulted, and divided into cells for the deposit of the urns containing the ashes of the illustrious dead.[4] A great alabaster vase, found near the mausoleum in 1777, and now placed in the Vatican Museum, was probably one of these. We know from the various passages of Roman authors that the first burial which took place here was that of the young Marcellus, the favourite nephew of Augustus, who died at Baiæ in B.C. 23;[5] and the last that of the Emperor Nerva in A.D. 138.[6] The Mausoleum of Hadrian then became the Imperial tomb. During the 160 years which preceded, the ashes of Agrippa, Octavia the mother of Marcellus, Drusus, Caius and Lucius, Augustus himself and Livia, Germanicus, Drusus, son of Tiberius, the elder Agrippina, Tiberius, Antonia, (wife of L. Domitius), Claudius, and Britannicus, were deposited here. Besides these there must have been a great number of other friends and relations of the Imperial family buried here. Only one of all the inscriptions recording these burials is now extant. It is engraved on a pedestal which bore the urn where the ashes of the celebrated Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula, lay. In the inscription Caligula is called Augustus, showing that the burial took place after his accession, in accordance with the account of Agrippina's banishment by Tiberius.[7] The pedestal was hollowed out, and used in the Middle Ages as a measure for corn, and is still inscribed with the words "Rugitella di Grano." It may now be seen in the courtyard of the Conservators' Palace on the Capitol.

At the same time, and at a spot between the mausoleum and the Corso, were found six cippi of travertine, recording the burning of the bodies of four of the children of Germanicus, Tiberius Cæsar, Caius Cæsar, Livilla, and one whose name is erased. The remaining two cippi record the burning of the bodies of a son of Drusus, and of one of

[1] Suet. Aug. 101; Dion. lvi. 33.

[2] Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 420. See Zumpt's Introduction to his Commentary on the Mon. Anc.

[3] Amm. Marc. xvii. 4, p. 108, ed. Ernesti. Zoega in his work, De Obeliscis, thinks that they were erected by the Flavii.

[4] See Preller, Regionen, p. 222, note.

[5] Dion Cass. liii. 32, liv. 26.

[6] Ibid. lxix. 23.

[7] Suet. Tib. 53, 54; Cal. 15. The inscription is as follows:—"Ossa Agrippinæ M. Agrippæ filiæ, Divi Aug. Neptis, Uxoris Germanici Cæsaris, Matris C. Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Principis."

the Flavian family. It is evident that these cippi belonged to the Ustrina Cæsarum, a place described by Strabo, as quoted above, where the corpses of the dead were burnt, and the formal ceremony of collecting the bones took place.[1] The cippi may still be seen in the Vatican Museum. *Ustrina Cæsarum.*

The mausoleum remained closed after Nerva's burial, until the capture of Rome by Alaric in 509 A.D., when the Goths broke it open in their search for treasure, and scattered the ashes of the Cæsars to the winds. It was then probably that the alabaster vase, mentioned above, was removed from the mausoleum, and carried to the Ustrina, where it was found. In the twelfth century, the mausoleum suffered the fate of all the other great buildings of Rome. It became a castle of the Colonna family, and bore the name Augusta. The mound of earth was then probably removed, and a stone or brick tower built in its place. Previously to this, the statue of Augustus, with the bronze decorations of the Pantheon and Forum of Trajan, had probably been carried to Syracuse by Constans, and thence to Alexandria by the Saracens.[2]

The building might, however, still, like the tomb of Hadrian, have long defied the attacks of time, had not the Romans themselves in the commotions of 1167 demolished the Colonna castle, and with it the greater part of the walls upon which it was built. Two hundred years later, the body of the last of the tribunes, Cola di Rienzi, was burned before the mausoleum. At that time the spot was called Campo d'Austa, from the ancient site of the Ustrina. The interior chambers seem to have been entirely demolished in the fifteenth century, and only the exterior wall left. Poggio the Florentine describes the building as used in his time (1440) for a vineyard, and before that date its shape was completely changed by the falling-in of the vaulting of the interior, so that it presented the appearance of an amphitheatre instead of a lofty conical building. In Donati's book (1638) it is represented as a funnel-shaped ruin, with a garden in the sloping sides of the interior.[3] Much information might doubtless be gained by well-directed excavations, which have apparently never been undertaken on account of the present occupation of the ruin as a circus in winter and a theatre (the Teatro Correa) in summer.[4]

The third division of the Campus Martius lay to the east of the Corso, and occupied the space between that street which corresponds to the old Via Flaminia, and the Pincian and Quirinal hills. The name Via Lata is not found in any document of an earlier date than the Notitia. It is now quite obsolete, but was current in the time of Anastasius, and is used in his Lives of the Popes.[5] Lucio Fauno, who lived about 1540, mentions the name as still extant in his time.[6] The northern part of the Corso always retained the name of Via Flaminia, and it was only south of the Arch of M. Aurelius that the street was called Via Lata. *Name of Via Lata.*

In the region so named there were but few buildings or localities of importance. From the Porta Fontinalis on the Quirinal a covered way or porticus reached to the Septa and Diribitorium. The censors, according to ancient custom, *Altar of Mars.*

[1] Suet. Aug. 100.
[2] See above, p. 151.
[3] Donati, p. 375.
[4] See Story's Roba di Roma, vol. i. pp. 233—240.
[5] The name Via Lata is preserved in S. Maria in Via Lata. Anast. Vit. Greg. iv. p. 339; Hadr. p. 266; Bened. iii. p. 401.
[6] L. Fauno, Ant. di Roma, 1548, p. 130.

used to take their seats after the conclusion of the Comitia at the altar of Mars near this portico.[1]

Arches of Aqua Virgo.

Further to the north the arches of the Aqua Virgo projected from the side of the Pincian hill and crossed the Via Lata.[2] Some remains of these arches are still to be seen in the Via del Nazarene (No. 12), at the back of the Fountain of Trevi. They bear an inscription which was copied in the ninth century by the anonymous chronicler of Einsiedlen, recording the restoration of the arches by Claudius after they had been partially destroyed by Caligula, who intended to build an amphitheatre in this neighbourhood.[3] The arches are now entirely covered with rubbish, and the conduit of the aqueduct itself, which formerly was raised upon them, is consequently now upon the level of the ground. The inscription stands on the side of the conduit, and was formerly at the spot where some principal street passed under the aqueduct. A simple cornice, and an architrave, with the upper part of some Doric pilasters, appear above the surface of the water, which is here tapped to afford a washing-trough to the laundresses of the neighbourhood. The masonry is of solid travertine blocks carefully cut and fitted.

Tomb of Bibulus.

Temple of Sol.

The tomb of Bibulus and the nameless tomb, which stand in this region just outside the Porta Ratumena, under the Capitol, have already been described.[4] It has also been shown that Aurelian's great Temple of the Sun was in this part of the Campus Martius, and not upon the Quirinal.[5] But the exact site of this latter building cannot now be determined. Every stone has disappeared under the encroachments of the modern city, nor is there a trace left of the many tombstones which from the tomb of Bibulus to the Porta del Popolo must have fringed the Flaminian way. In fact, no space of equal extent within the Aurelian walls is now so devoid of archæological interest as this district; for besides the few places above mentioned there is nothing of historical or topographical importance to record or trace.

[1] Livy, xxxv. 10, xl. 45.

[2] See above, chapter x. p. 259, and chapter xiii. p. 326.

[3] Suet. Cal. 21. Anon. Einsiedl. in the *Archiv fur Phil. und Pæd.* Bd. v. Hft. 1, S. 120.

[4] See chap. viii. p. 197.

[5] See chap. x. p. 254; Vopisc. Aur. 10; Eutrop. ix. 15; Zosimus, lib. i. p. 56. Eight porphyry columns of Aurelian's great temple are supposed to have been carried by Justinian to Constantinople, and there placed in the Church, now Mosque, of St. Sophia. Winckelmann, Sur l'Arch. Anc. tom. ii. p. 630.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

BOUNDARIES OF LATIUM ANTIQUISSIMUM.—PART I. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY: GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS—TUFACEOUS BEDS—TERTIARY MARINE STRATA—APENNINE LIMESTONE—HILLS OF THE CAMPAGNA—VOLCANIC CRATERS—PEPERINO—BASALTIC LAVA—MONTI DI DECIMA—SILVA OSTIENSIS—HILLS ON LEFT BANK OF ANIO: MONS SACER; MONTES CRUSTUMERINI ET CORNICULANI.—LAKES AND BROOKS: RIO DI TURNO, RIO TORTO (NUMICIUS), FOUNTAIN AND BROOK OF ANNA PERENNA—LAGUNES AND MARSHES: STAGNO DI OSTIA, SALINÆ—LAGO DI NEMI—LAGO D'ALBANO OR DI CASTELLO; ITS EMISSARIUM—RIO DI MALAFEDE—AQUA FERENTINA—AQUA CRABRA—PETRONIA—ALMO—ALLIA—ANIO—AQUÆ ALBULÆ—TUTIA—RIVUS ULMANUS—LAKE REGILLUS.

PART II. PERIOD OF CITIES:—(1) LAURENS TRACTUS AND CAMPUS SOLONIUS: LAURENTUM; LAURO-LAVINIUM. TROJA NOVA; LAVINIUM; APHRODISIUM; FICANA; POLITORIUM; TELLENÆ; APIOLÆ; BOVILLÆ; ARDEA; CASTRUM INUI; OSTIA; PORTUS TRAJANI—(2) ALBAN AND TUSCULAN HILLS: LANUVIUM; ARICIA; NEMI, DIANIUM; ALBA LONGA, MONS ALBANUS; FABIA; CASTRIMONIUM, AQUA FERENTINA; TUSCULUM (CITADEL, CITY, THEATRE, GATE AND WALLS, PISCINA, AMPHITHEATRE); CORBIO—(3) PRÆNESTE AND LEFT BANK OF ANIO: LABICUM; GABII; PRÆNESTE (CITADEL, TEMPLE OF FORTUNE); VITELLIA; TOLERIUM; PEDUM; BOLA; SCAPTIA; ORTONA; QUERQUETULA; COLLATIA; CÆNINA; ANTEMNÆ—(4) CITIES ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ANIO: FIDENÆ; CRUSTUMERIUM; NOMENTUM; FICULEA; CORNICULUM; CAMERIA; AMERIOLA; MEDULLIA—(5) TIBUR AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD: TIBUR; EMPULUM; SASSULA; SISOLENSES; ÆFULA.

PART III. PERIOD OF LATIFUNDIA, VILLAS, ROADS, AND AQUEDUCTS—CITIES ON THE ETRUSCAN AND SABINE FRONTIERS AND ALBAN CITIES FIRST DESTROYED—THE LATIN LEAGUE:—(A.) LATIFUNDIA; GRADUAL MONOPOLY OF LANDED PROPERTY—(B.) VILLAS: (1) TUSCULAN VILLAS—CICERO'S TUSCULANUM; VILLA OF GABINIUS, OF LUCULLUS, OF CATO JUNIOR; (2) ALBAN VILLAS—VILLA OF CLODIUS, OF POMPEY; ALBANUM CÆSARUM; (3) LAURENTINE VILLAS—PLINY'S LAURENTINUM; VILLA OF COMMODUS AT TORRE PATERNO; VILLA OF HORTENSIUS; (4) SUBURBAN VILLAS NEAR ROME—SUBURBANUM COMMODI; SUBURBANUM HADRIANI; SUBURBANUM GORDIANORUM; SUBURBANUM LIVIÆ; SUBURBANUM PHAONTIS; (5) TIBURTINE VILLAS—TIBURTINUM HADRIANI (GRAND ENTRANCE, PALÆSTRA, PŒCILE, BARRACKS, LIBRARY, IMPERIAL PALACE, STADIUM, THERMÆ, CANOPUS, ACADEMIA, INFERI, LYCEUM, PRYTANEUM); TIBURTINUM ZENOBIÆ; TIBURTINUM CASSII; TIBURTINUM SALLUSTII; SABINUM HORATII—(C.) ROADS: APPIAN ROAD—DEUS REDICULUS; GROTTO OF EGERIA; TEMPLE OF BACCHUS OR HONOS; CIRCUS OF MAXENTIUS AND TEMPLE OF ROMULUS; TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA; ROMA VECCHIA; VILLA OF SENECA; TOMB OF ATTICUS; USTRINA; TOMB OF GENS AURELIA; TEMPLES OF HERCULES AND SYLVANUS; VILLA OF PERSIUS; TOMB OF GALLIENUS; BOVILLÆ: LATIN ROAD—TOMBS; TORRE FISCALE; TEMPLE OF FORTUNA MULIEBRIS: VIA PRÆNESTINA AND VIA LABICANA—TORRE PIGNATTARA: VIA VALERIA—PONTE LUCANO; TOMB OF PLAUTII: VIA NOMENTANA: VIA SALARA: VIA FLAMINIA AND VIA CASSIA: VIA AURELIA, VIA TRIUMPHALIS: VIA OSTIENSIS AND VIA LAURENTINA: VIA TUSCULANA, VIA COLLATINA, VIA ARDEATINA, AND VIA AMERINA—(D.) AQUEDUCTS.

PART IV. PERIOD OF DEPOPULATION AND DEVASTATION: DESTRUCTION OF HADRIAN'S TIBURTINUM; BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

NOTE ON THE NAME CAMPAGNA, OR CAMPANIA.

"Tunc omne Latinum
Fabula nomen erit: Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque,
Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ,
Albanosque Lares, Laurentinosque Penates
Rus vacuum, quod non habitet nisi nocte coacta
Invitus, questusque Numam jussisse, senator."

LUCAN, *Phars.* vii. 392—397.

THE name Campagna, as applied to the district near Rome, is of comparatively modern and somewhat indefinite application, and it therefore becomes necessary, at the

beginning of this chapter, to define accurately the limits within which it is proposed to confine our survey of the neighbourhood of Rome.[1] The first Italian region of Augustus, which included not only Latium south of the Anio, but also Campania and a part of Samnium and Etruria, is plainly too extensive to be conveniently described within such narrow space as we can allow ourselves. Two other divisions are mentioned by Pliny as having prevailed at different times. He calls one of these Latium antiquum, and the other Latium adjectum.[2] The former name was applied to the territory of the ancient Latins alone, while the latter also included that of the Æquians, the Hernicans, the Volscians, and the Ausonians. For our present purpose it will be most convenient to restrict our survey within the boundaries of Latium antiquum, and to narrow the field still further by excluding from it the tract between the Alban hills and the sea, which was occupied in the earliest times by the Rutulians.[3] The boundaries of this district, which may be termed Latium antiquissimum, have been investigated with great erudition by Dr. Bormann, in his work on the chorography and ancient history of the Latin cities.[4] The Tiber forms the boundary line on the side of Etruria, and the district is separated from the Sabine territory on the north by an imaginary line drawn from Tibur to Nomentum, and thence by Monte Rotondo to the river Tiber, thus including a considerable tract to the north of the Anio. On the Æquian frontier the boundary line followed the foot of the Æquian hills from Tibur to Præneste, and then passed between Bola (Zagarolo or Lugnano) and Labicum (Colonna) to the Tusculan hills. The Volscian frontier line passed from Tusculum, between Monte Cavo and Monte Ariano, to Lanuvium (Civita Lavigna), and then, excluding Corioli (Monte Giove), to Sugareto and the Numicius (Rio Torto), which separated Latin from Rutulian ground.

Boundaries of Latium antiquissimum.

Part I.—Physical Geography.

The geological formations of this tract of country correspond to those already described in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. We find throughout covering the surface of the ground, great tufaceous deposits ejected from the volcanoes of Etruria and Latium, similar to those of the hills of Rome. The peculiar physical features of these deposits have had no little influence in determining the mode in which the population was grouped in ancient times. Everywhere we find the hills of Rome reproduced on a smaller scale. Low, isolated, flat-topped hills irregularly divided by deeply cut watercourses, and edged with steep rocky cliffs, afford numerous sites for the settlement of limited independent communities. Such are the hills on which Laurentum, Lavinium, Fidenæ,

Geological formations. Tufaceous beds.

[1] See note at end of chapter. The term Campagna is now generally understood to be co-extensive with the Comarca, or province of Rome which extends along the coast from Civita Vecchia to Nettuno, and inland as far as S. Oreste and Subiaco.

[2] Plin. N. H. iii. §§ 56, 59. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 5, and Servius, Ad Æn. vii. 38, prefer to use the terms *vetus* and *novum* as legally correct.

[3] Pliny includes the Rutulian territory in his Latium antiquum by making Circeii its limit on the coast.

[4] Altlatinische Chorographie und Stadtegeschichte. A. Bormann. Halle, 1852.

Antemnæ, Ficulea, Crustumerium, and Gabii stood; and similar places abound in many parts of the district. These hills afforded suitable sites for the small fortified camps with which ancient Latium was thickly studded. Their sides can be easily scarped so as to afford a natural line of defence, and they are in general fairly supplied with water from numerous land springs.

Thus, although the general aspect of the Campagna is that of a plain country, yet the main level of its surface is broken by numerous deep gullies and groups of hillocks.

Tertiary marine strata.

Apennine limestone.

The tertiary marine strata, which have been already described as forming the Janiculum and other hills upon the right bank of the Tiber, do not rise to the surface in the Campagna, except on the flanks of the Æquian and Sabine hills. These hills themselves consist of great masses of Apennine limestone, jutting out here and there into the spurs upon which some of the more considerable cities of the Latin confederacy stood, as Tibur, Præneste, Bola, and Cameria.

Hills of the Campagna.

Volcanic craters.

The Alban hills form a totally distinct group, consisting of two principal extinct volcanic craters, somewhat resembling in their relations to each other the great Neapolitan craters of Vesuvius and Somma. One of them lies within the embrace of the other, just as Vesuvius lies half enclosed by Monte Somma. The walls of the outer Alban crater are of peperino, while those of the inner are basaltic. Both are broken away on the northern side towards Grotta Ferrata and Marino, but on the southern side they are tolerably perfect.

The outer crescent-shaped crater beginning from Frascati extends to Monte Porzio and Rocca Priora, and then curves round by Monte Algido, Monte Ariano, and Monte Artemisio.

The inner crescent includes the height of Monte Cavo, and surrounds the flat meadows known by the name of Campo d'Annibale.[1] Besides these two principal craters, the ages of which are probably as distinct as those of Vesuvius and Somma, there are traces of at least four others to be found in the lakes of Castel Gandolfo, commonly called the Alban lake, and of Nemi, and in the two small cliff-encircled valleys of the Vallis Aricina and Larghetto.[2]

Some of the lakes now drained, lying between the Alban and Sabine hills, were also probably formed in the hollows of small outlying craters, as the Lago di Castiglione, and those near Pantano and Cornufelle.

Peperino.

The peperino of the Alban hills is quite distinct from the tufa of the Campagna. The latter has a mouldering earthy character, and its component parts have been reduced to powder or to small fragments before cohesion; while the Alban peperino is bright and fresh when broken, and contains large pieces of basalt and of limestone. It does not, however, necessarily follow from this that the Roman

[1] The name Campo d'Annibale cannot be anything more than a popular misnomer. Müller understood it as denoting the site of the Roman camp formed to resist Hannibal (Livy, xxvi. 9). Such an explanation seems impossible. Müller, Campagna, ii. p. 128.

[2] See Westphal, Die romische Kampagne, p. iv.

tufa is not the product of the Alban volcanoes. The peperino may have been produced by a different outburst of volcanic power from the same volcanic centre as the tufa, since it is a well-known fact that the same volcano ejects matter of a totally different description at different times of eruption.

Little is known of the streams of lava which issued from the Alban volcanoes. Most of them are hidden deep under the tufaceous beds of the Campagna, and only one remarkable stream can still be traced throughout its course. This begins to be visible about a mile from Fratocchie, towards Rome, on the Appian road, and ends near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella on the same road. The line of the Appian road is carried across the Campagna along the top of this bank of lava, which has sometimes a steep and broken edge, and sometimes slopes gradually to the level of the surrounding country. Here and there can be found the ancient quarries from which the Romans cut their paving stones. The depth of the bed is about seventy feet near Fratocchie, but as it approaches Rome it becomes much shallower, and near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella it is not more than twenty feet in thickness. The tufa through and over which it passes may be seen to have been more or less altered by the heat in proportion to the distance at any point from the origin of the lava.[1]

Basaltic lava.

Another stream of lava has been found at some depth below the surface of the tufaceous strata near Aqua Acetosa, on the Via Ardeatina, but its limits are not known.[2] Beds of lava are also mentioned by geologists as existing in the neighbourhood of Monte Porzio, Colonna, Frascati, and Tusculum.

With the exception of the great masses of the Alban hills, there are not many hills in the Campagna worth special notice. Some few deserve attention, but more on account of their historical than their physical importance.

Minor hills.

Of these the most extensive and continuous is the chain of hills called Monti di Decima. This range has no ancient name, and derives its present appellation from the station called Ad Decimum at the tenth milestone on the Via Laurentina. With some interruptions these hills extend from the left bank of the Tiber near Dragoncello, where they cause the river to make a bend to the north,[3] in a slanting direction towards the sea-coast, which they reach at Porto d'Anzo. Their highest points rise to the altitude of 400 feet above the sea; but this height is not apparent, because the general level of the adjoining country is at least 300 feet above the sea. They resemble the hills of Rome in their formation, being irregularly shaped masses of tufa, with a few small beds of lava here and there. In prehistoric times they may have formed the coast-line of Latium, and Nibby thinks that the mouth of the Tiber was once at Dragoncello.[4] Here, therefore, the scenes described in the Seventh Æneid may be supposed to have taken place. The principal points in the northern part of this range of hills, besides Dragoncello and Decima, are Porcigliano, Capocotta, Monte di Leva, and Petronella. About a mile from this last place rises the little hill

Monti di Decima.

[1] Westphal, Rom. Kamp. p. vi.

[2] Gell, Top. Rom. p. 2.

[3] The Puilia saxa mentioned by Festus, p. 250, were probably at this point: "Puilia saxa esse ad portum qui sit secundum Tiberim ait Fabius Pictor: quem locum putat Labeo dici ubi fuerit Ficana via Ostiensi ad lapidem undecimum."

[4] Nibby, Analisi, ii. p. 41. See Bonstetten, Voyage dans le Latium, p. 18.

of Pratica (Lavinium), and between this and Ardea the chain of hills is broken through by the Rio Torto (Numicius).

The tract between the Monti di Decima and the sea is occupied in great part by the Forest of Ostia, which consists of a wild wooded district, three or four miles wide, clothed with brushwood and occasional clumps of pines. Nearer to the sea lie sand-dunes, covered with oleander, myrtle, and other shrubs; and these are succeeded by lagunes and salt-marshes. Virgil represents the mouth of the Tiber as surrounded by a thick forest in the time of Æneas, and if we suppose, as Nibby does, that at that remote date the hills of Decima formed the coast-line, his description of the river breaking out suddenly through a dense forest into the sea, "vorticibus rapidis," may not be entirely imaginary.[1] Three several old coast-lines can be traced between the line of the hills of Decima and the present beach.[2] *Silva Ostiensis.*

The range of hills of which the Monti di Decima form the principal part is continued along the left bank of the Tiber as far as the Church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, where the hills make a bend and enclose the Prati di S. Paolo. The eastern side of the Via Ostiensis is skirted by these low tufaceous hills up to the walls of Rome, where they sink at length into the level ground near the Aventine. The hills of Rome itself may be considered as a further continuation of the same range.

That part of the Campagna which lies between the hills of Frascati and the Anio is without any considerable natural hills. The Monte di Grano four miles, from Rome on the Frascati road, is artificial. But there are several deep and narrow ravines over which the Via Prænestina has to be carried on viaducts, and occasionally hills are passed by cuttings in the tufa, and the whole of the country rises gradually as the Æquian hills are approached, so that at the twenty-fourth milestone from Rome a height of 850 feet above the sea-level is reached.[3] The brooks which descend from the watershed between Palestrina (Præneste) and Colonna (Labicum) divide the tract lying at the foot of the Æquian and Tusculan hills into a number of parallel, deep watercourses, and here and there form isolated masses of tufa, on which several of the old Latin cities were placed. The sites of Querquetula, Scaptia, Pedum, and Gabii must be sought among these. The Æquian mountains themselves present on this side steep cliffs of solid lime-stone, but traces of volcanic action are found in the immediate neighbourhood of Tibur, where a mountain called Monte Spaccato has been split asunder to a depth of 470 feet by an earthquake, and a stream of lava has been poured out on the right bank of the Anio near Ampiglione. *Hills on the left bank of Anio.*

The watershed between the Tiber and the Anio begins at the Ponte Nomentano with the hills of Casale dei Pazzi, one of which, at the junction of the Ulmano with the Anio, is the famous Mons Sacer.[4] It rises gradually along the course of the Via Nomentana, becoming more and more broken into isolated hills until it reaches the considerable elevations of Monte della Creta (Ficulea), Monte Gentile, and Mentana (Nomentum). On the left bank of the Tiber the tufa hill *Hills between the Tiber and Anio.*

[1] Æn. vii. 31.
[2] See Canina's Map of the Campagna.
[3] Bormann, p. 55.
[4] The position of the Mons Sacer is definitely fixed by Livy, ii. 32, "Trans Anienem tria ab urbe millia," and iii. 52, "Via Nomentana." Festus, p. 318: "Trans Anienem paulo ultra tertium milliarium." Cic. Brut. 14: "Prope ripam Anienis ad tertium milliarium."

of Castel Giubileo (Fidenæ) is the most remarkable. The range, if it can be so called, of which it forms the principal point, continues to skirt the Tiber northwards as far as Monte Rotondo (Crustumerium), a distance of fourteen miles. The hills of Monte Rotondo, Mentana, and S. Angelo (Montes Crustumerini et Corniculani) are considered by Bormann as forming the limit of Latium antiquissimum.

Mons Sacer.
Castel Giubileo.
Montes Crustumerini et Corniculani.

The soil of the Campagna being entirely formed of decomposed volcanic deposits, is to an extraordinary degree absorbent and retentive of moisture. This is said to be one of the principal causes of the singular fertility of some districts in the early part of the year. The spring vegetation of the country round Rome is marvellously luxuriant, while in the autumn the ground becomes parched and brown. The same cause renders the brooks of the Campagna, which run into the sea, the Tiber, and the Anio, small and scanty. On the sea-coast we find only three brooks of any importance. The first of these is formed by the confluence of two rivulets which descend from the Monti di Decima. It empties itself into the sea about seven miles from Ostia. Another of a similar kind, six miles further south, bears the name of Rio di Turno, and has been connected by some of the topographers of the Campagna with the spring and rivulet of the nymph Juturna, who is addressed in the Æneid as the queen of lakes and loud-voiced rivers.[1] But this is contrary to the statement of Ovid, who makes Juturna one of the Tiberinides, and therefore the fountain and stream of Juturna must be looked for among those which rise near the Alban hills and run into the Tiber.[2]

Lakes and brooks of the Campagna.

Rio di Turno.

A few miles further along the coast is the mouth of a more considerable stream, the Rio Torto, forming a large morass on the coast at its mouth. The whole winding course of this stream among the tufa hills of S. Palomba and Sugareto is at least sixteen miles in length. It deserves particular attention, since in the opinion of the best authorities—Nibby, Gell, and Bormann—it has the best claim to be considered the Numicius of Virgil and Ovid.[3] There are only two other streams which can dispute this claim with it, the Rio di Nemi and the above-mentioned Rio di Turno. As regards the former of these, which flows close to Ardea, it forms the artificial outlet of the lake of Nemi; and we can therefore hardly imagine that the poets could have made a river-god its tutelary deity. Besides this, Silius makes the Numicius rise from a small spring, and his words, "parvo descendens fonte," could not have been intended to apply to the lake of Nemi.[4] Dionysius also clearly indicates that the Numicius must be looked for not so much in the neighbourhood of Ardea as of Lavinium; and it cannot therefore be the river on which Ardea stands.[5] As little does the Rio di Turno answer the description of the Numicius; for the battle between the Rutulians and Trojans on the Numicius, during which Æneas was said to have been lost, supposes the Numicius to have been a considerable stream flowing between the camp of Æneas at Lavinium (Pratica) and the territory of the Rutulians.[6] The Rio di Turno is therefore on the wrong side of Lavinium. On these grounds it is tolerably certain

Rio Torto.

The Numicius.

[1] Æn. xii. 139: "Stagnis quæ fluminibusque sonoris præsidet."
[2] Ov. Fast. ii. 585.
[3] Virg. Æn. vii. 150, 242, 797; Ov. Met. xiv. 398.
[4] Sil. Ital. viii. 170.
[5] Dionys. i. 64.
[6] Dionys. loc. cit.

that the Numicius is to be recognised in the Rio Torto. And the descriptions given by the poets correspond to the present aspect of the river. Ovid in Met. xiv. 598 says :—

"Litus adit Laurens, ubi tectus arundine serpit
In freta flumineis vicina Numicius undis."

And in the Fasti, iii. 647 : "Placidi sum Nympha Numici."
And Silius, Punic. viii. 179 :—

"Haud procul hinc parvo descendens fonte Numicus
Labitur et leni per valles volvitur amne."

Both speak of it as a slow, winding stream covered with reeds.

The spring of Anna Perenna discharged its waters into the Numicius. For, although Silius speaks of it as near the Stagna Laurentia,[1] it must be remembered that the whole of this part of the coast was often comprehended under the name of Ager Laurens, and that Virgil applies the epithet Laurens even to the neighbourhood of Minturnæ.[2] According to the legend, Anna, the sister of Dido, comes from Lavinium to the Numicius, and the brook dedicated to her must therefore be looked for on the right bank of the Numicius. As there is only one, the Sugareto, which fulfils this condition, it may be concluded that the Sugareto was the stream flowing from the spring of Anna Perenna.[3]

Lagunes and marshes. Stagno di Ostia. Salinæ.

The numerous lagunes and marshy spots upon the coast need no mention, since they are generally dried up in the summer, and their situations and extent vary from time to time. The great salt lake near Ostia is, however, never dried up, as it lies at a lower level than the sea, and is connected with the sea by a channel. In a part of it on the north side of the road from Rome to Ostia, which here passes over a bridge across the lake, are numerous salt-pits, where salt is procured by the evaporation of sea-water. In the time of the Etruscan kingdom there were also other salt-pits on the right bank of the Tiber, which came into the possession of the Romans after the capture of Veii.[4]

Lago di Nemi.

The Rio di Nemi and the Rio di Lanuvio, which run into the sea south of the Rio Torto, do not come within our limits, as they belonged partly to the Volscian and partly to the Rutulian territory. The Rio di Nemi conveys the water from the outlet of the lake of Nemi, which occupies, as has already been mentioned, one of the ancient craters of the Alban hills. The name of this lake, and of the village on its margin, is derived from the great grove of Diana (Nemus Dianæ), whose temple probably stood on the site of the present village of Nemi.[5] The wooded cliffs which surround the crater are steep, and descend immediately into the water, except on the side near Genzano, where they slope more gently, and are planted with vines. Their average height is 300 feet. In the Latin poets frequent mention is made of this lake as one of the principal ornaments of the neighbourhood of Rome, and in connection with the widely celebrated Temple of Diana. Hence it was called Speculum Dianæ, Lacus Triviæ, and Stagnum Dianæ.[6] Whether the name Lacus Aricinus[7] also belonged to this lake

1 Silius, Punic. viii. 39.
2 Virg. Æn. vii. 47.
3 The story of Anna Perenna is related in Ovid, Fast. iii. 647, and in Silius, Punic. viii. 39 et seq.
4 Livy, vii. 17. See Nibby, Analisi, vol. i. p. 375.
5 See below on Aricia, p. 374.
6 Propert. iv. 22, 25 ; Virg. Æn. vii. 516, and Servius ad loc.; Ov. Fast. iii. 261.
7 Ov. Fast. iii. 262, where *locus* may possibly be the right reading, for the reason given in the text.

is doubtful, for Pliny speaks of a lake which formerly occupied the valley of Aricia, and the water in the valley of Aricia was certainly called Lacus Aricinus in the Middle Ages.[1]

The water of the lake is supplied, partially at least, from a small spring near the road from Genzano to Nemi, and also from the copious stream which turns the mills of the village of Nemi. The latter is probably alluded to by Strabo, when he says that the sources whence the lake is filled are visible, and are near the Temple of Diana.[2]

Nibby gives the following account of the lake of Nemi, and of the investigations carried on in his time for the purpose of discovering the real nature of the curious wooden fabrics said to have been found at the bottom of the lake:[3]—

"The situation of Nemi is picturesque, and the view from it of the crater and of the lake, which resembles an enormous mirror spread below, is magnificent. But, beyond the historical reminiscences of the Temple of Diana, it presents nothing worth particular mention. The baronial castle near it has all the appearance of a feudal fortress. It was built by the famous Colonna family, once the lords of the estate, who also built the round tower or keep which surmounts it. By ascending the side of the mountain which rises above it a splendid panoramic view of the coast of Latium, and of the adjacent Rutulian and Volscian territory, may be enjoyed. The eye ranges along the whole coast-line of the Tyrrhenian Sea, from the Circæan promontory to the mouths of the Tiber, and the situations of Antium, Ardea, Lavinium, Laurentum, Ostia, and Porto are clearly distinguishable, together with many other points.

"The crater is surrounded in parts by rocks of the hardest basaltic lava, in others by conglomerated cinders and scoriæ, and in some places by banks of tufa. Its circumference is about five miles, and the level of the water higher than that of the Alban lake. The story of the ship discovered at the bottom of this lake, and said by some authors to have belonged to the time of Tiberius, by others to that of Trajan, is well known. Biondo, Leon Battista Alberti, and particularly Francesco Marchi, a celebrated architect and military engineer of the sixteenth century, who went down into the lake himself, have spoken of it.[4] Fresh investigations have been carried on of late, at which I was present, and saw and examined everything which was brought to the surface, and inquired of those who went down what they saw there. I consider myself in a position to assert that the pretended ship was nothing more than the wooden piles and timbers used in the foundations of a building. The beams are of fir and larch, and are joined by metal nails of various sizes. The pavement, or at least the lowest stratum of the remains, is formed of large tiles placed upon a kind of grating of iron, on which the name CAISAR in ancient letters is marked. Some of these tiles and nails and gratings are now kept in the Vatican library.

"The name CAISAR seems to explain the history of the building. For Suetonius, in his life of Julius Cæsar,[5] as an illustration of the Dictator's extravagance, asserts, that after having built a villa on the lake of Nemi at an enormous expense, he had the whole destroyed because it did not quite suit his taste. It is my belief that the pretended ship was nothing else than the piles and wooden framework upon which this villa was

[1] Plin. xix. 141; Bormann, p. 63.
[2] Strabo, v. p. 239.
[3] Nibby, Analisi, ii. p. 395.
[4] See their accounts in Fea, Miscellanea, pp. cclxvii., cclxxiv.
[5] Suet. Cæs. 46.

supported, and that after the upper part was destroyed the foundation under the water still remained, partly covered by the fragments of the demolished building above."

The mention of paving tiles, marbles, and leaden pipes,[1] as among the objects raised from the bottom of the lake, render the notion that they belonged to a ship improbable, and Nibby's conjecture that a Roman villa, partly built out into the water, stood here, seems much more likely, though his application of the passage of Suetonius is very doubtful.

Another lake of considerable size must have existed at some distant time in the valley below the modern Aricia. Pliny, in a passage above quoted, mentions this lake. He says: "Specimens of the kind of cabbage called lacu turris, with enormous heads, were found growing not long ago in the valley of Aricia, where there was formerly a lake and a tower, the latter of which is still standing."[2] It is evident that before the channel which now drains the valley at its lowest point was made, the whole space must have been filled with water from the emissaria of the lake of Nemi. Bormann states, on

Valley of Aricia.

ALBAN LAKE FROM THE CAPUCHIN CONVENT OF PALAZZOLO, LOOKING TOWARDS MARINO AND TUSCULUM.

the authority of Lucidi's history of Aricia, that once in the Middle Ages the valley of Aricia became filled with water again from the choking up of the lower emissarium.[3]

The larger neighbouring lake, Lago d'Albano, or Lago di Castello, belongs to the water system of the Tiber, and has most of its outlets on the western side. It has been supposed that a subterranean communication exists between the two lakes; but Nibby asserts that this is impossible, as the level of the lake of Nemi is higher than the Alban lake.[4] The circumference of this sheet of water is said to be more than six miles, and it is nearly elliptical in shape. Its volcanic origin has been spoken of already. The story of the sudden rise of its waters, in the sixth year of the siege of Veii, is well

Lago d'Albano or di Castello.

[1] Gell, p. 325.
[2] Plin. xix. 141.
[3] Bormann, p. 64. See Abeken's Mittelitalien, p. 168.
[4] Nibby, Anal. p. 101. See Canina's Monumenti, tav. clxxvi.

known, and the response of the Delphic oracle, as given in Livy, "Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas, emissam per agros rigabis, dissipatamque rivis extingues. Tum tu audax insiste hostium muris."[1]

Whether the swelling of the lake was due to volcanic causes or not is of course unascertainable now, but it has been observed that the preceding winter was marked by extreme cold and heavy falls of snow, and that the sudden thawing of a great mass of snow upon Monte Cavo may have caused the inundation.[2] Nibby thinks that it appears from the words of the oracle that the principal natural outlet which the lake had formed for itself was at the edge of the crater near Albano, and that the water originally discharged itself into the valley under Castel Savelli, and thence by the Rio Torto (Numicius) or the Rio di Nemi into the sea.[3] Had it flowed over the western rim of the crater near Monte Cuccù, between Castel Gandolfo and Marino, it must have discharged itself into the Tiber by the Aqua Acetosa or the Rio di Decima, and then the words of the oracle, "in mare," would have been without meaning.

The edge of the crater is, it is true, lowest at this point, but the large quarries of peperino which were worked there in ancient times have probably caused the artificial cutting which is described in Gell's Topography. But it must be noted that the response of the oracle forbids two things: 1. Allowing the water to remain in the lake; 2. Allowing it to reach the sea at all in a visible stream. The Romans are ordered to make an artificial channel and to dispose of it in irrigation. These conditions would not have been fulfilled if the water had reached the sea in a visible stream. Besides this, the stream issuing from the valley near Castel Savelli does not reach the sea "suo flumine," but enters the Rio Torto (Numicius) or the Rio di Nemi.

Cicero gives a more distinct account of the matter. "We are told," he says in the Annals, "that during the siege of Veii, when the Alban lake had risen to an unusual height, a Veientine noble fled to Rome as a deserter, and declared that it was written in the books of fate which were kept at Veii, that Veii could not be taken so long as the lake was overflowing its banks, and that if the lake were tapped, and flowed into the sea by its own channel and stream, it would be fatal to the Roman nation, but that if the water were so discharged as to make it impossible for it to reach the sea, then the Romans would be victorious. In consequence of this our ancestors contrived that admirable plan for drawing off and dispersing the water of the lake."[4]

From this passage it would seem likely that the real object of the drainage of the lake was to obtain a constant supply of water for the irrigation of the Campagna. In another passage Cicero states his opinion still more clearly that the work was really undertaken for the benefit of suburban agriculture. "The Veientine prophecy, that, if the water of the Alban lake rose above its margin and flowed into the sea, Rome would

[1] Livy, v. 16; Dionys. xii. 16.

[2] B.C. 400. Dionys. xii. 8; Livy, v. 13; Nibby, Analisi, p. 102; Plutarch, Cam. 3; Val. Max. i. 6. Gell mistranslates the words of Dionysius, i. 66. The historian, in using the present tenses, ἔστιν and ὑποδέχεται, alludes to the state of the lake in his own times. Gell, Top. Rom. p. 26.

[3] There appear to be four natural outlets: one which formed the small lake between Castel Savelli and Monte Crescenzio, now drained dry; a second at the spring under Monte Cuccù, which waters the valley of Apiolæ; a third at the spring called Fosso dei Monaci, forming the Fosso della Cornachiola: and a fourth under Grotta Ferrata, from which the Aqua Ferentina is supplied.

[4] Cic. De Div. i. 44.

perish, but that if it were checked Veii would be taken, in consequence of which the Alban water was diverted, was intended to benefit the suburban farms and not to secure the safety of Rome."[1] What appears strange is, that it should have been necessary to appeal to a superstitious motive in the case of a people evidently so far advanced in civilization as to be capable of carrying out an engineering work of such difficulty in a single year.

Emissarium of the Alban lake.

The tunnel, which still carries off the superfluous water of the lake, is cut through solid peperino and occasional masses of still harder basaltic lava. It is more than a mile and a half in length, from seven to ten feet in height, and never less than four feet in breadth. The height of the edge of the lake above the level of its water, at the part which is pierced by the tunnel, is 430 feet. Three vertical shafts are still discoverable, by which a draft of air was created and the rubbish was removed, and one slanting shaft for the entrance and exit of the miners.[2] The rock was cut with a chisel an inch wide, as may be seen from the marks left upon the sides of the tunnel.

At the points where the water enters and leaves the tunnel considerable pains have been taken to regulate the flow. The channel of stonework at the mouth is placed in a slanting direction, so as to break the force of the rush of water. At the end of this first channel is a cross wall, with openings protected by gratings to catch the leaves and floating rubbish. Behind this is a reservoir, similar to the piscinæ in use in the Roman aqueducts, for allowing the mud to settle before the water entered the tunnel. Next to the tunnel itself there is a closed building to protect the canal from the fall of rocks and stones, and the actual entrance into the rock is faced with a massive portal of wedge-shaped blocks of stone. The water in this enclosure is now used by the fishermen of the lake as a receptacle for keeping fish, and is for this purpose provided with sluices.[3]

The point where the tunnel emerges from the mountain on the west of Castel Savelli, nearly a mile from Albano, is called Le Mole. The water was there received in a long trough-like reservoir arched over with a stone-vaulted roof. From this it ran through five smaller openings into five separate channels, and was so dispersed into the fields for irrigation. At the present time the whole stream is united, and after passing the road to Anzio, thirteen miles from Rome, takes the name of Rio d'Albano, receives the brook from the valley of Apiolæ, and joining the Aqua Acetosa and Cornacciola, crosses the Ostian way near Tor di Valle, three miles and a half from Rome, and then discharges itself into the Tiber.

It is the opinion of some archæologists that the Romans brought engineers from Greece[4] to superintend the Alban tunnel. This supposition, however, is not necessary; for if the Italian engineers could construct the Cloaca Maxima, they would be fully equal to the task of tapping the Alban lake. The physical conformation of Central Italy compelled its inhabitants to turn their attention at an early period to the construction of drains and other hydraulic works. It has been mentioned before that considerable artificial channels were rendered necessary in order to regulate the flow of

[1] Cic. De Div. ii. 32.

[2] Canina, Arch. Rom. Part III. cap. xi., Monum. tav. clxxvi.; Gell, Top. p. 22.

[3] Hirt thinks that these arrangements at the mouth are very ancient (Gesch. der Arch. ii. p. 108). Others ascribe them to the Imperial era. See Introduction.

[4] See Herodotus, iii. 60; Ar. Pol. v. 11.

the Arno and Tiber in the neighbourhood of Chiusi. In Southern Etruria especially, the district now known as the pestilent Maremma could only have been rendered healthy by systematic artificial drainage. The sites of Populonia, Saturnia, Cosa; Veii, and Cære were thus rendered habitable and fertile, and a great part of Latium maritumum, the Pomptine marshes, and the tract about Suessa Pometia must have been artificially and skilfully drained at the time of their greatest prosperity.[1]

Many of the ancient cities of Central Italy had underneath their streets cuniculi, which served as thoroughfares connecting the different parts of the city, or as secret passages leading out into the country. Such cuniculi are found at Prænestè and Alba Fucensis. At Prænestè the following account of the attempted escape of Marius by means of the cuniculi is given by Velleius: "Tum demum desperatis rebus suis C. Marius adolescens, per cuniculos qui miro opere fabricati in diversas agrorum partes fuerunt conatus erumpere, cum foramine e terra emersisset a dispositis in id ipsum interemptus est."[2] The catacombs show that the same genius for tunnelling operations existed at a later time among the Italians of the Empire.

Rio di Malafede.

The course of the Rio d'Albano, which drains the Alban lake, has already been described. Several other streams traverse the Campagna from the Alban hills to the Tiber. One of these drains the valley under the Castel Savelli, formerly itself a crater, and then a lake, but now completely dried up. The name given to this brook, which, after receiving many other small streams, falls into the Tiber near Dragoncello, is the Rio di Malafede or Rio di Decima. The lake of which it was formerly the outlet is sometimes called the Lago di Turno or di Giuturna, and may possibly have been the ancient fountain of the Tiberine nymph Juturna above alluded to.[3]

Aqua Ferentina.

The Aqua Ferentina, celebrated as the meeting-place of the Latin League,[4] was probably the spring which rises at the foot of the Alban hills immediately under Marino, and commonly bears the name Ferentina. Gell places it further up the deep rocky valley behind Marino, towards Rocca di Papa, at the church of S. Rocca; and as there are several considerable springs, it is impossible to determine the true site of the Latin meeting-place.

Aqua Crabra.

A little further along the flank of the Alban hills, between Marino and Grotta Ferrata, we find the stream of the Aqua Crabra. It rises in the valley behind the Tusculan hills called the Vallis Albana, and we find its possession claimed by the inhabitants of Tusculum and retained for their use at the time when the Julian aqueduct was made.[5] Cicero had to pay an acknowledgment for its use to the city of Tusculum.[6] This stream, after emerging from the Vallis Albana, turns round the hill by Morrena, and flows into the Anio five miles from Rome. But at the Casale di Morrena, near the railway junction, the greater part of its water is diverted, and flows by a subter-

[1] See Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 164, who quotes "Fr. Inghiramid elle idrauliche operazioni praticate dagli antichi Toscani;" *Atti dell' Acad. di Georgofili*, vol. xi.

[2] Vell. Pat. ii. 27, quoted by Abeken.

[3] Virgil, Æn. xii. 134, and Servius ad loc.; Varro, L. L. v. 71; Ov. Fast. ii. 585.

[4] Livy, i. 50, 52, vii. 25; Gell, Top. Rom. p. 90. See below, p. 377.

[5] Frontin. De Aq. 9.

[6] Cic. Cont. Rull. iii. 2; Pro Balb. 20; Epp. ad Fam. xvi. 18.

ranean canal under the name of the Marrana or Morrena to Rome, where it traverses the valley of the Circus Maximus, between the Aventine and Palatine, and falls into the Tiber near the Cloaca Maxima. Niebuhr was mistaken in thinking that the Aqua Crabra was an artificial cut made to drain the Vallis Albana, for it bears no marks of being other than a natural stream in the upper part of its course. It is now made use of in its course through the Campagna for watering cattle and sheep.

A small brook called the Acque Salvie, which falls into the Tiber at Tre Fontane, two and a half miles below Rome, has been with some probability supposed to be the Petronia which, as Festus says, was formed by the Fons Cati, and ran into the Tiber. It was associated with the taking of the auspices by Roman magistrates on their way to transact business in the Campagna.[1] *Petronia.*

The Almo, so frequently mentioned by the Latin poets in connection with the custom of bathing the statue of Cybele in its waters on the 29th of March,[2] is thought by Bormann to be the short stream which takes its rise at the so-called grotto of Egeria, in the Caffarelle valley near the Appian road. He thinks that Nibby's attempt to trace it beyond this grotto is mistaken, for Ovid expressly calls it "brevissimus Almo,"[3] and the nymphæum and statue of the presiding god of the streams would, he thinks, be naturally placed at its source, and not at a point half way along its course. It joins the Aqua Ferentina, and crosses the Appian and Ostian roads about half a mile outside the walls of Rome, and then falls into the Tiber. At this point the ceremony of washing the image of Cybele was performed annually on the spot where it had first been landed on its arrival from Pessinus. *Almo.*

> "Est locus in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo
> Et nomen magno perdit in amne minor.
> Illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos
> Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis."[4]

Virgil, in the seventh book of the Æneid, has personified this river among several other well-known names of Italian localities, as Aventinus, Tiburtus, Marica, Galæsus, Silvia, and Calybe.[5]

The last tributary of the Tiber which must be noticed before we pass to the Anio and its basin is the Allia. Livy says distinctly that it runs down from the Crustuminian hills in a deep channel, and enters the Tiber at the eleventh milestone on the Via Salaria.[6] Contrary to this express statement, Nibby and others have selected the Fosso di Malpasso, which is only five miles from Rome. But it has been more reasonably supposed that a small brook running at the bottom of a deep ravine which crosses the Via Salara, just eleven miles from Rome, answers best to Livy's description.[7] Sir William Gell, who bestowed much pains on the question of the Allia, agrees with this conclusion. The name of the brook is now Scolo del Casale. It is a mere ditch where it crosses the road near Fonte di Papa, but runs through a *Allia.*

[1] Festus, p. 250, ed. Müller.
[2] Amm. Marc. xxiii. 3, § 7.
[3] Ov. Met. xiv. 329.
[4] Ov. Fast. iv. 335. See also Luc. Phars. i. 600; Mart. iii. 47, 2; Val. Flacc. Arg. viii. 239; Sil. It. viii. 363.
[5] Æn. vii. 531, 575, 657, 671, 47, 535, 486, 419.
[6] Livy, v. 137; Virg. Æn. vii. 717.
[7] Westphal, Campagna, p. 127; Bormann, p. 71.

valley which is very defensible. Gell thinks that, in the battle at the Allia, the front of the Gauls under Brennus occupied the whole space from Ficulea (Torre Lupara) to Forno Nuovo at the eleventh milestone, a distance of about three miles. There is a tumulus at a place called Scholla, and another near Forno Nuovo, which may possibly be mounds raised by the Gauls over the slain. The Via Salaria Antiqua passes exactly through the centre of the position occupied by the Gauls.

"The Roman army was drawn up with extended flanks, that it might not be surrounded; though this did happen to it, on account of the superior number of the Gauls." A Roman corps of reserve was posted to the north of Ficulea, on Monte dei Soldati; and this was so far advanced in front of the Roman line that Brennus imagined it was intended to fall upon his rear in the action. He therefore attacked it with his left wing, which gave the rest of the Roman army time to escape to the Tiber, "where," says Livy, "the Roman left wing threw down their arms and plunged into the river to escape to Veii. The right wing, which was posted at a distance from the river towards the hills, fled to Rome." [1]

Anio.

We now pass on to the Anio and its tributary streams.[2] The Anio itself rises near Treba in the Simbrivian hills, and flows through the territories of the Æquians till it reaches Tibur, where it frees itself from the mountains through a deep gorge between Monte Ripoli and Monte Catillo. During the long struggles which the river made to burst through the intricate barriers offered by these hills it built up those wonderful rocks of travertine upon which a great part of the town of Tivoli stands. Some sudden catastrophes must have opened a way for its waters between the two hills, and it has since continued to bore cavities in the rocks formed previously by its own waters, and to change its channel from time to time.

As it winds through the Campagna it receives on its left bank the streams of the Acqua Rossa and the Osa, and on its right those of the Albule, Magugliano, and Ulmano. Silius describes its water by the epithet "sulphureus," probably in allusion to the sulphuretted hydrogen emitted by the springs which pour their water into it near the Lago di Tartaro:—

> "Sulfureis gelidus qua serpit leniter undis
> Ad genitorem Anio labens sine murmure Tybrim." [3]

"Anciently," says Nibby, "the Anio was navigable from the Ponte Lucano to its mouth. Strabo mentions that the blocks of travertine from the quarries near Tibur, and of Gabine stone from Gabii, were brought to Rome by means of it.[4] But in the dark ages the channel was neglected and the navigation interrupted and abandoned."

The affluents on the left bank of the river are numerous, but few have any importance. They flow in large parallel ravines from the neighbourhood of Præneste, and unite in two principal channels, which join the Anio a little below the ruins of Hadrian's great

[1] Gell, Topogr. p. 47; Livy, v. 38. I have ventured to correct the mistakes which Gell has made in translating Livy.

[2] The name is written Anien in Stat. Silv. i. 3, 20; 5, 25: Ἀνίων in Paus. iv. 35, 6. Nibby says, on the authority of Aristides Milesius and Alex. Polyhist., that the old name was Parensius, and that the name Anio was derived from an Etruscan king. The modern name Teverone is derived from Tibur, Tiberone.

[3] Sil. It. xii. 539.

[4] Strab. v. § ii. pp. c. 238. So also Plin. iii. § 54.

villa. It has been supposed that one of these, the Fossa di Acqua Rossa, corresponds to the ancient Veresis of Strabo, but there is no evidence to confirm the conjecture.[1] The ancient name of the Osa, which is the most considerable confluent on the left bank, is not known, nor is the lake from which it is fed near Gabii mentioned in any writer before the fifth century.[2] Nearer to Rome the Acqua Crabra coming from the Tusculan hills joins the Anio.

Aquæ Albulæ.

On the right bank, besides the Lago dei Tartari, formerly a considerable lake, the water of which had a petrifying power, there are three small lakes called the Aquæ Albulæ in ancient times, and celebrated for the healing properties of their water. They were connected with the Anio in Strabo's time by a subterranean canal called the Albula, which was stopped up in the course of ages by the deposits of sulphur in its bed, and the present channel was cut in 1549 by Cardinal d'Este. One of the lakes, which is about 500 feet in length, has islands formed of matted weeds floating on its surface, and is thence called Lago Delle Isole Natanti. The other two lakes are called Lago di S. Giovanni and Lago delle Colonelle. The volcanic nature of the ground is abundantly evident from the sulphureous stench and the warmth of the water which traverses the canal leading to the Anio.[3] Two inscriptions quoted by Nibby show that there was a temple of Cybele here, and that the waters themselves were the object of a cult, and were invoked under the appellation of Albulæ or Aquæ Albulæ Sanctissimæ.[4]

Tutia.

Next to the Albula we find a small brook running into the Anio between Prato Lungo and Osteria del Forno, which had the name of Tuzia in the Middle Ages, and has hence been supposed to be the Tutia of Livy, upon the banks of which Hannibal encamped when he approached Rome.[5]

The Magliano, which rises near S. Angelo in Capoccia, and flows into the Anio near Prato Lungo, has not been identified with any ancient stream of celebrity. Müller gives it the ancient name of Manliana; but, as there is no authority for this, it seems to be a mere conjecture of his.[6]

Rivus Ulmanus.

Three miles from Rome, at the foot of the Mons Sacer, a small brook called the Rio Ulmano falls into the Anio. It rises at a distance of about seven miles from the Mons Sacer, and skirts the watershed between the Tiber and Anio. An inscription found near Ficulea seems to show that it was called Rivus Ulmanus in ancient times.[7]

Lake Regillus.

The Lake Regillus must not be considered as belonging to the water system of the Anio. Only one of the passages where this lake is mentioned gives us any hint of its situation. Livy, in relating the great battle between the Latins and the Romans, says that it was "in agro Tusculano."[8] There is, however, no lake at

[1] Nibby, Anal. iii. p. 466.

[2] Bormann conjectures that this lake is the place where the Gabinian baths mentioned by Juv. vii. 4 and Hor. Ep. i. 15, 9, were situated.

[3] Strabo, however, calls the water "cold." Pliny uses the ambiguous term "egelidæ." Suet. Aug. 82, Nero, 31, "calidæ;" and Martial, i. 13, "Canaque sulfureis Albula fumat aquis." See Vitruv. viii. 3.

[4] Nibby, Analisi, vol. i. p. 6.

[5] Livy, xxvi. 10: "Ad Tutiam fluvium castra retulit sex millia passuum ab urbe." Sil. It. xiii. 4: "Castra locat nulla lædens ubi gramina ripa Tutia deducit tenuem sine nomine rivum, et tacite Tuscis inglorius affluit undis." "Tuscæ undæ" is probably used vaguely by Silius of the Anio.

[6] Müller, Rom. Campagna, p. 158.

[7] Bormann, p. 73.

[8] Livy, ii. 19.

present existing in that district, and we are therefore compelled to adopt Nibby's hypothesis, that the lake must have been dried up by artificial or natural drainage. Nibby thought that he had discovered the site in the Pantano Secco, a hollow basin about two miles from Monte Porzio, and the same distance from Frascati. This hollow was evidently once a volcanic crater, as the lava and scoriæ strewed about it show. Its shape is, roughly speaking, hexagonal rather than circular, and its breadth about half a mile. At the bottom are the traces of drainage works connected with an emissarium by which it was tapped in very ancient times.[1] The account given by Dionysius of the famous battle is hardly to be looked upon as accurate, and any attempt to assign the stations of the two armies must be imaginary. On the south side of the lake Nibby found the ruins of a large villa, which he thinks may have been the villa of the Cornificii.[2] The name of the neighbourhood, Cornufelle, seems to have suggested this to the learned antiquary, for he gives no other reason for his conjecture. Gell thinks that the villa may have belonged to Passienus, the friend of Pliny, whose strange passion for one of the trees in the Grove of Diana at Corne, a hill in the neighbourhood of Tusculum, is described in Pliny's Natural History.[3]

Part II.—Period of Cities.

History of Campagna. Cities.

From the legendary times when Latinus, Evander, Æneas, and the rest of Virgil's heroes are supposed to have occupied the great plain of Latium, down to the final settlement of the district by its subjection to Rome in 338 B.C., the Roman Campagna was peopled by communities chiefly living in towns. Etruria on one side of Rome, and Latium on the other, contained confederacies of independent cities, with one or other of which the Romans were constantly at war. Etruria gave way first, and after the fall of Veii in 395 B.C. the Roman dominion extended northwards as far as the Lago Bracciano and Civita Castellana.[4] At that time the great confederacy of Latium, though Alba was destroyed, still existed under the hegemony of Rome as the successor of Alba, and numbered Tibur, Præneste, Tusculum, Aricia, Antium, Lanuvium, Velitræ, Pedum, and Nomentum among its members. But after the victories gained by the Consuls of the year 338 B.C.[5] the absorption of the Latin cities made rapid progress, and the character of the population of the Campagna began to be completely changed. In this, the second period of its history, the towns were gradually reduced to mere villages, the small farms disappeared, and the land was occupied by the immense estates (latifundia) of rich proprietors, cultivated by hordes of slaves. Such is the condition in which we find the Campagna in the time of Cicero.[6] The great villas which strew the ground with their ruins everywhere

Latifundia, Villas, and Aqueducts.

[1] Nibby, Anal. ii. p. 167.

[2] Ibid, iii. p. 6.

[3] Plin. N. H. xvi. § 242.

[4] Livy, v. 20; Arnold, Hist. Rome, chap. xviii.

[5] The Mœnian column and the Rostra were then first erected. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. § 20; Livy, viii. 13; Diodor. xvii. 2. See Mommsen, vol. i. p. 368. Pliny, N. H. iii. § 68, xxxiv. 2, gives a list of 20 cities and 32 cantons which had entirely disappeared in his time. Rutilius, De Red. 224, thus expresses the change from cities to villas in Latium: "Nunc villæ grandes oppida parva prius," evidently translating Strabo, v. p. 230, Τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι, κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν.

[6] Cic. Pro Planc. 9, De Leg. Agr. ii. 35.

in the neighbourhood of Rome were then constructed, and the colossal aqueducts, which served not only to supply Rome with water, but also to irrigate the farms and country seats of the Campagna. There seems to have been a constant tendency during the later Republic and early Empire to reduce the amount of arable land, and to increase the extent of pasturage.[1] Thus the country was rendered less and less healthy, and Rome became gradually more dependent than ever on foreign countries for her supply of corn.

Period of desolation.

The third and last phase of the history of the Roman Campagna is the most melancholy.[2] The aqueducts were more or less injured by the Gothic army at the siege of Rome under Vitiges, in A.D. 537; and the great country seats of the Roman nobles and princes must have been ruined by the successive devastations of Roman territory during the fifth and sixth centuries, in which the Lombards were the principal actors.[3] Agriculture ceased, and the few villages and country houses which remained soon became uninhabitable during a great part of the year in consequence of the increase of malarious exhalations arising from the uncultivated state of the soil, or were rendered unsafe by the lawless bands of ruffian marauders who infested the open country. Such is, in the main, the condition of the Roman Campagna at the present day—for the most part a waste of ragged pastures without human habitations, and wild jungles tenanted only by foxes, bears, and other wild animals. In fact, after the year 338 B.C., the Campagna became deprived of all historical interest, except as the summer residence of the great Roman proprietors. Its history belongs almost entirely to the early times of the Roman Republic.

Cities of the Campagna.

(1.)

Laurens Tractus and Campus Solonius.

The tract on the coast between the Tiber, the Numicius (Rio Torto), and the Via Latina, the physical features of which have been already described, contained, in the days of the Latin League, the following ancient cities, members of that league:—On the sea coast, Laurentum and Lavinium; on the Campus Solonius, Ficana, Politorium, Tellenæ, Apiolæ, Bovillæ, and Ardea. Ostia, which must be included in this district, was a colony from Rome, and therefore never possessed any political independence. Ardea, though it was properly a Rutulian, and not a Latin town, can hardly be separated from Lavinium and Laurentum.

Laurentum.

All traces of the town of Laurentum have now so completely disappeared that its site is a matter of dispute among topographers. Cluverius placed it at Torre St. Lorenzo on the coast below Ardea, but his opinion seems to have been formed on the very deceptive evidence of the similarity of the name. A positive proof that Laurentum must be looked for on the north of the Numicius is given by the order in which Pliny enumerates the Latin towns on the coast. He begins from the Tiber mouth and proceeding southwards enumerates Ostia, Laurentum,

[1] This is partly explained by the fact that hay was the most profitable crop. Gell, Top. of Rome, p. 143. This is inevitable in the neighbourhood of a large town.

[2] "Depopulati sunt agri, nullus in agris incola." Gregory the Great, quoted by Gell, Rom. Top. p. 145.

[3] Gibbon, chaps. xli., xlv.; Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 19. "Vitiges did not stop the aqueducts to deprive the Romans of water, as the Tiber afforded a plentiful supply, but in order to interrupt manufactures and to stop the water-mills." Nibby's Anal. vol. i. p. 18.

the grove of Jupiter Indiges, and then the Numicius in order.[1] The same order is observed by Strabo and Mela. The other sites which have been fixed upon are Torre Paterno close to the sea-shore, and Capo Cotta further inland,[2] and it is between these that we must make a choice. The distance from Rome to Laurentum, as given by the Itinerarium Antonini and the Peutingerian Tables, was sixteen miles. This seems to exclude Torre Paterno, which is more than seventeen Roman miles from the city; and Nibby was therefore inclined to select Capo Cotta instead. Bormann, however, thinks that the distances in the Itinerarium and Tables are plainly wrong in other cases, and that some mistake in copying the figures has probably been made here. The only genuine figure given, he thinks, is that which makes the distance from Laurentum to Lavinium, which was certainly at Pratica, six miles; and this suits Torre Paterno better than Capo Cotta.[3] But the most decisive argument against Capo Cotta is that it lies too far from the sea-coast. Laurentum is placed on the coast by Pliny and also by Pomponius Mela: and it was one of the cities included in the commercial treaty with Carthage.[4] Virgil, it is true, makes no mention of the sea as being close to the walls of Laurentum; but he of course describes the place as it was in his time, when at least half a mile intervened between the site and the actual margin of the sea, and when there was no harbour there. There are no ruins at all near Capo Cotta, as Nibby himself allows; while at Torre Paterno there are considerable vestiges of a villa and of an aqueduct belonging to the Imperial age. Nor are there any traces of a marsh, the "vasta palus" of Virgil,[5] at Capo Cotta; but at Torre Paterno there are several large depressions indicated on Gell's map which are filled with morasses. Martial mentions the frogs of the Laurentine coast, but perhaps his allusion must be taken in a wider sense as applying to the whole tract called Laurens Littus.[6] The evidence seems to be upon the whole in favour of Torre Paterno, though Nibby's conviction as an eye-witness after traversing the whole neighbourhood, that Capo Cotta was a more likely site, is certainly not to be rejected hastily. Cav. Rosa agrees with Nibby in selecting Capo Cotta.[7]

The neighbourhood of Laurentum and Lavinium is thus described by Nibby, who visited it many times:—

"This tract of country when seen from an elevation presents the appearance of a vast flat plain covered along the sea-shore with woods, but without any trees further inland except a few thickets, and the plantations near some country seats. Upon actually traversing the ground, it is found to present a succession of hills, sometimes rising gradually, sometimes steeply, usually bare, but not unfrequently clothed with bushes, and intersected in various directions by brooks and torrents forming ravines of varied extent and picturesque appearance. Nearer to the sea-coast the hills terminate in a bar or ridge of sand dunes, which on approaching the mouth of the Tiber grow

[1] Plin. N. H. iii. § 57.

[2] Fabretti, Inscr. p. 752, and Gell, R. Top. p. 294, declare for the former, and Nibby, Abeken, and Forbiger for the latter position.

[3] Nibby, on the other hand, finds an error in the figure vi., and wishes to alter it to ii. in order to suit the distance of Capo Cotta from Lavinium.

[4] Plin. loc. cit.; Mela, ii. 4; Polyb. iii. 22. Ardea is reckoned as a maritime town on account of its port.

[5] Æn. x. 709.

[6] Mart. Ep. x. 37, 5.

[7] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1859, p. 189.

more and more extensive, and take the shape of parallel lines of sand-hills. These lines were formed by the retreat which the sea has at intervals been forced to make from the land, by reason of the alluvial deposits of the Tiber. And it is remarkable to observe how these sands, at first utterly sterile, have gradually become clothed with vegetation, and how this new vegetation varies according to their distance from the sea. At their inner edge, where in the course of ages and by the decomposition of vegetable matter the soil has become fertile and deep, forest trees, oaks, pines, ashes, elms, and others, rise to a gigantic height, such as Virgil has spoken of as composing the Laurentine woods."

> " Bis senos pepigere dies et pace sequestra
> Per sylvas Teucri mixtique impune Latini
> Erravere jugis; ferro sonat acta bipenni
> Fraxinus : evertunt actas ad sidera pinus,
> Robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum
> Nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos."[1]

"The middle belt is covered with low brushwood, and the outer edge next to the sea with prickly weeds and grass only."

Laurentum is better known from the immortal poetry of Virgil than from the pages of Latin historians. After the fall of Alba Longa it remained nominally independent, but really like the other Latin towns under the somewhat tyrannical hegemony of Rome. The Laurentines harboured the Tarquins, and are especially mentioned as ranged in opposition to Rome at the battle of Regillus; but after that time they seem to have been less bitter foes of the Romans than the other Latin cities. They gradually dwindled away in consequence of the neighbourhood of the colony of Ostia and the more powerful Lavinium, till in the year B.C. 189 they were so insignificant as to be forgotten in the festival rites of the Latins. The civil wars, and the Samnite ravages under Telesinus, completed the desolation of Laurentum. Augustus established a colony there, but in Pliny's time we find Laurentum called a mere vicus, and one of the early emperors united it with Lavinium under the title of Lauro-Lavinium. What were the effects of this union is not clear. Laurentum apparently still existed in the time of Servius, the commentator on Virgil, at the end of the fourth century, but as a very insignificant place, and hence the puzzling confusion in the Virgilian commentary of Servius, who is naturally at a loss how to account for Virgil's mention of two considerable towns—Laurentum and Lavinium—whereas he only knew of one town named Lauro-Lavinium. Hence the strange comment on the words, "Lavinaque venit litora," where Servius remarks, "Hæc civitas tria habuit nomina."[2]

Lauro-Lavinium.

With Laurentum must be mentioned the spot at the mouth of the Tiber where the legend relates that Æneas landed and established his camp—

> " Ipse humili designat mœnia fossa,
> Moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes
> Castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit."

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[1] Æn. xi. 133.

[2] On the connexion between Lavinium and Lauro-Lavinium, see Zumpt, De Lavinio et Laurentibus Lavinatibus : Berlin, 1845.

[3] Æn. vii. 159.

Troja Nova.

The name of Troja Nova seems to have been generally given to this encampment.[1] Virgil evidently imagined it as close to the Tiber, for he speaks of the point where the river water surrounded it. (Æn. ix. 790–815.)

Difficulties have been raised by Klausen, Abeken, and others as to the site of Æneas' landing. Considering that the whole story must be understood with due allowances for poetical licence in matters of topography, and that Virgil could not possibly have determined historically, had he wished to do so, the exact spot of Æneas' landing, it seems hardly worth while to discuss this question. It may be remarked, however, that many places in the neighbourhood, as was natural, bore the name of Troja. Cicero had a prædium Trojanum near Lanuvium,[2] and Ardea, or the port of Ardea, was called at one time Troja.[3]

Lavinium.

The Peutingerian Tables and Itinerarium Antonini place Lavinium at a distance of seventeen and sixteen miles respectively from Rome, and six from Laurentum. Dionysius, after relating the legend of the sow with her thirty young pigs, which guided Æneas to the spot, says that Lavinium was twenty-four stadia (about two and a half miles) from the sea; and Strabo places it not far from Ardea. All these measurements agree with the position of the little town of Pratica, which is situated on a hill, about a mile in circumference, seventeen miles from Rome, three from the sea, and about five from Ardea. The above evidence is confirmed, and the conclusion to which it leads is placed beyond doubt, by the ruins and remains of a city, and by the inscriptions found on the spot.[4] The hill of Pratica is one of the many places in the Campagna admirably adapted for the site of a small town with a citadel, affording as it does a limited area defensible nearly on all sides. It is said to be composed of grey sandstone, covered with rolled fragments of volcanic origin, and with sea sand, rubbish, and humus. Its height above the sea-level is 310 feet, but it only rises 150 feet above the surrounding country. The shape is nearly elliptical, and the sides are precipitous on the north, south, and west. Artificial means have plainly been employed to increase the strength of the natural position by scarping the rocks, and the ruins of numerous buildings, with fragments of columns and inscriptions, remain on the flat top of the hill and in the surrounding fields.[5] Nothing of importance can now be discovered as to the nature of the buildings to which these ruins belonged. It has been thought that the traces of a theatre are visible on the south side of the hill, but even this is not clear. Gell conjectured that the citadel and the Temple of the Penates stood on the western edge. The worship of the Penates was observed with great solemnity here, and the consuls and prætors, on assuming or leaving office, went to sacrifice at the Lavinian shrine.[6] In the market-place stood brazen figures of the legendary sow and her pigs, and a group representing the wolf, eagle, and fox.[7]

1 Servius, on Æn. vii. 158, quotes Cato and Livy, i. 1. See Æn. ix. 644: "Nec te Troja capit."

2 Cic. Ad Att. ix. 9, 4; 13, 6.

3 Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τροία.

4 Cav. Rosa has traced the old Via Lavinate in a direct line from the ancient Porta Lavernalis to Pratica. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1859, p. 186.

5 One of the inscriptions, quoted by Bormann, is remarkable: "Silvius Æneas Æneæ et Laviniæ filius." Probably this was on the base of a commemorative statue or bust.

6 Macrob. Sat. iii. 4; Luc. Phars. ix. 991.

7 Dionys. i. 56; Varro, R. R. ii. 4.

The Temple of Venus (Aphrodisium), which is mentioned by Strabo as one of the common sanctuaries of the Latin League, was at the twentieth milestone from Rome, and therefore three miles from Lavinium.[1] It is placed by the topographers at Torre del Vajanico, in the Campo Jemini. In the year 1794 some interesting excavations were carried on here at the expense of the Duke of Sussex, of which the antiquary Fea has preserved an account.[2] The site of the excavations was at a place half a mile from Torre del Vajanico, towards Ardea. In cutting down a wood there, traces of statuary were discovered, and on prosecuting the search a number of fragments of sculpture were dug up, the principal of which was a statue of Venus, of Greek marble, resembling that in the Capitoline Museum. This statue was carried to England. Fea thinks that both it and the statue of the Capitol were copies of some more famous Greek original, perhaps of the Chigi Venus, which was the work of Menophantes. The statues were found in the ruins of a hall belonging to an ancient villa, and not in the Temple of Venus. *Aphrodisium.*

The legendary history of Lavinium is familiar to all readers of Virgil and Livy. Most Roman historians give it the name of the metropolis of the Latins, and the Romans, in dealing with the Latin cities, seem to have shown particular partiality for Lavinium.[3]

The district adjoining the Laurens Tractus was called Campus Solonius. This name seems to have been given to a very wide extent of country reaching across from Lanuvium to the Tiber. The Monti di Decima appear to have formed the boundary between it and the Laurens Tractus, and Festus mentions it as including the twelfth milestone on the Ostian road, while Cicero speaks of a farm near Lanuvium as situated "in Campo Solonio."[4] *Campus Solonius.*

The site of Ficana was fixed by Labeo, quoted in Festus, at a point where the range of hills called Monti di Decima approaches the Tiber at the eleventh milestone. The rocks overhanging the river there were called "saxa Puilia."[5] The modern name of the place is Tenuta di Dragoncello. Virgil does not mention Ficana, and it was therefore probably entirely lost in his time. Ancus Martius is said to have removed the inhabitants and settled them in the Aventine. The Latins recolonized the place, upon which Ancus again carried the inhabitants to Rome and totally destroyed it.[6] Pliny enumerates Ficana among the lost cities of Latium.[7] *Ficana.*

The same fate befell Politorium, which is coupled with Ficana by Livy and Dionysius. It is said by Cato to have been founded and to have derived its name from Polites, a son of Priam, whose son founded it.[8] The site is altogether unknown, and we can only suppose that it was not very far from Ficana.[9] *Politorium.*

[1] Strabo, v. p. 232; Muratori, Ant. Med. Æv. v. p. 835.

[2] Fea, Viaggio ad Ostia, p. 73.

[3] Livy, viii. 11. The Laurentes in Livy include Lavinium. For the history of Laurentum and Lavinium, see Zumpt's treatise De Lavinio et Laurentibus Lavinatibus: Berlin, 1845.

[4] Livy, viii. 12; Festus, p. 250; Plut. Mar. p. 425; Cic. De Div. i. 36, ii. 31.

[5] Festus, p. 250: "Puilia saxa esse ad portum qui sit secundum Tiberim ait Fabius Pictor, quem locum putat Labeo dici ubi fuerit Ficana Via Ostiensi ad lapidem undecimum."

[6] Livy, i. 33; Dionys. iii. 38.

[7] Plin. N. H. iii. 68.

[8] Serv. ad Æn. v. 564, ii. 526.

[9] Various conjectures are hazarded by Gell, who places it at La Giostra; Nibby, who thinks it lay between La Giostra and Dragoncello; and Abeken, who selects Aqua Acetosa as the site.

Tellenæ.

The inhabitants of Tellenæ suffered the same treatment at the hands of Ancus, but the city survived for a longer period. Dionysius speaks of it as still existing in his time, and Strabo also appears to intimate the same by the way in which he mentions the city. Pliny places it among the extinct cities; but he may, as in the case of Fidenæ, mean only that it was reduced to an insignificant size.[1] Nibby places Tellenæ at the hill of La Giostra, two miles from Castel di Leva, where he found some walls of tufa blocks six feet in length, arranged in a hexagonal shape. Besides these, however, he discovered no remains of a city, except a well with peperino blocks surrounding the mouth. Strabo, speaking of the Hernici, says vaguely enough that "they inhabited the district near Lavinium, Alba, and Rome, and that Aricia, Tellenæ, and Antium were not far from their frontier." The mention of Rome destroys all confidence in the accuracy of this description, otherwise it would seem to show that Tellenæ lay between Aricia and Antium.[2]

Apiolæ.

The evidence of classical writers about the site of Apiolæ is conflicting. Strabo calls it a Volscian frontier town; while Valerius Antias, as quoted by Pliny, and also Livy and Dionysius, assert that it was a Latin town.[3] From this it may be supposed that Apiolæ lay on the Volscian frontier; and Bormann would place it near Corioli. Gell selects a spot near the Osteria delle Fratocchie, on the right of the Appian road near the tenth milestone; and Nibby places it at Porte delle Streghe, on a cross road leading from the ninth milestone on the Appian road to the Via Ardeatina. The position indicated by Gell lies on the right bank of the Rivus Albanus, while that advocated by Nibby is on the left. The ruins at the site which Gell has selected are described by Dr. Reber as follows: "The town lay on a long ridge, and the course of the road as it ascends this ridge from the Appian can be traced. There are the remains of two tombs near it. On the top the foundation of a temple can be recognised, with the remains of a Doric portico, and a large enclosure with massive walls. Further on the ridge is narrower, and here the arx seems to have been placed. The ruins of a villa built of concrete lie close by, and a round tank more than six metres in diameter. The most remarkable relic, which has only lately been discovered, is a fragment of the wall of the city, built of great tufa blocks, resembling the masonry of the Servian walls."[4]

Bovillæ.

The Peutingerian Tables prove that Bovillæ lay on the Appian road. It is generally assumed that the distance is rightly given in these Tables, but a passage of Plutarch, and the distinct assertion of a scholiast on Persius, lead us to doubt this. The Tables give ten miles as the distance from Rome, while Plutarch gives twelve, and the scholiast eleven.[5] Dionysius says that Bovillæ was situated where the hill first begins to be steep, and this answers to the position of the modern Osteria delle Fratocchie. The ruins which are now generally held to be those of Bovillæ lie on the cross road called Strada di Nettuno, a little way above Fratocchie. They consist of a small theatre, built of brickwork and opus reticulatum, and a somewhat

[1] The expression Tricæ Tellenæ found in Varro, Ap. Non. i. 26, and Arnob. Adv. Gent. v. 176, alludes to some story now completely lost.

[2] Strabo, v. 4, p. 231.

[3] Livy, i. 35; Plin. N. H. iii. 9; Dionys. iii. 49.

[4] Reber, Ruinen Roms, p. 605.

[5] Plut. Cor. 29; Schol. ad Pers. vi. 55.

larger circus, the enclosure of which and the carceres are still pretty well preserved.[1] The town did not lie close to the road, as the Peutingerian Tables and the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, which mention the mutatio or post-house only, might be taken to imply. It was founded by a colony from Alba Longa, and was a flourishing place until Coriolanus destroyed it. For centuries afterwards we find but little notice taken of it. In Cicero's time it was a very insignificant village, and had it not been immortalized by the assassination of Clodius there, which led to such important results, it could hardly have excited any interest in later times.[2] The honour of being the native place of the Gens Julia gave it some artificial importance in the Imperial times. We find Tiberius erecting a sacrarium of the Julian family and a statue of Augustus there, and founding Circensian games in honour of the Gens Julia.[3] Some inscriptions found on this spot show that the town still existed in the second century A.D. It is now occupied by plots of land laid out as gardens.

Ardea does not properly come within our limits, but being so intimately connected in the ancient legends of Latium with the cities above described, its site and history must be briefly noticed. *Ardea.*

There is no difficulty in fixing the site of this ancient capital of the Rutulians, as it retains the ancient name, and the walls of the ancient city are still, though very partially, traceable. They are built in the usual style of the more ancient Latin walls, with tufa blocks of very different size roughly worked together.[4] The cliffs were scarped to render them more defensible, and a cutting was made for the approach of the ancient road. At the foot of the hill, which is about two miles in circumference, three brooks descending from the Alban hills unite and form the Rio d'Incastro, which enters the sea at a point generally supposed to be the ancient Castrum Inui. *Castrum Inui.*

The name Troja was sometimes given, as has been before mentioned, to the city and neighbourhood of Ardea; and the prædium Trojanum alluded to by Cicero probably lay near Ardea in the direction of Lanuvium.[5] Ardea became dependent on Rome after the dissolution of the Latin League, and lost its importance. In the Imperial times it is seldom mentioned; yet it seems never to have been quite deserted. The present village occupies only a small part of the ancient site, and numbers about 200 inhabitants. In the Temple of Juno Regina at Ardea were preserved, in Pliny's time, some ancient paintings by a Greek, Marcus Plautius Cleætas, which were probably executed after the colonization of the city by the Romans in 442 B.C. Abeken thinks that the style of these paintings was similar to that of the monochromatic designs found in the Etruscan tombs.[6] No traces of the Temple of Juno have been discovered.

Ostia owed its foundation to the destruction of the cities we have just been describing. It belonged to the Roman and not to the Latin dominion in Latium, and was in fact a suburb of Rome, having no separate or independent existence. *Ostia.*

The inhabitants of Ostia were Roman citizens, possessed from the first of the full rights of the Roman franchise. When Politorium, Tellenæ, and Ficana had fallen, and after

[1] See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1853, 1854; *Mon. dell' Inst.* vol. v. tav. lxx.

[2] Cic. Pro Planc. 9; Propert. iv. 1, 33.

[3] Tac. Ann. ii. 41, xv. 23; Hist. iv. 2.

[4] Abeken, p. 140.

[5] Cic. Ad Att. ix. 13, 5.

[6] Plin. N. H. xxxv. 115; Abeken, p. 323.

the great battle at Medullia, by which Ancus Marcius inflicted a stunning blow on the Latin confederacy, the Roman dominion was extended along the bank of the Tiber to the sea coast. In order to secure the command of the river, Ancus settled the colony of Ostia at its mouth, on the left bank, and established salt-pits there, from which he seems to have derived a part of his revenue.[1] After the mention of its foundation we find scarcely any notices of Ostia till the year 217 B.C., when it appears as the station of a large Roman fleet,[2] and soon afterwards as the possessor of peculiar exemptions on account of its importance to Rome.[3] It was taken and plundered by Marius, but restored by Sulla, and enjoyed the favour and patronage of all the early emperors.[4] The gradual silting up of the Tiber mouth threatened Rome in Cæsar's time with the loss of her harbour;[5] and Strabo, writing in the reign of Augustus, complains that all large ships had to remain outside the harbour and transfer their cargoes into barges in order to be conveyed up the river.[6] This became a very serious injury to the city, which obtained all its supplies of corn from Egypt and Sicily by sea, and Claudius undertook at last the enormous task of constructing a new harbour on the shore, two miles to the north of Ostia, and connecting it with the river by an artificial channel. The port of Claudius consisted not only of an excavated basin, but also of two moles running out into the sea and protected by a breakwater. Nero finished this great public work, and it was known by the name of Portus Augusti.[7] The Portus Trajani, which was added by Trajan, was an extension of the works of Claudius, by the construction of an inner basin of a hexagonal shape, and an enlargement of the canal which communicated with the Tiber. The formation of the new harbour proved, as was natural, a deadly injury to Ostia, which ceased to be the emporium of Rome. It maintained however, as a watering-place for wealthy Romans, a considerable amount of prosperity until the time of Constantine,[8] after which it gradually declined,[9] until the eighth century, when the frequent descents of the Saracens on the coast rendered it uninhabitable, and the place was entirely abandoned for a time. The Portus Trajani was an important place during the Gothic wars, when it was twice stormed by the Goths. At the end of the Gothic wars it disappears from history, and in the time of the Exarchate it was probably neglected, and the basin of Trajan became silted up. The passage for ships, however, continued to be by the canal of Claudius until the twelfth century, when it was again restored to the old channel by Ostia. Gregory IV., in 827 A.D., had built a fortress there called Gregoriopolis, and for four centuries this became again the port of Rome. The dangerous navigation caused Paul V. in 1612 to employ the celebrated architect Fontana in dredging and repairing the canal of Claudius and making a small port on the coast, now called Fiumicino, since which time the traffic has been carried on by the right hand channel, now little more than a narrow canal, in which two barges can scarcely pass each other. The ruins of the ancient city are now at least two miles from the sea shore, and the hamlet of fifty inhabitants which represents Ostia is about

[1] Cic. Rep. ii. 3, 18; Livy, i. 33; Plin. N. H. xxxi. § 89.
[2] Livy, xxii. 11.
[3] Livy, xxvii. 38.
[4] App. B. C. i. 67.
[5] Plut. Cæs. 58.
[6] Strabo, v. p. 231.
[7] Dion Cass. lx. 11; Suet. Claud. 20; Juv. xii. 75-81. See Canina, Monum. tav. clvii.
[8] See Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, 8; Aurel. 45; Tac. 10.
[9] See Rutil. Itin. 180: "Lævus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis hospitis Æneæ gloria sola manet." This was about 412 A.D. Procop. B. G. i. 26.

half a mile further inland. The course of the river has also apparently been completely changed since the time when Ostia was a flourishing city, for the old bed approaches close to the modern village, and then makes a bend at a right angle, joining the present channel near the ruins of the ancient town. This is perhaps the bend of the river to which Ovid alludes in the legend of Claudia:—

"Fluminis ad flexum veniunt, Tiberina priores
Ostia dixerunt unde sinister abit."[1]

Besides this considerable change in the channel of the river the alluvium brought down by the Tiber has formed, between Ostia and Fiumicino, a large tract of ground called Isola Sacra.[2]

The site of the old town is plainly discernible by the hillocks of rubbish with which it is covered, and the ruined brick walls which protrude here and there. On approaching from the modern village we pass between lines of tombs on each side of the road similar to those which have been excavated at Pompeii. The tombs are very closely packed together, and of different sizes and shapes. On the left hand side two sarcophagi remain, with the names of Sex. Carminius Parthenopæus Eq. and T. Flavius Verus Eq., and a terra-cotta inscription on the tomb of Flavia Cæcilia, priestess of Isis at Ostia.[3] At the end of this street of tombs the gate of the city has been laid bare, and its foundations can be easily traced, together with those of a guard-house on the left hand side, with a rude tabula lusoria marked on the pavement where the soldiers whiled away their time at some game resembling skittles. The street which is then entered passes between the ruins of private houses, without anything more remarkable about them than a few common mosaic pavements and two fountains. The principal public buildings which have been excavated are:—

I. The house of the priests of Mithras, in which a well-preserved altar still stands, with the inscription—

"C CAELIVS · HERMAEROS
ANTISTES · HVIVS · LOCI
FECIT."

II. The thermæ, consisting of a large court and several smaller side rooms for vapour baths, with mosaic pavements of various designs.[4]

III. A large rectangular brick edifice, with three windows on each side. In the interior are the remains of ornamental niches, Corinthian capitals, and a marble cornice. The walls have rivets upon them, by which it appears that they were covered with a marble casing, and the magnificent block of African marble which serves as the threshold shows that the building was of a costly description. Traces have been found of a hexastyle pronaos with a portico of grey granite columns. Whether this was a temple or not is uncertain, but it has been shown that the arrangements in the

[1] Ov. Fast. iv. 330. See Canina, Monum. tav. clviii.

[2] The Tiber is said to add twelve feet annually to the shore of the Isola Sacra.

[3] For a description of these tombs see *Monumenti dell' Inst.* vi. tav. xi.; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1857, pp. 281, 340.

[4] These baths may possibly be the lavacrum Ostiense of Antoninus Pius. See Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, cap. viii. The stamps on the bricks are said to be of the Antonine era. A plan is given in Canina's Monumenti, tav. clv.

interior are such as would agree with such a supposition. The masonry is assigned to the age of Trajan or Hadrian.[1]

IV. The ruins of a theatre, supposed by Nibby to be that mentioned in the Acta Martyrum, near which S. Quiriacus, and S. Maximus, and S. Archelaus, and a number of others, were martyred. It is built partly of yellow and red brickwork and partly of opus reticulatum, and apparently belongs to the restorations and additions made by Hadrian to the city.

V. The ruins of an extensive building on the bank of the river near Torre Bovacciano. In this place a great number of works of art were discovered by Fagan in 1797, showing the magnificent sculpture with which the building was ornamented; and several inscriptions found here, containing the names of Severus and Caracalla, are given by Nibby.[2]

Portus Trajani.

The site of the ancient Portus Trajani, on the right branch of the Tiber, is now occupied by the town of Porto, mainly consisting of the Cathedral, the Villa Pallavicini, and some farm buildings. Fiumicino, at the present mouth of the river, is two miles distant from Porto, and its site was entirely covered by the sea at the time when Claudius constructed his new port. The large marshy tract to the north of Porto marks the site of the port of Claudius. The hexagonal basin of Trajan lies between this marsh and the town of Porto.

It is not at all clear when the right arm of the Tiber, or rather the canal which now serves for communication between the sea and the Tiber proper, assumed its present shape. Inundations and occasional repairs and alterations have changed its course, and the constant retreat of the sea must have lengthened it considerably. Nibby's opinion is that, besides the large harbour, Claudius constructed an inner basin between the harbour and the old course of the river. Into this basin he cut a canal from the bend of the river near modern Ostia, and thus allowed the superfluous water of the Tiber to escape through the harbour, and at the same time gained a supply of water for his docks. The inscription found in 1837, and now placed by the roadside near the Villa Pallavicini, alludes to this canal:—"Ti. Claudius. Drusi. F. Cæsar. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Potest. VI. Cos. III. Design. IIII. Imp. XII. P.P. Fossis ductis a Tiberi operis portus caussa emissisque in mare urbem inundationis periculo liberavit." The words "operis portus caussa" seem to show that the primary object of the fossæ was to supply the port with water, and that the advantage of preventing inundations at Rome was only subordinate. Trajan probably enlarged and reconstructed the inner basin of Claudius, and surrounded it with the massive quays and warehouses, the ruins of which still remain.[3] This inner basin is referred to by Juvenal in the lines:—

> "Sed trunca puppe magister
> Interiora petit Baianæ pervia cymbæ
> Tuti stagna sinus."[4]

At the same time the canal was probably enlarged, and it is to this enlargement that Pliny alludes by the name of "fossa quam providentissimus imperator fecit."[5]

[1] See Nibby, Analisi, ii. p. 460.

[2] Ibid. p. 468.

[3] A medal of Trajan is mentioned by Nibby as representing this hexagonal port on the obverse. Analisi, ii. p. 615. See Eckhel, N. V. vi. 426.

[4] Juv. xii. 79; Schol. ad loc.

[5] Plin. Ep. viii. 17.

From the cities of the Campus Solonius we pass to those on the neighbouring slopes of the Alban hills. The nearest of these, at the extreme southern border of the Campus Solonius, was Lanuvium.[1] Livy places it on the Appian road, and in Appian's History of the Civil War the distance from Rome is given as 150 stadia. The actual station or post-house on the road was called Sublanuvium, and was at the eighteenth milestone from Rome. From this point, a little beyond the modern Genzano, a branch road leads off to the right, along a ridge of the Alban hills which projects towards the sea coast.[2] This ridge is about a mile in length, and terminates in a steep descent into the plain of the Campus Solonius. The distance of the ridge from Rome corresponds to the measurement given by Appian, and the identity of the village of Civita Lavigna with the ancient Lanuvium has been proved beyond a doubt by two inscriptions found there, now placed on the wall of the principal church. Silius describes the site in the line:—

(2.) *The cities of the Alban hills.*

Lanuvium.

> "Quos celso devexa jugo Junonia sedes
> Lanuvium misit."[3]

His expressions accurately represent the sudden dip of the hill into the plain of Latium. The ruins of the ancient town have entirely disappeared, with the exception of a small theatre, a few columns, and two sarcophagi now used as water-troughs, showing that the existence of actual ruins is not always necessary in order to identify the site of such ancient places. The present walls, with the exception of a few fragments on the western side, are not ancient, but mainly mediæval, as is also the tower, to a ring in which the modern Lanuvines assert that Æneas fastened his ship. No conclusion can be arrived at with regard to the site of the great temple of Juno Sospita, which Livy, Varro, and Cicero mention, though it was restored as late as the Antonine era.[4] The legend of the Lanuvine snake, told in Propertius and Ælian, relates to the grove of this Temple of Juno,[5] and the ager Lanuvinus seems to have been celebrated for the number of snakes found there.[6] Why Horace should connect wolves with the Lanuvine district, unless it was on account of the numerous woods in the neighbourhood, is not clear.[7]

Lanuvium is first mentioned in history as taking part in the Latin League against Rome, after the expulsion of the Tarquins. It was admitted to the rights of a municipium at an early period, and considered generally as a firm ally of Rome. Marius attacked and destroyed the city, and we hear little about it afterwards during the Imperial times, till the closing of the Temple of Juno by Theodosius completed its ruin.

[1] The name is frequently confounded in MSS. with Lavinium, and is sometimes spelt Lanivium in Inscrs.: see Casaub. Ad Capit. Ant. Pius, 1; Orell. Inscr. The modern name Civita Lavigna shows the same confusion.

[2] Livy, xxvi. 8, "Quum Hannibalem Latina via iturum satis comperisset, ipse per Appiæ municipia, quæque propter eam viam sunt, Setiam, Coram, Lanuvium, præmisit, ut commeatus paratos haberent." App. B. C. ii. 20.

[3] Sil. Punic. viii. 362.

[4] Livy, xxi. 62, xxiv. 10; Varro, L. L. v. § 162; Cic. De Div. i. 44, De Nat. Deor. i. 29; Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius, 8. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 17, mentions a very ancient Greek painting here. See above, p. 369. Klausen, Æneas, pp. 11, 58; Bormann, Altlat. Chor. S. 126.

[5] Prop. El. iv. 8; Æl. Hist. An. xi. 16.

[6] Cic. De Div. ii. 31, i. 36. See above, p. 367.

[7] Carm. iii. 27, 3. Aricia is called "nemoralis" in Mar. xiii. 19. See Ov. Fast. iii. 263.

Aricia.

Two miles nearer Rome, on the Appian road, was Aricia. Its position is fixed by the distance given in the Itineraries, and in Dionysius and Philostratus, who agree in placing Aricia fifteen miles from Rome on the Appian road.[1]

The old Appian way crossed the valley below Aricia, while the modern road winds along the top of the hills. It was upon the descent from Aricia, called by Persius Clivus Virbi, that the beggars in the time of Juvenal and Martial posted themselves;[2] for, though the slope was considerably lessened by the colossal viaduct, the ruins of which are still visible, yet carriages could not pass at a rapid pace. The arx of Aricia was on the site of the present Lariccia, and the rest of the town extended into the valley of Lariccia as Strabo says, and as may be seen by the numerous remains of buildings there.[3] The most remarkable of these is a fragment of so-called "Pelasgian" work, near the spring which bursts out at the foot of the hill. This spring is sometimes called the mouth of an emissarium, but it is most probably a natural spring brought down from a higher point in the hill by means of a tunnel. Another ruin at Aricia belongs to a temple, the cella of which is in part still used as a modern house. Like the Temple of Juno at Gabii, it was built of squared peperino blocks, and stood against the back wall of the enclosing temenos.[4] This may probably have been the Temple of Jupiter mentioned by Livy,[5] but cannot, as Gell supposes, have been the Artemisium of Strabo,[6] for Strabo distinctly says that the lake near the Artemisium was *much* smaller than the Alban lake; and a lake filling the valley of Lariccia, which Gell supposes to be meant, would not have been *much* smaller than the Alban lake.

Nemi.

Whether there ever was a town at Nemi in ancient times, or merely a temple and a consecrated grove, is not quite certain. Appian says that "Cæsar borrowed money from the temples of the Roman Capitol, and of Antium, Lanuvium, Nemus, and Tibur, in which cities there still are rich treasures."[7] Strabo, on the other hand, speaks of the Artemisium as situated in a grove and not in a city,[8] and the place is generally called Nemus Dianæ or Nemus Triviæ or Egeriæ. The words of Ovid, "Unde Nemus nullis illud aditur equis," seem also to show that Nemus was only a sacred grove, and not a town;[9] and, since the word is never used as a proper name but always as an appellative, we must, I think, conclude that there was no city connected with the famous Dianium.

Dianium.

After describing the district on the right hand of the Appian road, Strabo passes to the left hand side of the road and continues:—"The Temple of Artemis which they call Nemus is on the left side of the road which ascends from Aricia (towards Lanuvium). The temple lies in a wood, and in front of it is a large lake; and both this and the temple lying in a hollow are enclosed by an

[1] Strabo, v. 239, gives 160 stadia as the distance of Aricia from Rome, but there must be some mistake in the text there.

[2] Pers. vi. 56; Juv. Sat. iv. 117; Mart. ii. 19, x. 68, xii. 32; Virgil, Æn. vii. 761; Westphal, Kamp. p. 28.

[3] Strabo, loc. cit.

[4] *Annali dell' Inst.* 1839; *Mon. ed Ann.* 1854, pp. iii. 106.

[5] Livy, xxiv. 44.

[6] Gell, p. 105. Nibby thinks that this temple was a smaller one built on the model of the great Dianium. See Vitruv. iv. 7.

[7] App. B. C. v. 24.

[8] Strabo, loc. cit.

[9] Fast. iii. 266. Cf. Virg. Æn. vii. 778.

unbroken circular ridge of steep rocks."[1] There can be little doubt that this passage of Strabo points to the shore of the lake as the site of the Artemisium; but whether the temple was immediately under Genzano or at the present village of Nemi is difficult to decide. Cav. Rosa, who examined the neighbourhood of Nemi and Genzano with a special view to the solution of the question of this site, has given a careful account both of the ruins under Genzano and those to the west of Nemi. The former he pronounces undoubtedly to have belonged to a villa, the latter he thinks belonged to a temple with a large court in front, and to an ancient road leading to it from the western side of the lake. These ruins are just above the lower road leading from the Capuccini convent at Genzano to Nemi, at the point where a cross road leads to the left, and joins the higher road to Nemi not far from the place called Le Mole.[2]

Virgil's expressions certainly would lead us to place the Dianium on the edge of the lake :—

> " Eductum Egeriæ lucis humentia circum
> Litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ."

The town of Albano occupies the site of the Imperial villa called Albanum Cæsaris, and will therefore be described among the ancient villas of the Campagna.[3]

Alba Longa.

It is connected with the ancient Alba Longa by name only. The early destruction of that city so famous in Roman legendary lore has completely deprived us of the means of tracing its site by the discovery of any remains of the walls or buildings which it contained. It was razed to the ground by Tullus Hostilius in B.C. 667 and never rebuilt.[4] Dionysius thus describes the site :—" The city was built close to the mountain and lake, upon a site between the two. They serve as defences to it, and make it almost impregnable, for the mountain is very steep and lofty and the lake deep and wide." Livy says that the city was named " Longa " because it extended along a ridge of the Alban hills.[5] The words of Dionysius seem to imply that Alba stood immediately between Monte Cavo and the lake, near the site of the Convent of Palazzolo, and Cav. Rosa, the highest modern authority on the topography of the Campagna, who has made the neighbourhood of Albano and Nemi the subject of special study, holds this opinion. Nibby thought that the whole edge of the crater from Palazzolo nearly to Marino, a distance of more than two miles, was occupied by the city of Alba.[6] Sir William Gell discovered an ancient road running along the edge of the crater above Monte Cuccù, and a few blocks of stone on the top of the precipice bordering the lake further eastwards, which he thinks must have belonged to the gate of Alba. He ascertained, he says, " that a long pointed extremity of the city had extended over a remarkable knoll further to the north.

[1] Bormann translates this passage, " a ridge which separates the temple from the lake," which seems to me to be a sense the words will not bear. He thinks that the ὑψηλὴ ὄφρυς is the lower ridge on which Nemi stands.

[2] *Monumenti ed Annali dell' Inst.* 1856, p. 5, tav. ii. Genzano is of mediæval origin. Ratti in his history of Genzano says : " Genzano è un castello o piutosto una ragguardevole terra di moderna data, la di cui prima origine non sale più indietro del secolo xiii." Bormann, p. 140, note 303.

[3] Castel Gandolfo is o mediæval origin.

[4] Livy, i. 27. [5] Dionys. i. 66 ; Livy, i. 3.

[6] Nibby, Analisi, vol. i. p. 63.

The buildings of the town stretched along the lip of the crater for more than a mile, and being founded on a precipice of grey rocks, the place in all probability obtained its name Alba from this circumstance, though the white sow has been given by some authors as the origin of the name." The knoll on the north, or left of the gate, on which Gell supposes that the citadel of Alba stood, may be approached, he says, from the old post road between Marino and Palazzolo, along what may now be termed the isthmus connecting the ridge above described with Monte Albano. "It is surrounded by a barrier of loose and rough modern walls, but nothing ancient is visible. The rock on the summit is perfectly bare, and is of so perishable a nature that it is not surprising that almost every vestige of antiquity has disappeared."[1]

Alban Mount.

The triumphal route by which the processions from Rome ascended the Alban Mount diverged from the Appian road at the ninth milestone.[2] It probably passed by Marino to Palazzolo, and thence ascended to the summit by a series of zigzags. The stones which mark its course have the letters N V (Numinis Via) cut upon them. On the summit stood the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, the ancient sanctuary of the Latin League. The sole remains of this famous building are now built into the wall of the water-tank of the Convent of Palazzolo. They consist of two fragments only, a part of a cornice and a broken column, and convey no information as to the size or style of the temple.

Most of the stones employed by Cardinal York, in 1783, in the erection of the Convent of Palazzolo and the Church of the Trinity, which now occupies the site of the temple, were taken from the ruins; but nothing can be learnt from them regarding the ancient buildings.[3] The summit of the hill is not broad enough to have supported any large building; and we may therefore conclude that the temple was of small size, and that the great festival games at the Feriæ Latinæ were held in the Campo d'Annibale.

Fabia.

The name Rocca di Papa, which now belongs to the little town occupying so conspicuous a situation on the side of Monte Cavo over the Campo d'Annibale, has been ingeniously connected by Nibby with the Fabienses whom Pliny mentions as living on the Alban Mount.[4] Fabia, he thinks, has been corrupted into Fapia, and then, in consequence of the residence of the Antipope John there in A.D. 1190, the name became changed into Rocca di Papa.[5]

Castrimonium.

In Pliny's enumeration of the colonies in Latium we find the Castrimonienses mentioned, with the Fabienses; and the author of the treatise De Coloniis, commonly ascribed to Frontinus, speaks of Castrimonium as a town fortified by Sulla, and states that the territory belonging to it was in Nero's time assigned to some military officers and soldiers.[6] The existence of such a town is further confirmed by two inscriptions, which show that it was a municipium, with a mayor and common

[1] Gell, p. 18.

[2] Sometimes the hill is called simply Alba. Lucan, Phars. iii. 87: "Quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam." Plut. Cæs. 60: "Καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἄλβης Καίσαρος." The triumphal road was cleared of rubbish in the seventeenth century, and Pope Alexander VII. ascended it in his carriage.

[3] The inscriptions on some of these stones are not ancient, but merely the freaks of modern stonemasons.

[4] Pliny, N. H. iii. 5, § 64; Nibby, Anal. iii. p. 19; Gell, p. 373; Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 63.

[5] Pliny, loc. cit.; Frontin. De Col. p. 85.

council, down to the time of Antoninus Pius.[1] These inscriptions were found at Marino;[2] and as the site of Marino, which stands upon a prominent spur of the Alban hills, agrees with the usual position of ancient Latin towns, there can be little doubt that Marino occupies the site of the ancient Castrimonium.

Aqua Ferentina.

Between the ridge on which Marino stands and the edge of the Lago d'Albano a lonely wooded valley intervenes, called Parco di Colonna, with a spring rising at its head, and forming a small brook, which issues into the Campagna and joins the stream called Marrana dei Orti. The picturesque and solemn character of this wooded valley and stream, and their position under the Alban Mount, have given rise to the conjecture that here were the "caput aquæ Ferentinæ" and the Lucus Ferentinæ well known to the readers of Livy and Dionysius as the meeting-place of the Latin League after the destruction of Alba,[3] and the spot where Turnus Herdonius was drowned.[4] There is, however, no further evidence than the above-quoted passage of Dionysius to show that the Parco di Colonna is the site of the Lucus Ferentinæ, and therefore it must be considered as extremely doubtful whether Nibby's conjecture is correct. There are several springs in the valley, one of which rises at the rock immediately under the town of Marino, and another higher up the valley towards Rocca di Papa. Gell considers that the higher fountain was the original Aqua Ferentina, where Herdonius was drowned by having a hurdle with heavy stones placed over him.[5]

Tusculum.

Since the excavations carried out by Lucien Bonaparte at the beginning of this century, there has been no doubt left as to the site of the ancient city of Tusculum. Its ruins lie from about a mile and a half to two miles above Frascati, upon the ridge which has been previously described as forming the edge of the most ancient crater of the Alban hills. Between this ridge, which bore the name of Tusculani colles, and the hills upon which Marino and Rocca di Papa stand, the great Latin road ran along the valley called Vallis Albana. Tusculum stands just over this road, and was approached from it by a steep path ascending the northern side of the valley.[6] The main road (Via Tusculana) entered the city on the other side from the direction of Frascati and Rufinella, leaving the Via Latina at the tenth milestone between Morena and Ciampino. The ancient pavement of this road can be clearly traced on the slope of the hill above Frascati, and it leads us along the top of the hill, through what has plainly been the main street of the town, to the citadel which stood at the eastern extremity.

Citadel.

The site of the citadel is a platform nearly square, and 2,700 feet in circuit, standing about two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding parts of the hill. Its walls were completely demolished by the Romans in 1172, and not a vestige of them is left. Sir William Gell thought, however, that he could

[1] Gruter, p. 397, 3; Fabretti, p. 688.

[2] The name Marino is mediæval. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the district between the Appian and Latin roads near the Alban hills was called Moreni. Nibby, Anal. ii. p. 316.

[3] Cincius ap. Festum, p. 241; Müller: "Alba deinde diruta usque ad P. Decium Murem cos. populos Latinos ad caput Ferentinæ quod est sub Monte Albano consulere solitos."

[4] Dionys. iii. 34, iv. 45; Livy, i. 50, 52, ii. 38, vii. 25.

[5] Above, p. 358.

[6] See Gell, p. 426.

discover the traces of four ancient gates, one towards the town on the west, another on the side of the Alban valley, a third on the eastern side, and, not far from this last, a postern communicating with a steep and rocky path which descended to the Alban valley.[1] Most of the ruins now visible belong to the mediæval fortress of the Dukes of Tusculum, and a few only of the quadrilateral blocks of the ancient enclosure are visible.

In the Æquian and Volscian wars this citadel must have played an important part. We find it seized by the Æquians in B.C. 457, and only recovered after a siege of some months by the starvation of the garrison.[2] Again, in 374 B.C., when the Tusculan citizens had taken refuge in it, they could not be dislodged by the Latin army, who were in possession of the town.[3] The citadel must, therefore, have been a fortress of considerable strength from very early times. Dionysius describes it as a very strong position, requiring but a small garrison to hold it, and adds that the whole country as far as the gates of Rome is plainly visible from it, so that the defenders could see the Roman forces issuing from the Porta Latina.[4]

City.

The city itself lay on the ridge of the hill westwards from the citadel. The area which it occupied is an oblong strip of ground about 3,000 feet long, and from 500 to 1,000 feet in width. On the north and south sides the limits of the city are clearly marked by the edges of the hill, but on the west they are not so easily defined. Nibby thought that the wall of the city on this side stood near the place where two ancient roads diverge, at about 750 feet to the east of the amphitheatre, and that the principal gate at which the road from Rome entered was a little to the east of this spot. If we accept this conclusion, the circumference of the oppidum, exclusive of the arx, must have been about a mile, and its shape approximately triangular.[5]

Theatre.

With the addition of the citadel, the whole circuit may have been a mile and a half in extent.[6] At the foot of the descent from the citadel are the ruins of a large water-tank of an oblong shape, divided into four compartments by three rows of piers; and immediately under this tank is a small theatre, built of peperino, which was excavated by the dowager Queen of Sardinia, Maria Christina, in 1839 and 1840. This, with the exception of the Pompeian theatres, is the most perfectly preserved in Italy. The walls of the scena are unfortunately destroyed, but the ground-plan of it can still be traced. The stage, which abuts closely on the westward side of the semicircular cavea, is 110 feet in length, and 20 feet in depth. It has the three usual entrances from the back, and one at each end. These open into a corridor, and communicate with two chambers, probably used as dressing-rooms by the actors. Nearly the whole of the fifteen rows of seats in the lower præcinctio are still preserved unbroken, but the upper part, which contained, to judge by the height of the outer walls still remaining, about nine rows of seats, is entirely destroyed.

[1] Gell, p. 429; Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 326.

[2] Livy, iii. 23. See also iii. 7, 18, 29, 31, 41, 42, 60, 61; iv. 45.

[3] Ibid. vi. 33.

[4] Dionys. x. 20.

[5] Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 327.

[6] Prof. Reber thinks with some probability that the city is too small as thus limited, and he would include in it also a part of the northern side of the hill. (Ruinen Roms, p. 576.)

The curved walls on the northern side of the theatre were supposed by Nibby to have belonged to another theatre, but are now generally believed to have been part of a fountain connected with the above-mentioned reservoir. Along the northern side of the reservoir are two parallel walls, which apparently enclosed the street leading to the citadel. The roadway must have been here carried by an arched corridor under the side of the theatre. Near the ancient road from the theatre westwards is a mass of ruins, the plan of which cannot be determined, and beyond these, not far from the point where the road divides, and on its right hand branch, is one of the gates of the city, marked by two fragments of ancient fluted columns, which perhaps formed a part of its architecture. Near this are the remains of the ancient north wall of the city, consisting of blocks of peperino of great size, more or less regularly laid, and restored here and there in reticulated work, partly of the later Republic, and partly of more modern times. The pavement of the street is here perfectly preserved, and near the gateway there is a wide space left, probably as a turning-place for carts or carriages.

Other Ruins.

Gate and Walls.

In the wall near this point is a stone doorway leading into a piscina, with a pointed roof formed by overlapping stones on the same principle as the roof of the Mamertine prison at Rome, the gate of Arpinum,[1] and the treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenos. The doorway is about ten feet high and five wide, and the piscina of the same dimensions. In the interior are three basins for water, and at the back an aqueduct enters, by means of which the water was supplied. At the side of this piscina there is a small ancient fountain under the wall, which was supplied from the piscina by a leaden pipe. An inscription on the fountain records that it was made by the Ædiles Quintus Cœlius Latinus, son of Quintus, and Marcus Decumo, by command of the Senate of Tusculum.[2]

Piscina.

Not far from the fountain the fifteenth milestone from Rome was found.[3]

On the road to Frascati, near the point where the two roads meet, and the western gate of the city is supposed to have stood, the remains of an amphitheatre can be discovered. The seats are entirely destroyed, and it is only by the oval shape and by the position of the substructions that the ruins can be recognised as those of an amphitheatre. A round tomb stands a little above the amphitheatre, and further on the ruins of a large villa, called Scuola di Cicerone, cover the side of the hill towards the Alban valley.[4]

Amphitheatre.

The legend which ascribes the foundation of Tusculum to Telegonus, the son of Circe and Ulysses, is familiar to all readers of the Latin poets.[5] It is remarkable, however, that Virgil, who mentions most of the towns of Latium, has entirely omitted to notice Tusculum. This may be mere accident, or it may be attributable to a grudge similar

[1] See chap. vi. p. 81.

[2] Q. Cœl. Q. F. Latin. M. Decumo Æd. de S. S.

[3] Dionys., x. 20, gives the distance from Rome as not less than 100 stadia. He is only giving a rough estimate, since fifteen and a half Roman miles are equivalent to 120 stadia.

[4] See below, p. 407.

[5] "Factaque Telegoni mœnia celsa manu;" Ov. Fast. iii. 91. "Circæo Tuscula dorso mœnia;" Sil. Ital. vii. 692. "Telegoni pulsatos ariete muros;" ib. xii. 535. "Vitreæ juga perfida Circes Dulichiis ululata lupis;" Stat. Silv. i. 3, 83. Propert. (iii. 30) ii. 32, 4. "Telegoni juga parricidæ," Hor. Od. iii. 29, 8; Ep. i. 30. The great family of the Mamilii were descended, according to the legend, from Telegonus. Festus, p. 131.

to that which led him, according to Aulus Gellius, to omit Nola from the lines in the Georgics celebrating the fertility of Campania;[1] but it certainly cannot be due to the fear of making an anachronism, as Nibby supposes. In the times of the Latin League, from the fall of Alba to the battle of the Lake Regillus, Tusculum was the most prominent town in Latium. It suffered, like the other towns in Latium, a complete eclipse during the later Republic and the Imperial times; but in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, under the Counts of Tusculum, it became again a place of great importance and power, no less than seven popes of the house of Tusculum having sat in the chair of St. Peter. The final destruction of the city is placed by Nibby, following the account given in the records of the Podestà of Reggio, in 1191, on the 1st of April, in which year the city was given up to the Romans by the Emperor Henry VI., and, after the withdrawal of the German garrison, was sacked and razed to the ground. Those of the inhabitants who escaped collected round the Church of S. Sebastian, at the foot of the hill, in the district called Frascati,[2] whence the town of Frascati took its origin and name. They founded their new town upon the remains of an ancient villa, which stood near the round tomb still remaining on the road to the Villa della Rufinella. The name of Lucullus has been attached to this villa and tomb, from the statement of Plutarch that Lucullus was buried by his brother at his Tusculan villa.[3] It is, however, much more probable that the larger round tomb in the Vigna Angelotti, on the road towards Rome, was the burial-place of Lucullus.

Corbio.

The extreme eastern point of the Tusculan hills is now occupied by the modern village of Rocca Priora. It is evident, from the quantity of fragments of granite and marble columns, and the slabs of peperino which are embedded in the walls of the houses, that there was at least a villa here in the later Republican age, and probably a town in the earlier times of Latium. From its position on the road between Pedum (Gallicano) and Corioli (Monte Giove), Rocca Priora has been fixed upon by Nibby as the site of the ancient town of Corbio, a place of strength, taken and retaken often during the earlier times of the Republic in the Æquian, Volscian, and Latin wars.[4] In the grand effort made by the Latin confederates to replace Tarquinius on the throne of Rome, their first effort was directed to making themselves masters of the strong fort of Corbio, whence they expelled the Roman garrison, and then ravaged the Roman territory on both sides of the place. Now, as it appears that in this war, terminated by the battle of the Lake Regillus, the Latins did not extend their operations beyond the Tusculan territory, Rocca Priora is almost the only spot we can find which answers to the description of Dionysius,[5] whence marauding excursions could be made into Roman territory on both sides, into the Alban valley on the south and the district of Gabii on the north.

The most conspicuous outlying hill on the border of the Tusculan district is that of La Colonna, about three miles below Rocca Priora. It stands apart from the Tusculan

[1] Aul. Gell. N. A. vi. (vii.) 20. The line, "Talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesevo Nola jugo," was altered, it is said, into "Ora jugo." Georg. ii. 224.

[2] Anastast. Bibl. ed. Mog. 1602, p. 267.

[3] Plutarch, Vit. Lucull. 43.

[4] Livy, ii. 39, iii. 28, 30; Dionys. vii. 19, x. 24.

[5] Dionys. vi. 3.

range, and is easily seen from Rome. From Strabo's description of the site of Labicum, there can be but little doubt that this hill must be considered as the place to which he refers in his account of the Via Labicana. "That road," he says, "begins at the Esquiline gate, at which the Prænestine road also quits the city, and leaving both this latter and the Esquiline plain on the left, proceeds for more than a hundred and twenty stadia (fifteen and a half Roman miles) till it reaches Labicum, an old dismantled city, lying on a mount. The road leaves that place and Tusculum on the right, and ends at the station called Ad Pictas, where it joins the Latin road."[1]

(3.) *The neighbourhood of Prænestе and the left bank of the Anio.* *Labicum.*

It is quite clear from this passage of Strabo that the distance of Labicum from Rome was a little more than fifteen miles, that the road did not pass through it, but near it, that the town stood on a hill, not far from Tusculum, on the right hand of the road, and before the road reached the station Ad Pictas, where it joined the Latin road. We know from the Antonine Itinerarium and the Tabula Peutingeriana that this station was twenty-five miles from Rome. All these circumstances point distinctly to La Colonna as the site of Labicum, and show that Cluverius and Kircher, who placed it at Zagarolo, were mistaken in their opinion.[2] There are no ancient ruins on the spot. In Strabo's time it was apparently ruined and deserted,[3] and at an earlier date Cicero says that it was difficult to find any inhabitant to represent Labicum at the Feriæ Latinæ. It seems possible, therefore, that it suffered severely in the civil war of Sylla and Marius, and did not recover itself until the establishment of an imperial villa there gave it some importance. In common with Corbio and Gabii, this city was a place of great importance in the Æquian and Volscian wars of the third and fourth centuries of the city.[4]

Gabii was situated on the edge of the lake called Lago di Pantano, in the district of Castiglione. Numerous traces of the ancient city are still visible. It occupied a long strip of ground extending from the sepulchral mound, on the right of the road near the emissarium of the lake, to the tower of Castiglione. Nibby thinks that this tower stands on the spot formerly occupied by the citadel of Gabii, originally a stronghold founded, according to the legend, by a colony from Alba.[5] In the year 1792 extensive excavations were made on the site by Prince Marcantonio Borghese, at the suggestion of Mr. Hamilton, a Scotch painter, and a quantity of sculptures and inscriptions now in the Louvre at Paris were discovered.[6] The principal ruins now remaining are those of the cella of a temple built of the famous lapis Gabinus, and some steps in a semicircular form, probably the remains of a theatre. The temple is generally supposed to have been that of Juno alluded to by Virgil.[7]

Gabii.

The form of this temple was almost identical with that at Aricia. The interior of the

[1] Strabo, v. p. 237.

[2] The name is written Labicum in Strabo; Labici in Livy, ii. 39, and Virgil, Æn. vii. 796; Labicani in an Inscr. quoted by Fabretti, De Aquæd. Romæ, 1680, p. 183. See Itin. Ant. ed. Wess. p. 304.

[3] Strabo, loc. cit.; Cicero, Pro Planc. chap. 9; Suet. Jul. 83.

[4] Livy, ii. 39, iii. 25, iv. 45, vi. 21. Dionys., viii. 19, calls Labicum a colony of Alba. Virgil, in the line "Et Sacranæ acies et picti scuta Labici," places it by a prolepsis among the allies of Latinus.

[5] Serv. ad Virg. Æn. vi. 773. Gabii was, according to Dionys. iv. 53, ten stadia = 12½ miles from Rome. So also Strabo, v. p. 238, places it half-way between Rome and Præneste.

[6] See Visconti, Monumenti Gabini, ed. Labus: Milan, 1835.

[7] "Quique arva Gabinæ Junonis . . . colunt." Æn. vii. 682.

cella was twenty-seven feet wide and forty-five feet long. It had columns of the Doric order in front and at the sides, but none at the back. The walls of the posticum were here, as at Aricia, prolonged on each side so as to close the side porticoes at the back. The surrounding area was about fifty-four feet at the sides, but in front a space of only eight feet was left open, in consequence of the position of the theatre, which abutted closely upon the temple. On the eastern side of the cella are traces of the rooms in which the priests in charge of the temple lived.

The shape of the Forum can only partially be made out. From the plan published in the Monumenti Gabino-Borghesiani it appears that it was a rectangular, quadrilateral space traversed by the Via Prænestina at the southern end, and that it was surrounded with a portico of Doric columns, except at the end along which the Via Prænestina was carried. It was believed at the time when the excavations were made that the Curia and Augusteum could be distinguished among the surrounding buildings, but this seems very doubtful. In the centre stood the statue of Titus Flavius Ælianus, the patronus of the municipium. The pedestal of this statue with its inscription was found *in situ* in 1792.[1]

"The stone of Gabii, quarried near the lake, and the product of its extinct volcano, is used in many of the Roman buildings, and especially in the tabularium at the head of the Forum Romanum. It is a hard species of peperino, of a brownish grey colour, which, when exposed to the air, becomes paler than the common peperino of Albano. It resists the action of fire, and is a compound of volcanic ashes mixed with small fragments of black, brown, and reddish lava, amphigene, and pirossene, scales of mica, and bits of Apennine limestone."[2]

The city of Gabii lost its independence soon after the beginning of the Republican era of Rome. It was restored as a colony of veterans by Sylla, but sank into obscurity, and became almost proverbial for its desolate condition in the Augustan era.[3] It afterwards recovered its prosperity in some degree by means of the celebrity of its cold baths,[4] and in the time of Hadrian was patronized by the Emperor, who built an aqueduct and a Curia Ælia there. The inscriptions found on this spot belong chiefly to the Antonine era, and the busts of Severus and Geta show that in the first part of the third century Gabii was still a flourishing municipium.[5]

Præneste.

By far the most important place on the Æquian frontier was the strong fortress-town of Præneste, which commands the passage from Latium into the valley of the Sacco. Præneste is placed on one of the projecting spurs of the mountainous district which intervenes between the Anio and the Sacco. Standing, as the city does, more than 2,100 feet above the sea-level, it forms a very conspicuous object in the view from the hills of Rome.[6]

[1] See Visconti, op. cit.

[2] Nibby, Analisi, vol. ii. p. 87.

[3] Hor. Ep. i. 11, 7. "Gabiis desertior;" Propert. v. (iv.) 1, 34. "Et qui nunc nulli maxima turba Gabi;" Lucan, Phars. vii. 393, 407.

[4] Hor. Ep. i. 15, 9; Juv. Sat. vii. 3.

[5] The "cinctus Gabinus" is defined and its origin explained by Serv. ad Æn. vii. 612.

[6] The name Præneste is derived by Plutarch, Par. xli, and Serv. ad Æn. vii. 678, from πρῖνοι, by Festus from "præstare montibus," and by Solinus from the mythical hero Prænestus, a son of Ulysses and Circe. Virgil makes Cæculus the founder, Æn. vii. 681. Strabo, v. p. 238, gives Πολυστέφανος as the ancient name of Præneste. The modern name Palestrina is a corruption of civitas Prænestina.

The first historical notice we have of Præneste is in the war between the Latins and the Romans, which was fought in support of the claims of Tarquinius, when the Prænestines sided with the Latin League. At the battle near the Lake Regillus, however, they separated themselves from the Latin League and joined the Roman cause. In the Volscian wars, the invasion of Pyrrhus, and the Hannibalian campaigns, Præneste played an important part.[1] But the most remarkable event in the history of this city is the siege and capture of the Arx Prænestina by the Syllan troops in the Civil War, when the younger Marius, after vainly seeking to hide himself in the cuniculi or secret passages with which the rock under the city was honeycombed, was compelled to kill himself. The victorious Sylla, in revenge for their obstinate resistance, massacred the whole of the inhabitants in cold blood.[2]

"Vidit Fortuna colonos
Prænestina suos cunctos simul ense recisos
Unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis." [3]

The famous Temple of Fortune, the glory of Præneste, was afterwards magnificently restored by Sylla,[4] who also rebuilt the town, and placed a colony of veterans there. In the Augustan age, Præneste was a favourite resort of the Emperor and the court on account of its healthy situation,[5] and Tiberius raised the town from the rank of a colonia to that of a municipium, in recognition of the benefit to his health derived from the Prænestine air. Horace ranks it with Tibur and Baiæ, as a favourite country residence, and praises the cool temperature, caused by the height at which the city stands above the plain of Latium.[6] One of Hadrian's numerous villas was built there, a record of which is still preserved in the name of the little church, S. Maria della Villa, near the modern town.[7] For a long period the Prænestinæ sortes made the great Temple of Fortuna Primigenia famous throughout Italy, and the town derived most of its celebrity and wealth from the concourse of persons who came to consult the oracle.[8] A great blow was given to its prosperity by the decrees of Constantine and Theodosius, who forbade under strict penalties the consultation of the Prænestinæ sortes and closed the doors of the Temple of Fortune. Two fearful disasters completed the ruin of Præneste in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1297 the Colonna family, then lords of Præneste, rose in arms against Pope Boniface VIII. Their city after an obstinate defence was taken in the following year, and razed to the ground by the Pope's orders.[9] The quarrels between the Colonnas and the Pope again broke out after the death of Martin V. in 1431, and six years afterwards the city was again utterly demolished by Cardinal Vitelleschi, General-in-chief of the Papal army. Notice to quit was given to the inhabitants,

[1] Dionys. v. 61; Livy, ii. 19, iii. 8, vi. 22, vii. 12; xxiii. 17. Florus, i. 18.

[2] Strabo, v. p. 329; Livy, Epit. lxxxviii.; Plutarch, Syll. 30; App. B. C. i. 94.

[3] Lucan, Phars. ii. 193.

[4] Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 44.

[5] Suet. Aug. 72.

[6] Gell. xvi. 13; Juv. iii. 190. Hor. Od. iii. 4, 23: "Seu mihi frigidum Præneste, seu Tibur supinum, seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ;" Ep. i. 2, 2, "Trojani belli scriptorem Præneste relegi."

[7] Hist. Aug. Mar. Aur. 21. See Nibby, Anal. vol. ii. p. 514.

[8] Suet. Tib. 63, Dom. 15; Cic. De Div. ii. 41; Hist. Aug. Al. Sev. chap. 4.

[9] Petrini, Memorie Prænestini, p. 419, quoted by Nibby, Anal. ii. 487; Rer. It. Scrip. tom. ix. 970.

and then the work of destruction was carried on with fire and mattock for forty days. Not even the Cathedral was spared; Vitelleschi carried away its bell and doors and relics to his own cathedral at Corneto. In the following year, 1438, the citadel was also destroyed and levelled with the floor of the principal court contained in it. For ten years it lay absolutely deserted, but was then rebuilt and fortified by Stefano Colonna in 1448. The place passed by purchase into the possession of the Barberini family in 1630.[1]

After such a history we can only wonder that it has been found possible to restore the ancient plan of the city with such tolerable accuracy as has been done by Nibby and other archæologists. The modern town, an agglomeration of filthy narrow alleys, occupies little more than the space on which stood the great Temple of Fortune and its approaches. At nearly a mile's distance from the temple, on the summit of the hill, stood the citadel, united with the town by two long walls of polygonal masonry, traces of which are still to be seen, though they do not rise to any height above the ground. The site of the citadel is now occupied by a wretched little suburb, called Borgo di S. Pietro, and by a ruined mediæval castle of the Colonnas, built in the style called "opera Saracenesca." On the side towards the town the citadel walls are still easily traced, and present admirable examples of polygonal structure, rising in some places to a considerable height. On the other side, where the steepness of the hill made artificial defences less necessary, the walls have almost disappeared.

Citadel.

The original fortifications of the city may be followed from the Porta del Sole, where the ancient polygonal masonry is still visible, in a direct line to the summit of the citadel. "In this part of the walls are some towers of opus incertum, standing between the Porta delle Monache and the Porta Portella. Near the latter gate the polygonal wall is about fifteen feet in height, and on one great block may be read, in very ancient letters, the words, P E D. XXX. After passing round the summit of the hill of S. Pietro, the wall descends to the Porta S. Martino, where it was strengthened at the time of the Punic wars with additions of quadrilateral structure, and where an ancient gate, now closed, may be seen. From this point the wall proceeds in a nearly straight line along the upper garden of the Barberini palace and the Via de' S. Girolamo towards the Porta del Sole. This circuit of about three miles in length was intersected at different points by at least three other lines of fortifications above the Contrada della Cortina, and hence perhaps the city bore the name Πολυστέφανος given to it by Strabo, forming as it were four separate enclosures, besides the various terraces of the great temple, which could almost be regarded as so many divisions of the town."[2]

The original foundation of the Temple of Fortune Primigenia[3] at Præneste is lost in obscurity; but the ancient polygonal substructions which support it show that it was a very large temple in early times. Cicero, in his description of the Prænestinæ sortes, speaks of it as a splendid and ancient temple; and Valerius Maximus mentions it as the most celebrated oracle of Latium at the end of the first Punic war.[4]

Temple of Fortune.

[1] Nibby, Analisi, ii. p. 494.
[2] Ibid. p. 496.
[3] See *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1857, p. 70.
[4] Cic. De Div. ii. 41. "Fani pulcritudo et vetustas," Val. Max. i. 4. See the annexed plan.

PLAN OF

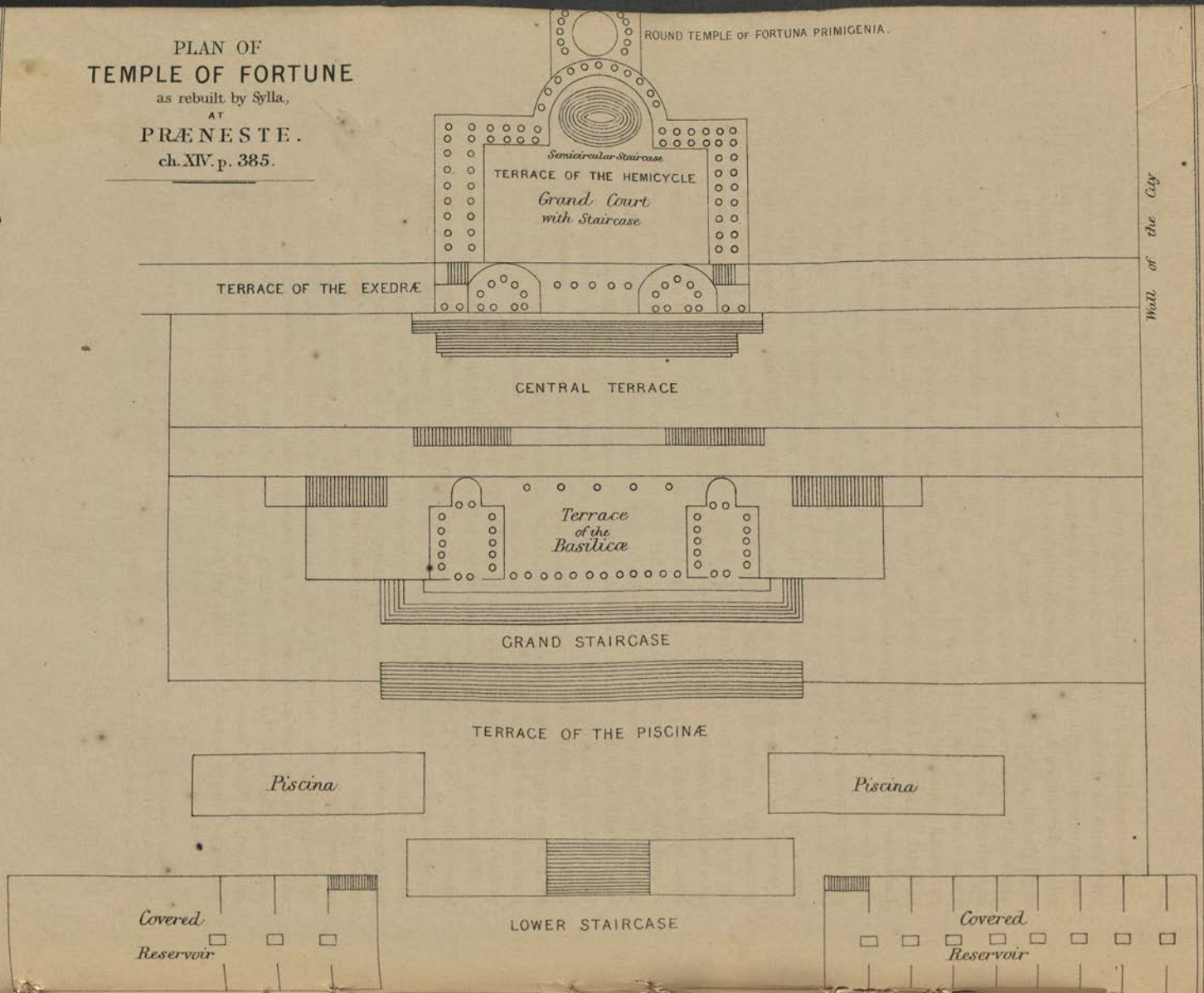
TEMPLE OF FORTUNE

as rebuilt by Sylla,

AT

PRÆNESTE.

ch. XIV. p. 385.



The original extent of the temple appears to have included only that part of the lower town which lies between the modern streets of the Corso and the Borgo, and the ancient city surrounded it, principally lying on the side towards the citadel. But after Sylla had rebuilt the temple, its true precincts reached as far downwards as the modern Contrada degli Arconi, and upwards to the Contrada Scacciato, behind the baronial palace. The whole of this space was filled with a gradually ascending series of flights of marble stairs and terraces, arranged in a pyramidal form, at the summit of which stood the tholus, or round temple of the goddess, 450 feet above the lowest terrace. The base of this pyramidal approach was 1275 feet broad, and the upper terraces gradually diminished in width. The temple faced south, like those of Diana at Aricia, of Juno at Gabii and Lanuvium, and of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. The modes of construction found in the ruins are referred by Nibby to four different epochs:—the polyhedral stonework of the primitive temple, which was incorporated in the buildings of the new; the squared stonework of the time of the Punic wars;[1] the structures composed of smaller polygonal stones, erected by Sylla;[2] and the brickwork of the Imperial times. There were five principal terraces or platforms rising one above the other.[3] Nibby calls these the terrace of the piscinæ, the terrace of the halls, the central terrace, the terrace of the exedræ, and the terrace of the hemicycle. In front of the lowest terrace there was a large open space, on which the boundary of the sacred precincts was marked out by cippi, some of which have been found on the spot. This open area was on the right of the Contrada degli Arconi, which takes its name from the arches still remaining. The sides of the area were bounded by two immense reservoirs. One of these is still entirely preserved, but the other is filled with rubbish. On the side towards the hill were twenty-nine arches, the central five of which projected, forming a kind of portico, with fountains in niches, while the other twenty-four completed the sides towards the reservoirs. The style of these arches seems to indicate that they were built by Sylla, as an addition to the older temple precincts. One arch on the left hand, and all the twelve on the right, still remain intact. They were probably used as rooms for slaves employed in the temple.

The two reservoirs, as may be seen by the brickwork of which they consist, were added after Sylla's time. They served to collect and keep the water which flowed from the fountains and piscinæ of the upper terraces, and to distribute it to those parts of the city which lay below the temple. The western reservoir, which can still be seen, is one of the most remarkable of such edifices now extant. It is 320 feet in length and 100 in depth, and is divided internally into ten compartments, in the same manner as the Sette Sale at Rome, each communicating with the next to it by three apertures, and each lighted by two openings in the roof covered with circular well-mouths of stone. The interior walls of this reservoir are covered with the finest cement. On the exterior, to the south and west, the walls are decorated with niches, one of which, with a square head, was intended, as Nibby supposes, to contain the inscription, stating the names and titles of the builder of the reservoir. The style of the brickwork, which is similar to that of the

[1] Opus quadratum. See Introduction.
[2] Opus incertum. Vitruv. ii. 8.
[3] Strictly speaking, there were, according to Nibby's restorations, twelve terraces. See Thon and Nibby's Tempio di Fortuna Prenestina, p. 7.

prætorian camp at Rome, and the fact that an inscription dated A.D. 18, when Tiberius was Consul designate for the third time, has been found on the spot, seem to point to Tiberius as the builder.[1] On the western side there are no niches, but a doorway, with a stair leading down to the bottom of the reservoir, and ornamented with two brick half-columns of the Doric order. From the area, between the reservoirs just described, two staircases built by Sylla ascended to the level of the first principal terrace, 1275 feet in breadth, in which were sunk two large basins for water of rectangular shape, each 250 feet by 90 in size. They were intended for the supply of the ceremonial ablutions commanded by the religious rites of the temple. That on the western side can still be seen in the Barberini garden, though it is now filled with rubbish. The rim or edging of these basins was of white mosaic.

Above the terrace of the piscinæ two flights of stairs conducted to the next principal terrace, which was of the same length as the first, but narrower. At the back, and against the side of the hill, stood two magnificent halls, with an open area between them. The eastern hall is now entirely destroyed, but that on the western side, now serving as the kitchen of the modern Seminario, is partly preserved. The front, which may be seen near the Cathedral in the Piazza Tonda, was decorated with Corinthian half-columns, the capitals of which still remain in their original position. The interior had seven recesses on each side, separated by half-columns and pilasters, and probably intended for statues. In front of the recesses ran a low wall or podium, ornamented with triglyphs like a Doric frieze. These decorations are executed in a style which Nibby considers equal in design to that of any of the ancient Doric buildings now extant. At the end of each of the halls there was a large rectangular space with niches for statues. In the easternmost of these spaces was found the celebrated Prænestine mosaic, now in the Barberini Palace at Palestrina.[2] The rest of the floor was composed of white mosaic work. Between the fronts of the two halls ran a row of columns, three of which still stand in their original positions in the wall of one of the chapels near the Cathedral, and at the back of the area between them was a corridor with nine windows, some of which may still be seen in the court of the Seminario.

Above the terrace of the halls rose the central grand terrace supported by a great wall of polygonal masonry, which at the point called the Rifolta still stands at its full height. This terrace is now occupied by the Contrada del Borgo. On the eastern side it reached to the wall of the city, where the ancient gate, now closed, near the Porta Portella, stands. Two lofty arches, containing fountains and statues, occupied the ends of the back of this terrace. It was upon this level, according to Nibby, that the original temple stood, before the alterations made by Sylla.

The whole of the two uppermost terraces were the work of the great Dictator. They were supported by walls of opus incertum, and the lower of them contained two large semicircular exedræ for the accommodation of the persons who came to consult the oracle. Hence this may be called the terrace of the exedræ. The eastern exedra is still remaining under the name of the Grotta Petrelli. It is supported in the interior by four Corinthian columns, and the roof preserves the traces of decorative

[1] Cecconi, Storia di Palestrina, p. 162. See Thon and Nibby, Tempio di Fortuna Prenestina, p. 9.

[2] See Nibby, Analisi, ii. p. 505.

designs in bronze. It is probable that the recess in the centre between the two exedræ was the spot where, as Cicero narrates, the mysterious sortes Prænestinæ were originally discovered by Numerius Suffucius, and where the statue of Fortune mentioned by him stood.[1] On each side of the exedræ were arched chambers, probably appropriated to the priests of the temple and the interpreters of the sortes.

Above the terrace of the exedræ rose that of the hemicycle. This was divided into two parts, the lower consisting of a great rectangular Sacrificial court with porticoes surrounding it, and the upper of a semicircular recess, somewhat similar to those which existed in the fora of the Emperors at Rome, having at the back of it a small raised terrace on which stood the actual ædes or shrine of the goddess. This must have been the place where, according to the legend as told by Cicero, the olive-tree which yielded honey grew, from which the casket was made for the sortes Prænestinæ. Fragments of an inscription, which are still visible on the frieze surrounding two arched recesses under the hemicycle, seem to show that this terrace was rebuilt by the Decuriones and the municipality, but at what period is not discoverable.[2] No traces are now left of this part of the buildings except the ground-plan of the hemicycle, and a few columns belonging to the portico of the great square court. These stand in the public prison and the house of the sacristan of S. Rosalia.[3]

The ancient town extended to a considerable distance beyond the precincts of the temple. Outside the Porta S. Francesco of the modern town, at the distance of about half a mile, are two huge reservoirs similar to those described as placed at the foot of the Temple of Fortune; and in the Contrada degli Arconi is a castellum aquæ. This with other ruins near it belonged to that part of the town founded by Sylla, which extended to a distance of a mile and a half from the lowest terrace of the great temple. The forum of the city lay between the western reservoir of the temple and the churches of S. Lucia and S. Madonna dell' Aquila. This is inferred from numerous inscriptions, and some commemorative pillars and altars found there. The Fasti Prænestini of Verrius Flaccus were found in the Contrada delle Quadrelle, a mile and a half from this spot. They may however, as Nibby suggests, have been moved from the forum, where we should naturally expect them to have been found.[4]

In the raid of Coriolanus against the Latin cities in 489 B.C., together with Corbio and Labicum, the sites of which we have already described, the following other towns are mentioned as having been taken by the Volscian army,—Vitellia, Trebia, Pedum, Tolerium, and Bola. Of these it is almost certain that the correction of Cluverius, who identifies the Trebia of Livy with the Tolerium of the list given by Dionysius, is right.[5]

Vitellia is placed by Nibby at Civitella near Subiaco, a site which seems far too distant from the other towns taken by Coriolanus. The argument drawn from

[1] Cic. De Div ii. 41.

[2] "Decuriones Populusque Prænestinus faciundum cœraverunt et signa restituerunt."

[3] The above description of the Temple of Fortune follows Thon and Nibby's restorations in their magnificent work, Il Tempio di Fortuna Prenestina ristaurato da Costantino Thon e descritto da Antonio Nibby: Roma, 1825.

[4] See Mommsen in Corp. Inscrip. Lat. vol. i. p. 311.

[5] Livy, ii. 39, gives the towns in the following order: Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Labicum, Pedum. Dionys., viii. 17, follows a totally different account. He begins with Tolerium and Bola, then Labicum, Pedum, Corbio, Corioli. Plutarch, Cor. 28, follows Dionysius.

the similarity of the names is absolutely worthless, and there appears to be no other good reason assigned for Nibby's conjecture.[1] The Vitellenses are enumerated in the alphabetical list given by Pliny as among the fifty-three peoples of Latium which had perished in his time without leaving a trace of their existence.[2] We can therefore hardly expect to find the site of their city at the present time. Sir W. Gell places Vitellia at Valmontone, where the remains of an ancient city, especially a number of rock tombs, are to be found. The situation is remarkably suitable for one of the ancient strongholds of the Æquian border, as it is surrounded by deep ravines on every side.[3]

Vitellia.

Tolerium, the Trebia of Livy, has also been placed at Valmontone.[4] But Bormann thinks that it lay nearer to the Alban hills, and must be looked for at some point between the Via Latina and the Via Labicana, at about twenty-four miles from Rome.[5]

Tolerium.

The site of Pedum can be more approximately ascertained. An ancient commentator on Horace speaks of it as lying between Prænestе and Tibur, and we may conclude from the passages of Livy and Dionysius, in which the campaign of Coriolanus is related, that it was not far from Labicum. There are two sites which answer to this description, namely, Passerano and Gallicano, both evidently occupied in ancient times by towns.[6] Of these two, the preference is given by Nibby and Bormann to Gallicano, as being more distinctly between Tibur and Prænestе than Passerano. The situation of Gallicano is very similar to that of most other towns of the Campagna. It stands on a small plateau nineteen miles from Rome, surrounded on all sides by precipitous cliffs, except where a small isthmus unites it with the neighbouring Æquian hills. There are traces of ancient roads and also of rock tombs in the neighbourhood.[7]

Pedum.

Bola is placed by Nibby at Lugnano; but other topographers prefer to place it at Pola, further north, and among the Æquian hills.[8] The arguments assigned for neither of these positions are sufficient, but there appears more probability in the opinion which would place it at Lugnano. It appears from Livy that Bola was an Æquian town whence the Æquians used to attack the district of Labicum; and this they plainly could not do from Pola so easily as from Lugnano, since the stronghold of Pedum intervened between Pola and La Colonna.[9]

Bola.

The towns of Scaptia, Ortona, and Querquetula lay somewhere in this neighbourhood. Scaptia was one of the cities which conspired to restore the Tarquins to the Roman throne. It gave name to one of the tribes at Rome, but in Pliny's time had fallen entirely into ruins. The site of Passerano has been fixed upon as the representative of Scaptia by most modern topographers. But this opinion rests upon a false reading in Festus, and must be rejected.[10]

[1] Nibby, Analisi, vol. i. p. 473.
[2] Plin. N. H. iii. § 69.
[3] Gell, p. 436.
[4] Nibby, Analisi, p. 370.
[5] Altlatinische Chorographie, p. 203.
[6] Schol. ad Hor. Ep. i. 4, 2. A villa called Pedanum is mentioned by Cicero, Ad Att. ix. 18.
[7] Bormann, Alt. Chor. p. 198.
[8] Nibby, vol. i. p. 301; Gell, p. 119.
[9] Livy, iv. 49. Virgil, Æn. vi. 776, associates Bola with Castrum Inui and Cora, both at a considerable distance from Pola: "Pometios, Castrumque Inui, Bolamque, Coramque." He is not, as may be seen by the previous line, "Nomentum, Gabios, urbemque Fidenam," following any topographical arrangement.
[10] Festus, p. 343, is generally quoted to show that Scaptia was near Pedum. Müller, however, reads Latini for Pedani in that passage. Plin. loc. cit.; Sil. Ital. Pun. viii. 395; Dionys. v. 65; Livy, viii. 17.

Ortona lay on the frontier between the Latins and Æquians, but belonged to the Latins. It seems to have been near Corbio, and on the further side of Mount Algidus.[1] The site of Querquetula is entirely unknown. Gell and Nibby place it at Corcolo, arguing from the similarity of the name. Corcolo is four miles from Gallicano, and six from Zagarolo, at a point where there is an artificial dyke separating a small hill from the neighbouring plateau. There are traces of ancient roads converging to this spot from Præneste, Castellaccio, and Gallicano.[2] The name Porta Querquetulana at Rome cannot have had any reference to this town, but was derived from the ancient name of the Cœlian hill.[3]

Scaptia, Ortona, Querquetula.

Approaching nearer to Rome, across the streams which run into the left side of the Anio, we come to the probable sites of Collatia, Cænina, and Antemnæ.

It is distinctly stated by Frontinus that the Aqua Virgo, which still supplies Rome with water, comes from a spring on the Via Collatina, eight miles from Rome, and that the source of the Aqua Augusta was close to the same road, at a distance of a mile to the left of the sixth milestone from Rome, on the Via Prænestina.[4] Now, between the third and fourth milestones on the Via Prænestina, we find an ancient road branching off to the left, and at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the main road this road approaches the conduit of the Aqua Virgo. After crossing the Marrana and a few other brooks, it passes close to the source of the Aqua Virgo at the eighth milestone. One mile beyond this the ancient pavement of the road is again visible. It then crosses a branch of the Osa and reaches Lunghezza, a place ten miles from Rome. From thence the road can be traced across the right arm of the Osa to Castellaccio, a rocky eminence with precipitous sides towards the south and west, on which the remains of massive ancient walls are to be seen. Traces of tombs are found between Lunghezza and Castellaccio, which indicate the neighbourhood of a town.[5] The distance of Castellaccio from Rome is a little more than ten miles. The legend of Lucretia, and the beautiful episode in Ovid's Fasti, relating to the expulsion of the Tarquins, have made Collatia famous in Roman history;[6] but it does not appear to have ever attained the same importance as its neighbour Gabii. In the time of Cicero it was reduced to a contemptible village, and Pliny reckons it among the towns which had disappeared from Latium without leaving a trace.[7]

Collatia.

The site of Cænina has been rightly sought for by Bormann between Collatia and Rome. It cannot have been so far off as Nibby, Westphal, and Gell would place it, for it is hardly to be supposed that Dionysius would have represented Romulus as going to Cænina to sacrifice had it not been nearer than ten miles from

Cænina.

[1] Livy, ii. 43, iii. 30; Dionys. viii. 91, Ὄροι, x. 26, Βιρτών. It has been suggested by Gell that Artena (Livy, iv. 61) was identical with Ortona, and by others that the Hortenses (Plin. N. H. iii. 69) and the Φορτινεῖοι (Dionys. v. 61) were the inhabitants of Ortona.

[2] Plin. loc. cit.; Dionys. v. 61.

[3] Gell, p. 180; and note by Bunbury.

[4] Frontin. De Aquæd. v. 10. See also Plin. N. H. xxxi. § 42, who places the source of the Aqua Virgo eight miles from Rome and two miles along a branch of the Prænestine road.

[5] Strabo is mistaken in placing Collatia at the same distance as Antemnæ and Labicum from Rome. With regard to Labicum he contradicts himself in two passages, v. pp. 230 and 237.

[6] Livy, i. 57; Ov. Fast. ii. 722.

[7] Cic. In Rull. ii. 35; Plin. N. H. iii. § 68. Virgil speaks of Collatia as situated on high ground; Æn. vi. 774. Silius calls it "altrix casti Collatia Bruti;" Pun. viii. 361.

Rome.[1] Cænina is classed with Antemnæ and Crustumerium by Livy, as having combined with those towns to avenge the rape of the Sabine women, and the people of Cænina were the first who encountered the Romans in the subsequent war, in which Romulus killed their king Acron with his own hand.[2] This legend seems to point to a site near Rome in the direction of the Sabine territory, and suits the position assigned by Bormann to this town on the left of the Via Prænestina, at about six or seven miles from Rome.[3]

Antemnæ.

Further down the Anio, and in the angle formed by its junction with the Tiber,[4] we come to the site of Antemnæ, one of the towns absorbed by Rome at a very early period.[5] It was placed between the Via Salaria and the point of junction of the two rivers, at about three miles from Rome, where there is a flat-topped hill nearly a mile in circumference. This hill can be approached at four points—one on the north, two on the north-west, and one on the south; and at these it is supposed that the ancient gates of the city stood. The highest point near the Via Salaria was probably the citadel.

(4.) *Cities on the right bank of the Anio.*

It has been assumed by some writers, following a loose statement of Pliny's, that the Anio in its lower course from Tibur was the boundary between the Latin and Sabine territory, and that the cities of Fidenæ, Crustumerium, Nomentum, and others on the right bank of the Anio were therefore Sabine.[6] This has been shown by Bormann to be an error, for Pliny distinctly states in another passage that the Fidenates and the Nomentani belonged to Latium,[7] and Cato, as quoted by Dionysius and Strabo,[8] places the boundary of the Sabine territory at thirty miles' distance from the Tyrrhenian Sea, which would fix it at Nomentum, and include Crustumerium, Ficulea, and Fidenæ in Latium; leaving it doubtful whether Cameria, Corniculum, Medullia, and Ameriola were Latin or Sabine towns.[9] The contradictory statements of Pliny must be explained by the fact that Augustus, on dividing Italy into regions, made the Anio the limit of his First Region; and hence, as the Augustan boundary line did not agree with the real division of the Sabine and Latin races, the cities on the right bank are sometimes called Sabine, sometimes Latin.

Fidenæ.

Of these border cities Fidenæ was the most celebrated. This city is noticed by the Tabula Peutingeriana as the first station on the Via Salaria, and Dionysius and Eutropius give the distance from Rome as five or six miles.[10] It is rather perplexing that we find no remains of any kind of the ancient Via Salaria beyond the Ponte Salaro; but as there are no cuttings through the hills, it must be assumed that the road followed the bank of the Tiber, and ran along the narrow strip between the hills and the river. Bormann,[11] following Gell, fixes the site as follows:—"Dionysius

[1] Dionys. i. 79.

[2] Livy, i. 10; Dionys. ii. 32, 35; Propert. v. (iv.) 10; Ov. Fast. ii. 135: "Te Tatius, parvique Cures, Cæninaque sensit."

[3] Bormann, Alt. Chor. p. 185.

[4] Varro, L. L. v. § 28: "Oppidum Interamna dictum, quod inter amneis est constitutum; item Antemnæ, quod ante amnis qui Anio influit in Tiberim."

[5] Sil. Pun. viii. 365: "Antemnaque prisco Crustumio prior." Virg. Æn. vii. 631: "Turrigeræ Antemnæ." Varro, loc. cit. "Consenuit bello male acceptum." Livy, i. 10; Dionys. ii. 32; Plutarch, Rom. 17. It disappears entirely after the defeat of the Tarquinian league. Dionys. v. 21; Livy, ii. 19.

[6] Pliny, iii. § 54: "Anien qui Latium includit a tergo." Dionys. v. 37.

[7] Pliny, iii. §§ 64, 69.

[8] Dionys. ii. 49; Strabo, v. 228.

[9] Bormann, Alt. Chor. p. 27.

[10] Dionys. ii. 53; Eutrop. i. 4. [11] Bormann, p. 239.

says that the city was situated on the bank of the Tiber at a point where the river winds very much and its current is very violent; but this affords a very uncertain evidence as to the exact spot, since we know that the river in this part of its course runs with great force towards the right bank, and throws up soil on the left to a considerable extent. Livy also remarks that the bed of the stream has become wider in this part.[1] A more important statement is that the town was so high and so well fortified that it could not be taken by escalade.[2] If with this description before us we look for the site of Fidenæ in the district indicated, we can hardly fix upon any other place than Castel Giubileo. The tufa of which this hill is composed answers precisely to the description given by Pliny and Vitruvius of the stone quarried at Fidenæ, as very soft and perishable.[3]

"The extent of Castel Giubileo[4] is however too small for a considerable town, and can only have been the citadel. The rest of the town was probably spread over the larger hill on the other side of the Via Salaria. The sides of this neighbouring hill are artificially cut away in order to render it less accessible, and there are some huge squared stones left upon it which may have belonged to an ancient fortification. The circumference of this part of the hill is about three miles, and Castel Giubileo itself can only be approached from it, an additional reason for thinking that the citadel was placed there. The only ancient remains found there are some hollows in the rocks on the right of the road, probably rock tombs.[5] The town was thus nearly a square, at the western angle of which the citadel lay on Castel Giubileo, while the southern and eastern sides were approached by the roads from Rome and Gabii, and the lower side was bordered by a brook which runs down from Settebagni."[6]

Fidenæ was, according to one legend, founded by the eldest of three brothers, leaders of colonies from Alba, but, according to the account of its origin received by Livy, it was Etruscan.[7] The extent and power of the city were evidently considerable in the early times of Rome, for we find the Fidenates joining the league against Rome formed after the rape of the Sabine women, preserving its own independence under Numa, allied with Veii in the reign of Tullus, and resisting Roman aggression in the wars of Ancus, the Tarquinii, and the Veientes, until the year 426, when its power was finally crushed.[8]

As in the case of Gabii, Labicum, and Collatia, the state of Fidenæ in the Republican times was that of a petty municipal town,[9] and in later times it gradually sank into the lower style of a mere appanage to a wealthy nobleman's villa.[10] Horace and Juvenal both sneer at its decayed and dreary condition in their time; yet a little later we hear of a crowd of 50,000 persons being injured by the fall of a temporary wooden amphi-

[1] Livy, iv. 34.
[2] Ibid. 22.
[3] Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 166; Vitruv. ii. 7.
[4] Castel Giubileo was built in the year 1300 by Pope Boniface VIII., and named from its first possessors.
[5] These tombs do not prove that the hill on the side of which they lie was not within the town, for at Veii we find tombs distinctly within the ancient circuit of the walls.
[6] Bormann, Alt. Chor. p. 239.
[7] Virg. Æn. vi. 773; Dionys. ii. 53; Livy, i. 15, 27.
[8] Livy, i. 14, 15, 19, 27; iv. 17, 18, 19, 22, 31, 34: Martial, iv. 64, 15, "Fidenas veteres brevesque Rubras."
[9] Cic. Contra Rull. ii. 35.
[10] Strabo, v. p. 230.

theatre there.[1] The games at which this awful catastrophe occurred were a speculation entered into by a freedman, Atilius, who hoped to make a large sum of money by the avidity with which the Romans, after Tiberius had retired to Caprea, rushed into their favourite amusements, from which they had been so long debarred.[2]

Crustumerium.

Crustumerium is classed with Fidenæ by Dionysius as a colony of Alba, and he places it higher up the river than Fidenæ.[3] This indication of its site is confirmed by Varro, who states that the ager Crustuminus lay on the Via Salaria; by Pliny, who speaks of the Tiber as beginning to divide the Crustumerian from the Veientine territory at a point sixteen miles from Rome; and by Livy, where he mentions that the Allia flows down from the Crustumerian hills at the eleventh milestone.[4] We must, therefore, look for the site of Crustumerium somewhere between the eleventh and the sixteenth milestone on the Salarian road. Gell fixed upon Monte Rotondo as the site, but Nibby has shown that this places it too near Nomentum. Abeken committed the same error by placing it at Settebagni, only two miles from Fidenæ. It is more probable that Cluverius was right in thinking that the remains found at Marcigliana Vecchia belonged to Crustumerium.[5]

The fertility of the soil of the ager Crustuminus was celebrated; and hence the great number of Roman colonists who settled there, and the consequent friendly relations of the city with Rome, which depended on it for supplies of corn.[6] "The country in this neighbourhood still retains its peculiar suitability for the growth of pears, noticed by so many ancient writers, for even at the present day the district around Monte Rotondo is overrun with wild pear-trees. The pears are very small, but of good flavour, and are most frequent in the direction of Moricone. It is impossible not to recognise in them the ancient pears of Crustumerium. 'Crustumia pyra,' says Servius, 'sunt ex parte rubentia;' and whoever visits the country in the month of July will not only be struck by the number and fertility of the trees, but also with the peculiarity of the redness on one side of the fruit."[7]

Crustumerium was captured for the third time and finally deprived of its independence in 499 B.C.[8]

Nomentum.

The Via Nomentana, which led to the ancient city of Nomentum, can now only be traced for nine miles across the Campagna. There is, however, little doubt that Nomentum was situated on the same spot as the modern town of Mentana, a small place, with a castle on a height, just beyond the fourteenth milestone from Rome. In accordance with this, the Tabula Peutingeriana gives the distance from Rome as fourteen miles. The name Mentana, by which the place is still known, can be distinctly traced as a corruption of the old name Nomentum. It was first called Civitas Nomentana, and then Castrum Numentanum and Lamentanum, whence Mentana.[9] The ancient town seems to have extended into the level ground

[1] Hor. Ep. i. 2, 7, "Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus;" Juvenal, vi. 57, x. 100.

[2] Tac. Ann. iv. 62; Suet. Tib. 40.

[3] Dionys. ii. 53.

[4] Varro, R. R. i. 14; Pliny, N. H. iii. 53 (Sillig reads xvi millia for the common reading xiii); Livy, v. 37.

[5] Gell, p. 188; Nibby, i. p. 535; Abeken, p. 79; Bormann, p. 247; Cluverius, It. Ant. p. 658.

[6] Livy, i. 11; Dionys. ii. 53; Cic. Pro Flacc. 29.

[7] Gell, p. 191; Serv. ad Georg. ii. 88; Plin. N. H. xv. 53, xxiii. 115.

[8] Livy, ii. 19.

[9] Bormann, p. 249, who quotes Muratori, R. I. Scr. ii. 1, p. 564.

round the hill. Three approaches led to the citadel, one towards the west from the Via Salaria, and the others at the north and south from the Via Nomentana. The neighbouring district, like that of Crustumerium, was noted for its fertility, and especially for its wine.[1] At the peace of 338 it obtained the full civitas Romana, together with Lanuvium and Aricia; and there seems to be some reason for supposing that it continued to flourish as a municipal town down to a later date than the neighbouring cities of Fidenæ and Crustumerium, for Martial, in several passages, mentions the place as a quiet country residence frequented by many of those who wished to avoid the expense and excitement of Baiæ and other crowded watering-places.[2]

The Via Nomentana, according to Livy, was once called the Via Ficulensis, which shows that Ficulea must be placed upon that road.[3] Dionysius says that the Ficulnei lived near the Corniculan hills; but, as we do not know the position of those hills accurately, this evidence does not give us any assistance in determining the site.[4] In Varro the Ficuleates are mentioned with the Fidenates as a suburban people; and it seems likely, therefore, that Ficulea was somewhere between Nomentum and the Anio, on the Via Nomentana.[5] Cicero also appears to reckon it among the suburban places of Latium. He held an interview with Atticus there, probably at the Villa of Atticus, mentioned above as near Nomentum.[6] From these hints as to its locality it may be concluded that Ficulea lay on the Via Nomentana, between Fidenæ, Crustumerium, Corniculum, Nomentum, and the Anio. Nibby, relying on the evidence of two inscriptions found in the Tenuta Cæsarini, places it on a hill in the Tenuta di Casanuova, nine miles from Rome, and one mile beyond the Casale della Cæsarina.[7] This hill is surrounded on three sides by brooks which afterwards unite and form the Fosso di Casal de' Pazzi. The name commonly given to it is Monte della Creta.[8]

Ficulea.

The foundation of Ficulea is ascribed by Dionysius to the Aborigines, which may be interpreted to mean that its origin is lost in obscurity, and that it was not a Latin colony. Livy calls it Ficulea Vetus. Two important facts only are related of the early history of this city. It was taken by Tarquinius Priscus in 614 B.C., and it joined the Gauls before the battle of Allia.[9] In Pliny's time, however, it was still reckoned among the towns of Latium, perhaps on account of a colony settled there by Cæsar.[10] In the fifth century the two towns of Nomentum and Ficulea were united into one parish, so that they must have become insignificant places at that time.[11]

In the campaign of Tarquinius Priscus against the cities in this district of Latium, Livy relates first the capture of Collatia and then of Corniculum, Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum. Dionysius sketches the progress

[1] Columella, iii. 3; Pliny, xiv. 23, 48.

[2] Livy, viii. 14; Mart. vi. 43, x. 44, xii. 57; Corn. Nepos, Att. 15. See Mommsen, R. H. i. p. 105. Propertius says "ultima præda Nomentum," speaking of the time of Cossus; Propert. v. 10, 26.

[3] Livy, iii. 52. In Mart. vi. 27, 2, Ficeliæ is more probably a place or street on the Quirinal hill at Rome than an allusion to Ficulea. See above, p. 251, note 8.

[4] Dionys. i. 16. See above, p. 352.

[5] Varro, L. L. vi. 18.

[6] Cic. Ad Att. xii. 34; Corn. Nep. Att. loc. cit.

[7] Marini, Atti, p. 42; Zoega, Bassoril. 32, 33.

[8] Nibby, Analisi, vol. ii. p. 46. Gell thinks that the citadel was at Torre Lupara, Topogr. p. 247.

[9] Dionys. i. 16; Livy, i. 38; Varro, loc. cit.

[10] Frontin. De Coloniis, p. 105, ed. Paris, 1614; Nibby, An. ii. p. 45.

[11] Holst. ad Cluv. p. 660, 35.

of the Roman victories from Crustumerium, after which he names Nomentum, Collatia, and Corniculum.[1] The rest of the cities he speaks of as taken by a common expedition of the Latins, specifying Fidenæ and Cameria, and designating Ficulea, Ameriola, and Medullia as "some other small towns and strongholds." In these enumerations it is plain that Dionysius begins from the Tiber, while Livy follows no topographical arrangement. The only conclusion which can be drawn from them is that Corniculum was not far from Collatia; and this agrees well enough with the statement that Ficulea lay near the hills of Corniculum.[2]

Corniculum.

These considerations will show that the common opinion, which places the Montes Corniculani at Monticelli and S. Angelo, cannot be correct, and that we must look for them much nearer Rome, in the hills near the ninth and tenth milestones from Rome, on the Via Nomentana.[3]

Three others of the cities in the list above mentioned—Cameria, Ameriola, and Medullia—present an unsolved question in topography.[4] Bormann infers from the account given in Dionysius of the march to Cameria by the Consul Virginius from Rome in one night, that the city was about twenty miles from Rome at the furthest. Most of the writers on the Campagna place it at Palombara, at the foot of Monte Gennaro, and Ameriola at one of the hills a mile to the north of S. Angelo.[5]

Medullia seems to have been connected with the Sabines more than the other two towns, for we find it in B.C. 492 leaving the Roman alliance and joining the Sabine confederation.[6] Hence there is perhaps some reason for placing it, as Gell and Nibby do, upon one of the hills under Monte Gennaro, near S. Angelo di Capoccia.[7] In Gell's map it is marked at La Marcellina, at the foot of the steep descent from Monte Gennaro.

(5.) *Tibur and its neighbourhood.*

Ascending the Anio to the point where it issues from a valley dividing the Æquian from the Sabine mountains, we find the river winding round a considerable hill, partly clothed with groves of olive, and rising to the height of 830 feet.[8] At the back of this hill the river has forced a passage for itself through the limestone rocks, which threaten to impede its exit from the upper valley, and falls in a tremendous cataract, down a precipitous cliff of 326 feet in height, to the lower level. The water is strongly charged with carbonate of lime, which is constantly being deposited in the shape of masses of travertine in the channels through which the stream runs, especially where the water, in consequence of the violent agitation caused by its rapid descent, parts with the carbonic acid gas contained in it. The course of the stream is from time to time blocked up by its own formations of stone, and the water is forced to open new passages for itself. From this cause the city of Tibur, which stands on the hill close to the point where the river falls to its lowest level, has always been subject to violent and dangerous

[1] Livy, loc. cit.; Dionys. i. 16. [2] Dionys. loc. cit.

[2] The identification with Monticelli has arisen from the absurd notion entertained by Kircher and Volpi, that Corniculum must be a hill with a horn-shaped point, and also from an inscription found at Monticelli, which, however, only shows that the error arose at an early period. See Bormann, p. 256.

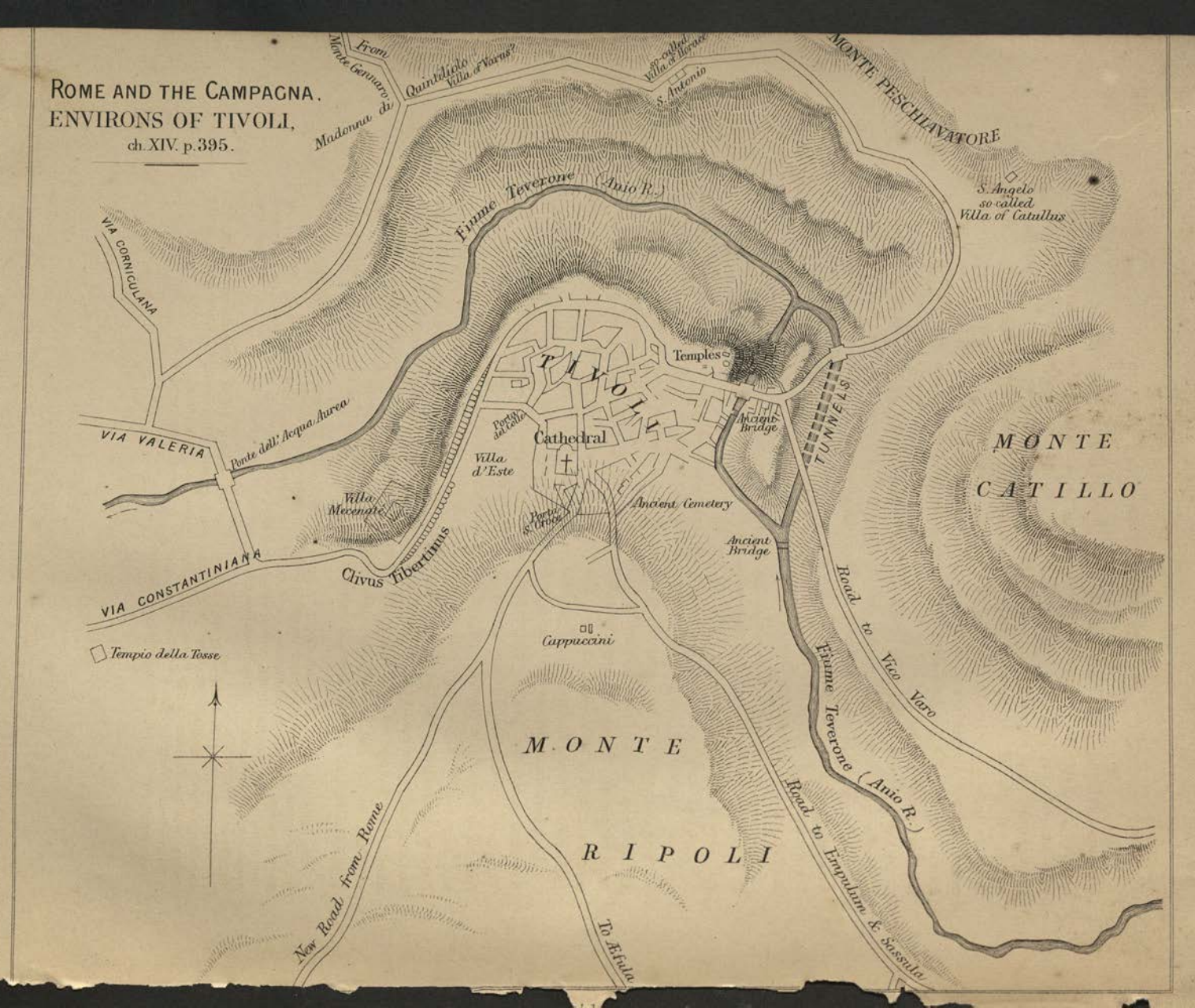
[4] In Tac. Ann. xi. 24 Camerium. There was another town of the same name in Umbria; Livy, ix. 36. The agnomen Camerinus belonged to the Sulpician gens: Juv. viii. 38; Livy, iii. 31, &c.; Tac. Ann. xiii. 52. Medullinus to the Furian; Livy, iv. 25.

[5] Bormann, Alt. Chor. p. 260.

[6] Dionys. vi. 34.

Nibby, ii. p. 327; Gell, p. 313.

[8] The epithet "Tibur superbum," in Æn. vii. 630, alludes to the pride of the Tiburtines, not to the height of their city, as Bormann thinks. "Supinum," Hor. Od. iii. 4, 23, refers to the sloping part of the hill towards the south-west, where there are no precipices.


ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA.
ENVIRONS OF TIVOLI,
ch. XIV. p. 395.
From Monte Gennaro
Madonna di
Quintiliolo Villa of Varus?
so called Villa of Horace
S. Antonio
MONTE PESCHIAVATORE
S. Angelo so called Villa of Catullus
Fiume Tevrone (Anio R.)
VIA CORNICULANA
TIVOLI
Temples
TUNNEL
VIA VALERIA
Ponte dell' Acqua Aurea
Porta del Colle
Cathedral
Ancient Bridge
MONTE CATILLO
Villa d'Este
Villa Mecenate
Porta S. Croce
Ancient Cemetery
Ancient Bridge
VIA CONSTANTINIANA
Clivus Tiburtinus
Road to Vico Varo
Tempio della Tosse
Cappuccini
Fiume Tevrone (Anio R.)
MONTE RIPOLI
Road to Empulum & Sassula
New Road from Rome
To Affula

inundations.[1] The great inundation of 1826 proved so formidable, that it was at once resolved to divert the course of part of the river, and provide it with an artificial outlet. This was effected by boring two tunnels through Monte Catillo, on the east of the city, through which any excess of water can be allowed to pass and fall harmlessly into the lower valley. A part of the river water is always allowed to pass through these tunnels, and forms at their lower end a magnificent cascade. Another part passes under the bridge called Ponte S. Gregorio, and then rushes through a fantastic grotto of travertine blocks, called by the local guides Grotta di Nettuno, and joins the stream from the tunnels at the bottom of the valley.

A third portion of the Anio is diverted just above the bridge into canals, apparently of very ancient date, which, passing completely through the centre of the town, are used as the motive-power of water-mills and factories of various kinds, and then fall again into the main stream at various points of the romantic cliffs on the western hillside. These form the wreaths of "snow-white foam" so celebrated as the cascades of the Anio, and explain perfectly the expression of Horace:—

> "O headlong Anio! O Tiburnian groves!
> And orchards saturate with shifting streams."

and Ovid's apostrophe to the Anio:—

> "Nec te prætereo, qui per cava saxa volutans
> Tiburis Argei spumifer arva rigas."[2]

The history of Tibur pretends to go back much further than that of Rome itself. Dionysius places a colony of Siculi or Sicani, and afterwards of Aborigines, on the site even long before the Argive founders, mentioned by Virgil, the three grandsons of Amphiaraus and sons of Catillus—Tiburtus or Tiburnus, Corax, and Catillus—drove them out and established themselves there, and gave their city the name of Tibur.[3]

In Virgil's account of the war between Turnus and Æneas, we find Tibur taking the Rutulian side; and besides the three heroes, sons of Catillus, he mentions two other Tiburtine chiefs, Venulus and Remulus.[4] From this time down to the battle at the Lake Regillus, Tibur does not appear in the Roman legends. The kings of Rome did not, apparently, carry their conquests so far up the Anio. At the Lake Regillus the Tiburtines fought with the Latins against the Romans,[5] but they never seem to have become very prominent members of the Latin League, holding themselves somewhat aloof. For a hundred and fifty years after the defeat of the Tarquins we hear nothing of Tibur, but at the time of the Gallic invasion of 357 B.C. it again appears as the ally of the Gauls, and on this account incurred the lasting hatred of the Romans, who forced

[1] See Pliny, Ep. viii. 17: "Anio magna ex parte nemora quibus inumbratur fregit et rapuit, subruit montes, et decidentium mole pluribus locis clausus, dum amissum iter quærit, impulit tecta ac se super ruinas ejecit atque extulit." This inundation was in the year A.D. 105.

[2] Ov. Am. iii. 6, 45; Hor. Od. i. 17, 13, Conington's translation. See also Od. iv. 2, 31: "Circa nemus uvidique Tiburis ripas;" Od. iii. 29, 6: "Udum Tibur;" Od. iv. 3, 10: "Quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt." Ovid, Fasti, iv. 71: "Mœnia Tiburis udi." Propert. v. 7, 81: "Pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat arvis."

[3] Solinus, p. 35, l. 9, ed. Mommsen. Dionys. i. 16. Hor. Od. i. 18, 2; ii. 6, 5, "Tibur Argeo positum colono." Ov. Fasti, loc. cit.; Virg. Æn. vii. 672, "Argiva juventus."

[4] Æn. vii. 630, viii. 9, compared with xi. 741, 757, and ix. 360. Tibur is called a colony of Alba by the Auct. Or. Gen. Rom. 17.

[5] Dionys. v. 61; Livy, ii. 19.

it to surrender in 351 B.C., and for a long time afterwards declined to admit its citizens to the full franchise of Rome.[1]

CASCATELLI AT TIVOLI.

But few traces of the ancient walls of the city are left. Nibby is, however, probably right in saying that there can be no question about their course along the northern and

[1] Cicero, Pro Balbo, xxiii. 53, shows that some persons were exceptions, proving the rule. The Prætor's letter, said to have been found near the Cathedral at Tivoli, and ascribed by Niebuhr to the Second Samnite war, is thought by Bormann to have been a forgery of Nicodemus, Hist. Tib. iii. 2. Niebuhr, Eng. trans. vol. iii. p. 264; Bormann, p. 237; Gruter, p. 499, 12. See Bunsen's Beschreibung, vol. iii. p. 659; Donaldson, Varron. p. 259. But Mommsen, Corp. Insc. Lat. vol. i. p. 107, entertains no doubt of its genuineness.

eastern sides of the city, where the brow of the hill is steep, and perfectly adapted for defence by a wall placed on the edge of the rocky valley of the Anio. The citadel was probably situated in the quarter called Castro Vetere, where the two temples, commonly called the temples of the Sibyl and of Drusilla, stand; for it is plain that some pains have been taken to isolate this from the remainder of the site. On the western side, the limit of the ancient walls is marked by the old gate and the fragments of walls which still exist at the point where the direct road from Rome enters the city by the modern Porta del Colle. The course of the walls then excludes the Villa d'Este, and runs across the hill to the Church of the Annunziata and the Porta Santa Croce, and the citadel built by Pius II. on the site of the ancient amphitheatre. From thence the walls passed in a straight line down to the river, near the Church of S. Bartolommeo. The ancient town did not extend to the right bank of the Anio.[1]

The fragments of wall which remain belong to three different epochs. The most ancient are made of trapezoidal masses of rock, and belong to very early times. Others are composed of opus incertum, which points to the time of Sylla. Most of the work near the Porta del Colle is of this kind, but the gate itself belongs to a third epoch, and resembles the gates built in Justinian's reign at Rome.[2] The Porta Barana, or Rarana of Frontinus, near which the aqueduct of the Anio Vetus had its source, was probably on the site of the modern Porta S. Giovanni.[3] Nibby shows that in the tenth century the neighbourhood of the cathedral still retained the name of the Forum, and that the corner of the town near the citadel was called Vesta, and the acropolis itself Castrum Vetus. The right bank of the Anio bore the name of Oriali, now corrupted into Reali, from Aurelii.

The patron deity of Tibur was Hercules, and the epithet Herculeus is constantly given to the city by the Latin poets.[4] Strabo states that Tibur was famous in his time for two things—its Herculeum and its waterfall; and Juvenal classes the Tiburtine Temple of Hercules with the Prænestine Temple of Fortune.[5] With the Temple of Hercules was united a library, and an extensive portico, in which Augustus used sometimes to hold a court for legal business.[6] In the absence of any remains of this temple, there is no method of determining its situation, except by supposing that it most likely stood where the greater number of inscriptions relating to the cult of Hercules Victor, the name by which the Tiburtine hero was worshipped, have been found. This leads us to place the Herculeum near the cathedral and the bishop's palace, in the south-western quarter of the city. At the back of the cathedral is an old wall of opus reticulatum, which is generally regarded as having belonged to a part of the temple.[7] There was, besides the Temple of Hercules Victor, a temple of Hercules Saxanus in Tibur; but its site is not known.[8]

[1] Nibby, Analisi, iii. p. 187.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Frontin. De Aq. 6.

[4] Propert. iii. 30, (ii. 32) 5, "Herculeum Tibur." Mart. i. 12 (13), 1, "Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces." Sil. Punic. iv. 224.

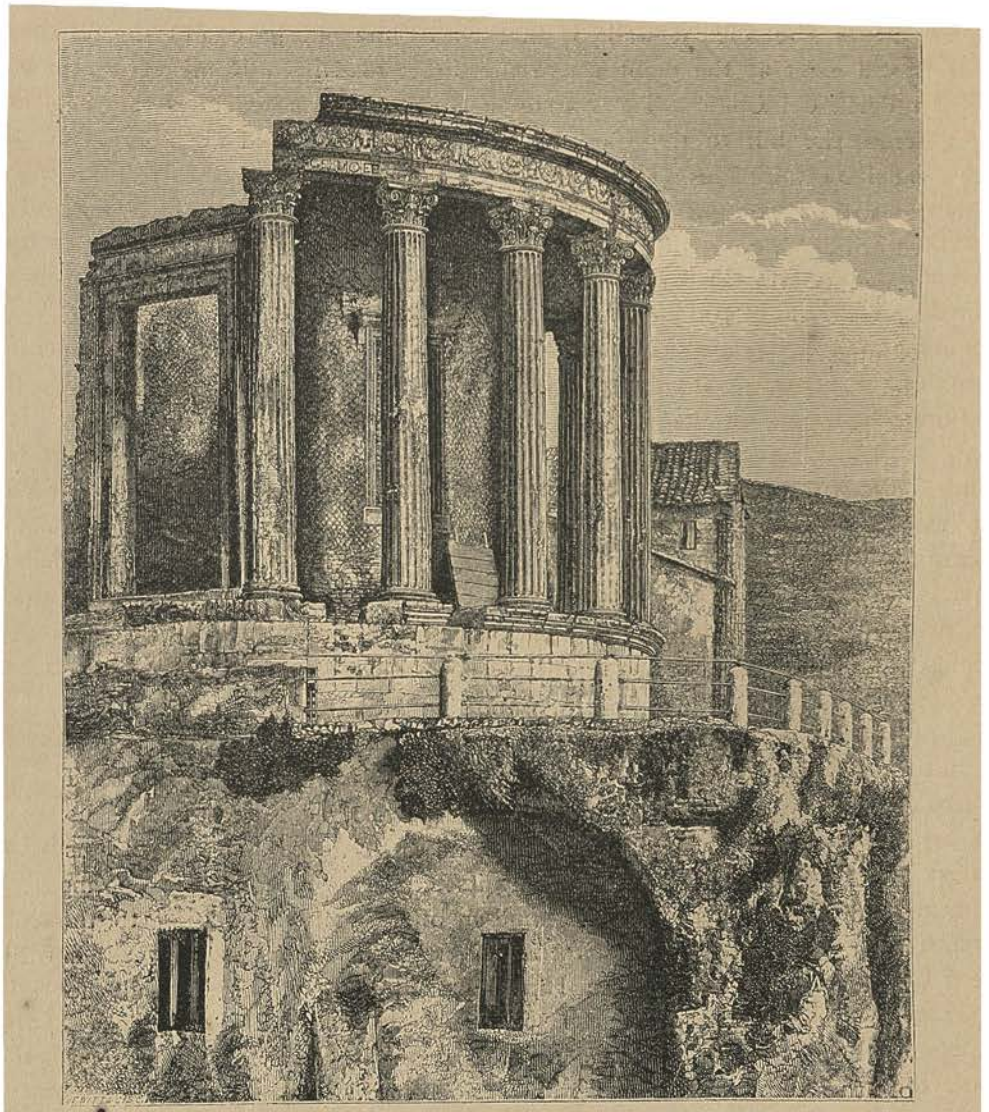
[5] Suet. Aug. 72, Cal. 8; Strabo, v. p. 238; Juv. xiv. 86—90. Statius calls this temple Tiburna domus; Silv. iii. 1, 183. Cynthia, the mistress of Propertius, lived at Tibur; Prop. iv. 15 (iii. 16).

[6] Gell. xix. 5; Suet. Aug. 72.

[7] Nibby places the chief Temple of Hercules at the Villa of Mæcenas, and the Temple of Hercules Saxanus at the Cathedral. But can the great temple have been outside the walls? Bormann is wrong in placing the great temple of Hercules on the citadel. The passage of Juvenal he quotes does not bear out this; Juv. xiv. 86.

[8] See the Inscription in Bormann, p. 226.

Two ancient temples are still standing in tolerable preservation at Tibur. The first of these is a small round temple, perched on the very edge of the precipitous ravine through which the Anio dashes. It has been protected against the violence of the furious torrent by massive substructions, which apparently existed in ancient times,



THE TEMPLES OF VESTA AND OF THE SIBYL, TIVOLI.

and have often been renewed. Ten of the eighteen columns which formerly surrounded the cella still remain.

The details of this temple are rather peculiar in style, and show an originality of invention very rare in Roman architecture. The columns have Attic bases, but the grooves of the fluting are cut in a style which is neither Doric nor Ionic.[1] They terminate

[1] Canina, Arch. Rom. tav. xli.

above in an abrupt horizontal line, and reach at the foot of the column quite down to the base without any intermediate cylinder. The capitals exhibit a fantastic variety of the Corinthian order, having the second row of acanthus leaves nearly hidden behind the first, and a lotus blossom as the decoration of the abacus. The frieze is ornamented with the skulls of oxen and festoons, in the loops of which are rosettes and pateræ placed alternately. The cella, which is built of opus incertum, is partly destroyed, but the lower half of the door and a window still remain. From the above description it will be seen that the architecture of the temple appears to belong to the end of the Republican era, but the inscription on the architrave gives us no further hint of the exact date, as the whole of it, with the exception of the words L. CELLIO. L. F., has disappeared. The most probable conjecture as to the deity to whom it was dedicated is that based upon the fact that Vesta was worshipped at Tibur, as is shown not only by two inscriptions found near the spot, but also by the mediæval name of this quarter of the town, as above mentioned.[1] The form of the temple also confirms such an opinion.

The second temple stands quite close to this round building, and is now consecrated as the Church of S. Giorgio. Its shape was that of a pseudo-peripteral temple, *i.e.* with the side columns half sunk in the walls, raised on a meagre base of tufa blocks. It had a pronaos with four Ionic columns, one of which still remains, forming a support to the campanile. An inscription dedicated to Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, was found here; but no inference as to the name of the temple can be drawn from it. A bas-relief, also found on the spot, represents the Tiburtine Sybil sitting and in the act of delivering an oracle. Hence it has been thought that we have in the Church of S. Giorgio the temple of the Sibyl Albunea, mentioned by Horace, Tibullus, and Lactantius;[2] and this seems to be the most probable of the various conjectures which have been hazarded on the subject.

The grove of Tiburnus, mentioned by Horace,[3] was probably on the right bank of the Anio; but further than this it is impossible to determine its exact position. There was also a grove dedicated to Diana.[4] The Mons Catillus, now Monte Catillo or Monte della Croce, is the height on the right bank of the Anio. The name is at least as early as the time of Servius.[5] *Tiburni lucus.*

As may easily be imagined, there are numerous remains of ancient villas scattered about the immediate neighbourhood of Tibur, and the local guides have, to please travellers but without the slightest evidence in support of their assertions, dubbed them the villas of Catullus,[6] of Horace, of Ventidius, of Quintilius Varus, of Mæcenas, Sallust, Piso, Capito, Brutus, Popilius, and other celebrated Romans. The most remarkable ruins are those to which the name of Mæcenas has been attached. The greater part of these has been now unfortunately concealed by new buildings and by an iron manufactory, but a fine terrace and parts of the porticoes still remain on the lofty bank

[1] Gruter, p. 1089.

[2] Hor. Od. i. 7, 13, "Domus Albuneæ resonantis et præceps Anio;" Tib. ii. 5, 70; Lact. De fals. Rel. i. 6. The passage of Virgil, Æn. vii. 83, "Lucosque sub alta consulit Albunea," appears to refer to some sulphureous springs in the neighbourhood of Laurentum.

[3] Hor. loc. cit.; Stat. Silv. i. 3, 73.

[4] Mart. vii. 28, 1.

[5] Serv. ad Æn. vii. 672.

[6] Catull. Carm. 42. The idea that Mæcenas had a villa here is founded on the mistaken notion that Hor. Od. iii. 29 refers to a villa at Tibur.

of the Anio. The rest is a mere confused mass of vaulted chambers and archways. The Via Tecta, or Porta Oscura as it is sometimes called, by which the road passes underneath these ruins, was built, as we learn from an inscription now in the Vatican collection, by O. Vitulus and Rustius Flavos. The materials and style show that it can hardly be of a later date than the first century.[1]

The Tempio della Tosse, which probably obtains its name from a vulgar interpretation of the name of the gens Tossia, is a ruin standing in a vineyard at the side of the old road called the Via Constantina, below the Villa d'Este. It has none of the characteristic marks of an ancient temple, and the large number of windows it contains forbid us to suppose it to be a tomb. The interior of the building is round, the exterior octagonal. It is built of layers of small fragments of tufa intermixed with courses of bricks, materials which point to the fourth century as the earliest possible date of its erection. On the walls are the remains of frescoes of the Saviour and the Virgin, dating probably from the thirteenth century. These show that if it was not originally a Christian church, it was used as one at the time the frescoes were painted.

The district over which the power of Tibur extended was considerable, though we are hardly justified in assuming, with Viola, that it was at least forty-five miles in length. We know, however, that in the time of Nero the ager Tiburtinus reached as far as the Simbruina Stagna at Subiaco,[2] and towards Rome as far as the fifth milestone from the city.[3] On this side, however, it must, as Bormann remarks, have lain entirely on the right bank of the Anio, as we shall otherwise find no room for the territories of Gabii and Collatia.

Empulum.

Two towns are mentioned by Livy as dependencies of Tibur, taken by the Romans in 351 B.C., Empulum and Sassula.[4] The ruins which are generally supposed to have belonged to the former of these towns are situated about an eighth of a mile beyond the Osteria di Ampiglione, on the road called the Strada di Siciliano, which leads from Tibur up the valley of the Fosso degli Arci.[5] They consist of a long wall, which extends for 500 feet along the side of the road, and is at the highest part at least eight feet in height. The construction of this wall is of the kind called Pelasgic, but it has this peculiarity, that it is built of tufa as the material instead of the usual limestone. The largest stones are about four feet in length and one in breadth, and are arranged so as to form arches, the openings being filled in with stones of a similar kind. From the fragments of opus incertum which are found near, it is plain that the ruins have been made use of as the foundation of some other building of the time of the later Republic. The valley is here narrowed by two spurs of the hill of Castel Madama which stands above, and Nibby conjectures that Empulum took its name from being the πύλη or gate of the pass leading from

[1] Nibby pronounces these ruins to be the Temple of Hercules, and Gori considers them to be an imitation by Hadrian of the Athenian Propylæa.

[2] Tac. Ann. xiv. 22.

[3] Festus, quoted by Bormann, p. 231.

[4] Livy, vii. 18, 19.

[5] The name Ampiglione is derived from the mediæval name of the fortress which stood here, Castrum Apollonii. Apollonius was the owner of a *massa* or estate here in the sixth century, hence called Massa Apollinis or Apollonii. See Chron. Sublacense in Muratori, Ant. Med. Æv. v. 461, iv. 1047. The Fosso degli Arci takes its name from the arches of the three aqueducts—the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, and the Claudia—which cross it at the point where it enters the Anio.

Tibur to the neighbourhood of Subiaco. He distinguishes three separate concentric enclosures in that part of the ruins nearest to the Osteria, and here he supposes that the citadel of Empulum stood. Inside the central ring there is a square terrace, possibly the remains of some part of the villa which succeeded to the site of Empulum.[1] The other part of the ruins, further from the Osteria, presents the remains of two ring enclosures only.

Sassula.

For determining the site of the other town dependent on Tibur, Sassula, we have no evidence except that of the name Via Sassonica given to the road between Tibur and Siciliano. This road was formerly one of the most important passes connecting Rome with the territory of the Hernicans, and the cause of a serious war between Tibur and Rome in 359 B.C., when the Tiburtines refused to allow the Roman Consuls, Sulpicius and Licinius, to return by way of it from their campaign against the Hernicans.[2] About two miles from the Osteria di Ampiglione, and six from Tibur, lie the ruins of some ancient city walls on the side of a three-cornered hill. They are constructed of polygonal blocks of limestone, and bear the marks of great antiquity. The citadel can be traced on the summit of the hill, and from it two curtain walls ran down to the base of the hill, and are there closed by a third wall. "The ruins have," says Gell, "the usual construction found in the smaller cities of Greece, and are in every respect like an Arcadian city, such as Psophis or Orchomenos."[3] In many parts the ancient polygonal walls of Sassula have been restored and strengthened with brick masonry or opus incertum; and Nibby thinks that this newer work is not to be attributed here as in other cases to the superposition of a villa, but to the anxiety of the Romans to strengthen a fortress commanding so important a pass during the Social Wars. The ground in this neighbourhood is so stony that it plainly gave the name Sassula or Saxula to the city, which still survives in the name Via Sassonica.

Sisolenses.

About a mile beyond Sassula are the ruins of another ancient city at a place now called Siciliano. Gell connects the name with the Sisolenses of Pliny,[4] while Müller refers it to the more ancient Siculi, and Nibby with more probability to a Villa Cæciliana which stood on the site.[5]

Æfula.

It seems probable that Æfula, which Horace mentions with Tibur and Tusculum, as one of the most prominent points in the view from Mæcenas's tower on the Esquiline,[6] was situated on Monte Affliano Flacco, or S. Angelo, which lies south of Monte Spaccato, between Tibur and Præneste, and commands a magnificent prospect over the valley of the Anio, and the districts of Gabii, Collatia, and Cænina. On the top of this hill there are the remains of an ancient city, consisting of polygonal blocks which formed the foundations of the walls, and the traces of ancient roads have been discovered leading to the place. The Æfulana arx is mentioned by Livy as occupied by a Roman garrison in the Hannibalian invasion, and Pliny names Æfula among the populi Albenses which had been completely lost in his time.[7]

[1] Nibby, Anal. ii. pp. 10, 11. [2] Livy, vii. 9.
[3] Gell, p. 394. [4] Pliny, N. H. iii. 69.
[5] Müller, Roms Campagna, i. p. 273; Nibby, Anal. iii. p. 97.
[6] Suet. Ner. 38; Hor. Od. iii. 29, 6, 7, "Æfulæ declive arvum." See above, chap. ix. p. 227, and Huebner in the Hermes, i. p. 426.
[7] Livy, xxvi. 9, xxxii. 29; Plin. iii. 69.

PART III.—PERIOD OF LATIFUNDIA, VILLAS, ROADS, AND AQUEDUCTS.

The destruction and final disappearance of the cities of the Campagna from the face of the soil was attended with different circumstances in each case, and occupied a longer or shorter time according to their natural position, their fortunes in war, and their more or less proximity to the absorbing influence of Rome. We can only here point out a few of the most important causes which contributed to their annihilation, and trace the main chronological epochs at which the changes affecting them as a whole took place.

Cities on the Etruscan and Sabine frontier first destroyed.

The towns nearest to Rome between the Tiber and the Anio were naturally the first which gave way before the Roman encroachments. Antemnæ, Fidenæ, Crustumerium, Ficulea, Corniculum, Cameria, Ameriola, and Medullia were the constant object of attack in the earliest times; and the places on the left bank of the Anio, Cænina, Collatia, and Gabii,[1] were conquered during the Regal period. Nomentum, as being more distant from Rome, escaped the fate of its neighbours, and retained its independence much longer. Some of the cities on the south of the Appian road were destroyed nearly as soon as those on the Sabine frontier. Apiolæ and Politorium, Ficana and Tellenæ, perished during the Regal period, while Bovillæ, Laurentum, and Lavinium continued to exist till the great final struggle of the Latins in 340 B.C. Ardea was early reduced to the position of a colony; and Ostia having been originally a Roman colony, never possessed an independent existence.

The early history of the remaining towns of Latium, situated on the Alban hills and the Æquian frontier, is bound up with that of the Latin League, of which they formed the principal component elements. It is a familiar fact in Roman history that when Rome first came into collision with Latium, the Latins formed a confederation of thirty cities, under the presidency of Alba Longa. Tullus Hostilius is said to have destroyed Alba with the view of making Rome the head of the Latin League,[2] and thus began the first Latin war, at the end of which the Latin cities remained in the position of allies to Rome, but subject to her orders in all respects.[3] Servius Tullius, by founding the Temple of Diana on the Aventine, in place of the former common sanctuary at the Aqua Ferentina, tried to establish the Roman supremacy still more firmly. "Ea erat confessio," says Livy, "caput rerum Romam esse;"[4] and Cicero states that "Tarquinius Superbus omne Latium bello devicit."[5] In 493 B.C., however, the Latin cities were so far from

The Latin League.

[1] Gabii resisted more obstinately than the rest. Hence the cinctus Gabinus (Æn. vii. 612) was symbolic of a state of war, and ager Gabinus of a hostile territory. Strabo, v. 230, speaking of the earliest age of Rome says: Κολλατία δ' ἦν καὶ Ἀντέμναι καὶ Φιδῆναι καὶ Λαβικὸν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι, κτήσεις ἰδιώτων, ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἢ μικρῷ πλειόνων τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίων.

[2] Dionys. iii. 31: Ἡ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν πόλις ἔτη διαμείνασα πεντακόσια τριῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα δέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀποικίσεως καθαιρεθεῖσα ἔρημος εἰς τόδε χρόνου διαμένει.

[3] Ibid. 54: Εἶναι φίλους Ῥωμαίων καὶ συμμάχους, ἅπαντα πράττοντας ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν.

[4] Livy, i. 45.

[5] Cic. De Rep. ii. 24, 44.

acknowledging the supremacy of Rome that by the treaty of Sp. Cassius they obtained equal private rights (ἰσοπολιτεία) with the Romans.[1] The Hernicans were admitted to this league in 486 B.C., and until 389 B.C. nothing occurred to occasion a serious misunderstanding between Rome and her Latin neighbours. In that year the Latins and Hernicans joined the Volscians against Rome, and the Volscian war followed; but in 358 the league with Rome was renewed, and the Latins sided with her against Samnium. The final dissolution of the league, and consequent destruction of the political existence of the Latin cities, was caused by the great war of 348—338 B.C. Which of the cities then escaped a total loss of rights is not accurately known. Tibur and Præneste seem to have been the only places in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome which retained the right of coining money, of sheltering exiles, and also certain powers of self-government.[2]

Each of the cities above enumerated, with perhaps the single exception of Ostia, must be supposed to have possessed in the period of their independence a territory corresponding to the old ager Romanus. In the case of Tibur and Præneste, this territory was of considerable extent, as we know that both of them exercised a supremacy over several smaller towns in their neighbourhoods. It was in consequence of the changes in the holding of these lands caused by the Roman method of dealing with the territories of conquered states, that in most cases the towns themselves dwindled into insignificance, and the whole face of the Campagna became occupied in the sixth and seventh centuries of Rome with vast farms tilled by slave labour (latifundia), which Pliny denounced as the cause of the ruin of Italy.[3] When a town had been completely conquered by the Romans, they took the whole of its territory and converted it into domain land, the property of the Roman government (ager publicus). So, in the case of Collatia, the formula of surrender includes the whole of the lands and the waters which had belonged to the conquered Collatines.[4] It was only when certain terms had been settled by diplomatic arrangement that less stringent conditions were accepted; and even then, as may be seen by the cases of Ecetra and Veii,[5] a portion of territory was always appropriated by the Roman state. The land so acquired was either put into the hands of colonists from Rome, or it was sold by the quæstors for the benefit of the state, or it was allowed to be occupied on payment of a part of the produce (vectigal) to the exchequer,[6] and could be resumed by the state whenever it was found convenient. This last was called ager occupatorius or arcifinalis, and could not become the property of the occupier by any length of tenure (usucaptio).

(A.) *Latifundia.*

Such lands, comprising by far the greater part of the conquered territories, fell into the hands of the patricians in the first instance, principally because they were the only persons possessed of sufficient capital and command of labour to work them at a profit.

[1] Dionys. vi. 63.

[2] See Becker's Handbuch, Th. iii. S. 30.

[3] Plin. N. H. xviii. 35: "Verumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam."

[4] Livy, i. 38: "Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos," &c.

[5] Ibid. i. 15, ii. 25.

[6] Siculus Flaccus, p. 136, ed. Blume and Lachmann: "Postquam ergo majores regiones ex hoste captæ vacare cœperunt, alios agros diviserunt, assignaverunt, alii ita remanserunt ut tamen populi Romani essent. Nam sunt populi Romani quorum vectigal ad ærarium pertinet."

They took advantage of their political power to refuse the payment of the imposts; and thus the exchequer was impoverished, and the unfortunate plebeians found themselves utterly without the power of reaping any benefit from the acquisitions which they had helped to earn.

Hence the memorable struggles which took place whenever an agrarian law for the resumption and redivision of the domain land was proposed. The occupier, whose ancestors had for generations been settled on the land, naturally considered it hard to be suddenly evicted without compensation. Cicero puts their case in several passages.[1] "How can it be equitable," says he, "that in the case of land which has been occupied for many years, or even ages, the man who is without land should come into possession, while the occupant is turned out? Why is it to be so ruled, that when I have spent money in building and fencing you should reap the benefit of my improvements contrary to my wishes?" The Senate employed various political manœuvres to keep the land of Latium, as being near Rome and therefore most valuable, in the hands of patrician occupiers. The most favourite device was one disliked excessively by the commons, namely, the planting of a colony of plebeians in some distant spot, in order to get rid of their interference at home.[2]

We have the first intimation of the height to which the evil of gradually extended occupations had grown in the law of C. Licinius, 377 B.C., forbidding any one to occupy more than 500 jugera of land.[3] Evasions of this law were soon practised, and the same fate befell the other agrarian laws enacted before the time of the Gracchi, so that the occupation of vast tracts of domain land went on increasing rapidly. As the wealth of the Romans and their amount of disposable capital grew greater, possessions in land were easily accumulated by the great capitalists, and in this way the evil was aggravated. The smaller farmers became unable from various causes to gain a sufficient return for their outlay, and thus their farms were absorbed by their wealthier neighbours.[4]

> "Tunc largos jungere fines
> Agrorum, et quondam duro sulcata Camillî
> Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
> Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.'[5]

One of the principal causes of this tendency was the shortsighted policy of the Roman government, who used to lower the price of corn by the importation of large quantities of grain at the expense of the state, thus making competition on the part of the farmers of the Campagna impossible. Another no less important cause was the constant absence of the farmer from home on foreign service in the army, and the consequent neglect of his farm, or sometimes its forcible seizure by a powerful neighbour. In addition to these irresistible circumstances favouring the large possessors of land,

[1] Cic. De Off. ii. 22, 79; De Leg. Agr. ii. 21, 57: Livy, ii. 41. The first lex agraria was that of Sp. Cassius, B.C. 486.

[2] Livy, ii. 48: "Plebem in agros iturum, civitatem in concordia fore."

[3] Ibid. vi. 55.

[4] Cic. De Leg. Agr. iii.: "Denique eos fundos quos in agro Casinati optimos continuavit quum usque eo vicinos proscriberet, quoad oculis conformando ex multis prædiis unam fundi regionem formamque perficeret, sine ulla cura possidebit."

[5] Lucan, Phars. i. 167. The park of Lucullus extended from Tusculum across the Campagna almost to the banks of the Anio. Varro, R. R. i. 13, iii. 3.

they were enabled easily to undersell the smaller proprietors by the employment of slave labour.

Lastly, the effect of a glut produced in the corn market was of course to make all other produce more profitable, and the crown lands of Latium were gradually changed into pastures, vineyards, or oliveyards.[1] Now, as an estate under pasture did not demand the constant attention of the master, this again favoured the growth of the latifundia, and more especially in the case of the domain land, which might be resumed by the State at any time, and did not repay improvement as being held on an insecure tenure.[2]

To these causes must be added the depreciation of a commercial life among the Romans as unworthy of a gentleman of high birth,[3] and the insecurity of foreign trade, on account of the ignorance of navigation and the frequency of piracy which prevailed in those times. Cato opens his treatise on agriculture with the following sentences: "Perhaps the best way of making a fortune is commercial speculation; but it has the drawback of being so hazardous. Money-lending again is very profitable, but not very creditable. For our ancestors held the opinion, and laid it down in the laws of the country, that while the thief should be condemned to pay double the value of the theft, an usurer should pay quadruple. And when they wished to give the highest praise to a man, they called him a good farmer. The merchant is an effective and energetic money-maker, but, as I said before, he is too much exposed to risks and losses. On the other hand, farmers make the bravest and most able soldiers; their way of getting rich is the most honourable, the safest, and the least offensive; and those who follow that occupation have least occasion to harbour evil thoughts."[4]

It is not therefore surprising that the immense capital accumulated in Rome during the three centuries previous to the Christian era should have been mainly employed by those who had a turn for money-making, as most of the Roman nobles had, in agriculture on a vast scale, and that the ownership of land should have been thus placed beyond the reach of men of moderate means, and monopolized by a few great speculators.

Cicero states that the tribune Marcius Philippus, when moving an agrarian law in B.C. 104, asserted that there were not more than two thousand men of large property in the realm.[5] And the violence of the rich owners became a commonplace among the rhetoricians of later times. "The land which once maintained numerous citizens," says Quintilian, "is now the garden of one millionaire. The rich man's estate, by gradually pushing back the boundaries of his neighbour's land, has spread wider and wider like an inundation, farmhouses are levelled to the ground, ancestral religious

[1] Horace hints at this, Ep. i. 16, 2, "Ne perconteris fundus meus, optime Quinti, Arvo *pascat* herum, an baccis *opulentet* olivæ, pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo." Arable land would only just feed its owner, while olive-orchards would enrich him.

[2] Mommsen, R. Hist. Book iii. chap. 12.

[3] By the Claudian law, 218 B.C., it was enacted, "Ne quis senator, cuive senatorius pater fuisset, maritimam navem quæ plusquam trecentarum amphorarum esset haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quæstus omnis Patribus indecorus visus est." Livy, xxi. 63. See Mommsen, R. Hist. Book iii. chap. 12.

[4] Cato, De R. R. i. 1.

[5] De Off. ii. 21, 73. A well-known locus classicus on this subject is Appian, B. C. i. 7. According to him, the story of Ahab and Naboth had many parallels in Italy during the later Republic.

rites are abolished, the old established tillers of the soil with a last lingering look at their fathers' home have migrated elsewhere with their wives and children, and a wide and monotonous solitude prevails over the whole country."[1] Notwithstanding the efforts made from time to time to put a stop to this gradual monopoly of land by a limited class of capitalists,[2] the evil went on increasing, till in the time of Cato the Censor, B.C. 234–149, the same space of ground which had formerly contained, when inhabited by small holders, from 100 to 150 farmers' families, was as a single estate occupied by one family and about 50 slaves.[3] Within a few years after the death of C. Gracchus in 119 B.C. a law was passed legalizing the sale of landed property assigned to colonists, a practice which had been forbidden by the Gracchi;[4] and thereafter no further check was put upon the acquirement and holding of latifundia. The ravages of Sylla in Latium, in which whole districts and cities, as in the above-mentioned case of Præneste, were depopulated, must have had a great effect on the distribution of land. Many towns then lost the whole of their territory, which was no doubt bought up immediately by capitalists.[5] Nor did the Syllan military colonies bring any permanent alleviation of the evil, for the veterans soon became tired of a country life and sold their allotments, or dying childless left them to the state or to the market, and thus in a few years they were absorbed by the latifundia. The last attempt made in the spirit of the Gracchi to revive the yeoman class in Italy, and to provide for the surplus population collected at Rome, was the Servilia lex brought forward in 63 B.C. by Rullus. This measure failed entirely, being thrown out by Cicero's eloquence and the opposition of the aristocracy. Under the Empire the military colonies were settled on land which was bought from the municipia or from private owners, and they belonged therefore to a different class of holdings, which in no way interfered with the large estates.

(B.) *Villas.*

The greedy covetousness of the great Roman capitalists, which absorbed the possession of land in a few hands, was succeeded by the love of luxury and splendour developed among the rich aristocrats, who were not contented with the simple accommodation of the old farmhouses (villæ rusticæ). The first country-seat (villa urbana)[6] of which we hear is that of Scipio Africanus at Liternum, where he died in B.C. 185. It is not, however, to be supposed that Scipio, who was bred in the strict manners of the old Roman school, spent much on the decoration or on the comfort of his villa. Seneca, spending a night there, writes to Lucilius in admiration of the simplicity of the bath-room with which Scipio had been contented, and compares it at length with the costly furniture of such places in his own time. "What a boor people nowadays would think Scipio for allowing his bath-room to have narrow windows, for not having a well-lighted place to stew himself down in, and gradually digest his food. Poor fellow! he did not know what life was! He did

1 Quint. Decl. 13.

2 See Becker's Handbuch, Th. iii. 323.

3 Mommsen, R. G. iii. 12.

4 Appian, B. C. i. 27.

5 Ibid. 96. Florus, iii. 21, 27, "Municipia Italiæ splendidissima sub hasta venierunt—Spoletium, Interamnium, Præneste, Florentia." Cic. De Leg. Agr. ii. 28, 78, "At videmus, ut longinqua mittamus, agrum Prænestinum a paucis possideri."

6 The villa urbana was so called because it contained all the luxurious arrangements previously considered to be suitable to a town-house only. Varro, R. R. i. 13, "Vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis." Hor. Ep. i. 15, 45.

not even wash in filtered water, but often in water that was far from clear; and when it rained more heavily than usual, he had to use it almost muddy."[1] Scipio's villa was, Seneca says, built of squared stone, with a wood surrounding it, and fenced by a wall with towers like a fortress. The walls of the rooms were not covered with plaster, but left rough, like those of Cato's farmhouse.[2]

Tusculan villas.

Cicero's Tusculanum.

In Cicero's time the number of country-houses which a wealthy Roman considered it necessary to possess had evidently become considerable, and the amount spent upon them very great. The orator himself had villas at Tusculum, Antium, Formiæ, Baiæ, and Pompeii, besides his town-house on the Palatine, and his family seat at Arpinum. The compensation paid for the loss of his Tusculan villa when demolished by the Clodian mob was 500,000 sesterces (about £4,500), a sum which he considered very inadequate to replace his loss.[3] No doubt the collection of sculpture which Atticus had made for him, and which was chiefly placed at his Tusculan and Formian country-houses, was almost priceless in his estimation. The Tusculanum of Cicero had formerly been in the possession of Sylla, who had caused a celebrated painting to be executed there, probably upon one of the walls, in commemoration of his having received a crown of grass in the Marsic war;[4] and Cicero himself had expended large sums in erecting additional rooms and galleries, which he called by the Greek names of the Academy and Gymnasium, and used for conversation and recreation during his vacations.[5] The house must therefore have been of considerable extent; but, as we have unfortunately no intimation by Cicero of its exact position, the site is completely lost. The ruins now called Scuola di Cicerone are near the amphitheatre on the western edge of the hill of Tusculum, and were certainly outside the gates of the old city, though not far from the western gate. The villa to which they formerly belonged stood against the side of the hill. The ground-floor is apparently about 270 feet in length and 100 in depth, but the upper parts of the buildings have now completely disappeared. The materials were of brick and reticulated work similar to that now found in the gardens of Sallust at Rome, and generally considered as belonging to the last age of the Republic or the early Empire. The ground floor had a cryptoporticus along its whole length, and above this, on the first floor, was probably an open portico with a colonnade. Eight large rooms opened out behind the cryptoporticus, in the second of which are the remains of some stairs, and at the back of the eighth a kind of recess.[6] At the ends of the cryptoporticus are the remains of some more rooms. There are no signs of decoration on any of the walls, and therefore this lowest story of the building is supposed to have been used as a storehouse for corn and farm produce.

There is, however, no evidence whatever to connect these ruins with Cicero's Villa. The only indication we have of its site is given by the Scholiast on Horace, who speaks

[1] Senec. Ep. Mor. lxxxvi. 11. Pliny says that in his time people had ceased to value the water of the Virgo and Marcian aqueducts, and were mad after the luxurious bathing water to be obtained in villæ and suburbana. (N. H. xxxi. 42.)

[2] Gell. xiii. 24.

[3] Cic. Ad Att. iv. 2.

[4] Pliny, N. H. xxii. 6. Perhaps the word "pictam," in Cic. Pro Sest. xliii. 93, alludes to this.

[5] Cic. Ad. Att. ii. 1, 9, xiii. 29.

[6] Nibby, vol. iii. p. 333. See Canina, Monumenti, tav. ccxli., where a plan and conjectural restoration are given.

of it as situated near Tusculum, on the upper slopes of the hill.[1] This will agree either with the ruins just described or with those found in 1741 under the modern Villa Rufinella, which is a little way lower down the western side. We may infer that Cicero's Villa was upon the upper part of the hill from his own statement, that it was so near the house of the Consul Gabinius that, at the time of Cicero's exile, not only the furniture but the trees in his garden were transferred to the Villa of Gabinius; for it is certain that this latter villa was upon the upper part of the hill.[2] Nibby accordingly places the Villa of Gabinius on the site of the modern Villa Falconieri, close to the Rufinella.

Villa of Gabinius.

Several particulars about his villa are mentioned by Cicero himself. It contained two rooms called gymnasia, to the upper of which he gave the name of Lyceum, and which contained his library.[3] The lower gymnasium was called the Academy, in memory of Plato. An allusion to these *salons* was probably intended in the lines—

> "Inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lycæo
> Fuderunt claras fecundi pectoris artes."[4]

The Lyceum seems to have been used in the morning, and the Academia in the afternoon, as being more sheltered from the heat of the sun.[5]

The Hermathena, a double-headed bust of Hermes and Athene, mentioned in the letters to Atticus, was probably placed in the Lyceum, for the phrase Cicero uses there (Ἡλίου ἀνάθημα) seems to refer to Apollo as the patron of the gymnasium in which it was placed.[6] There were also some Hermæ of Pentelic marble, bronze busts, and Megarian statues placed in the gymnasia, and Atticus had a general commission to buy up anything which he might think would suit these rooms.[7] Another part of the villa was called the atriolum. Nibby has shown, from one of the letters to Quintus, that the atriolum of a villa was a small courtyard surrounded with bed-chambers and offices. The Tusculan atriolum was decorated with stucco reliefs on the walls, probably similar to those in the tombs on the Latin road, and with two borders for well-mouths (putealia).[8] We find also a small portico with exedræ or recesses with seats mentioned in a letter to Marcus Fabius Gallus. Here Cicero had a collection of small pictures in which he took great pleasure. The "tecta ambulatiuncula," of which he speaks in a letter to Atticus, was a common adjunct to Roman houses, and was used in very hot or very wet weather for taking exercise.[9] The indispensable bath-room was also not wanting. Cicero writes to his wife to say that he expected a party

[1] Schol. ad Hor. Epod. i. 29: "Non militabo tecum ut dilatentur termini agrorum meorum usque ad Circæum oppidum Tusculi superni, hoc est in monte siti, *ad cujus latera superiora* Cicero suam villam habebat Tusculanam." Nibby concludes, without sufficient reason I think, that the plural "latera" shows the villa to have occupied two sides of a spur of the hill. I do not think that "ad latera superiora" can mean more than "upon the upper slopes."

[2] Cic. Pro Dom. xxiv. 62; Post Red. in Sen. vii. 18, compared with In Pis. xxi. 48.

[3] De Div. i. 5, 8; ii. 3, 8. Nibby thinks that the Scuola di Cicerone is perhaps the remains of this part of the villa.

[4] De Div. i. 13, 22. Nibby places the Academia at the casino of the Villa Rufinella.

[5] Tusc. Disp. ii. 3, 9, and iii. 3, 7: "In Acad. nostram descendimus inclinato jam in postmeridianum tempus die."

[6] Ad Att. i. 1.

[7] Ibid. i. 8, 9. Pliny mentions, N. H. xxxv. 26, a complaint of M. Agrippa, that valuable works of art were hidden so frequently from the public in villas.

[8] Ad Att. i. 10; Ad Quint. Frat. iii. 1.

[9] Ad Fam. vii. 23; xiv. 20.

of friends in October, B.C. 48, and that she was to see that there was a proper bath placed in the bathing-room. In the same year he writes to Tiro about a sun-dial he intended to have erected, and asks what is being done about the Aqua Crabra, by means of which the villa was supplied with water.[1]

Close to the Villa of Cicero, and so near that he could go across to fetch books from the library, was the Villa of Lucullus, noted as having been one of the most extensive in the neighbourhood.[2] When Lucullus was taunted with the reckless extravagance displayed in this villa, he replied that he had two neighbours—one just above him on the hill, a Roman knight, and the other below him, a freedman—both of whom possessed magnificent villas, and that he ought at least to be allowed to do as his inferiors in rank did.[3] The Villa of Gabinius was probably the upper villa to which he referred; and hence Nibby concludes that the seat of Lucullus was on the ground now occupied by Frascati, and that the great reservoirs just below that town and in the Sora Gardens belonged to it, and also the ruins in many of the neighbouring modern gardens and houses.[4]

Villa of Lucullus.

It is possible that the Villa of Cato the younger gave its name to the Monte Porzio, as that name can be traced far back into antiquity. The ruins extending along the road between Monte Porzio and Colonna perhaps belonged to the Porcian villa.[5]

Villa of Cato Junior.

Many other Roman villas lay on the Tusculan hills, but we have no evidence to determine the sites of any of them. One of the most famous was the Villa of Scaurus, which he had ornamented with the great works of art previously used in the decoration of his great temporary theatre at Rome. This villa was burnt down by the spite of his slaves.[6]

Turning to the neighbouring Alban hills, we find them also occupied by a group of great country seats, the principal of which was the vast Albanum Cæsarum, on the site partly occupied by the modern town of Albano. The buildings comprised in this villa are supposed to have occupied a space of nearly six miles in circumference, between Albano, Castel Gandolfo, Lariccia, and Palazzolo. On the same spot, previous to the Imperial times, stood two villas, belonging to Clodius and Pompeius Magnus respectively. The Villa of Clodius is described in Cicero's speech in defence of Milo. It appears to have been at or near the thirteenth milestone from Rome, close to the left side of the Appian road, between Bovillæ and the modern Albano. It was raised on immense substructions, the arches of which were capable of concealing a thousand men; and Cicero declares that Clodius had not respected in his encroachments even the confines of the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris or the sacred groves of Alba.[7] The ruins which lie under Castel Gandolfo, on the left side of the road towards the Porta Romana of Albano, may have formed part of the substructions of which Cicero speaks. The estate of Clodius passed, after his death, when

Alban villas.

Villa of Clodius.

[1] Cic. Ad Fam. xiii. 29; xvi. 18. Frontin. De Aq. 9. The horologium in the museum at the Collegio Romano was found there.

[2] Plutarch, Lucull. 39; Cic. De Fin. iii. 2, 7.

[3] Cic. De Legg. iii. 13, 30.

[4] Nibby, Anal. iii. p. 345.

[5] Ibid. ii. 356.

[6] Plin. N. H. xxxvi. § 115. See above, p. 318. note 4.

[7] Cic. Pro Mil. 10, 19, 20, 31.

the family of the Claudii Pulcri became extinct, into the hands of the Claudii Nerones, from whom Tiberius inherited it, and thus it became Imperial property.

Villa of Pompey.

The Villa of Pompey was between the villa of Clodius and the town of Aricia, and therefore occupied the site of the present town of Albano.[1] Nibby thinks that the walls of reticulated work in the Villa Doria belonged to Pompey's house, and that the great tomb near the Roman gate of Albano was Pompey's burial-place.[2] After the death of the great general the estate became the property of Dolabella, and subsequently of Antony, who held it till the battle of Actium, when Augustus took possession of it. After the adoption of Tiberius it was united with the Clodian grounds, and thus formed the nucleus of the Albanum Cæsarum.[3]

Albanum Cæsarum.

Augustus and some of the early emperors found the Albanum a convenient halting-place on their journeys to the south;[4] but it was in the time of Domitian that the place was extended so much as to contain a military camp, enormous reservoirs of water, thermæ, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and a circular temple.[5] The plan of the camp can still be traced. It resembles that of the Prætorian camp at Rome in being a quadrangular space, rounded off at the corners.[6] The two longer sides extend from the Church of S. Paolo to the round temple, now the Church of S. Maria. One of the shorter sides was parallel to the Appian road, and the other ran near the Church of S. Paolo. There were four terraces or levels in the camp, rising towards the hill behind. The Porta Decumana was on the north-eastern side, and the Porta Prætoria on the south-western. Great reservoirs for water stand on the northern side, near S. Paolo, and thermæ towards the south-east, on the opposite side of the Appian road. At the western corner is the round building usually called the Temple of Minerva, and supposed to be that alluded to by Suetonius as annually visited by Domitian.[7] This round building is in good preservation, and a part of the ancient mosaic pavement still remains, at a depth of six feet below the present surface; but it has been stripped of all decorations which would enable us to determine its original purpose. The amphitheatre is situated between the Church of S. Paolo and that of the Capuchin convent. It is principally constructed of opus quadratum, but the interior parts are of mixed masonry, consisting of bricks and fragments of the local stone. This amphitheatre is supposed to have been the scene of the feats performed by Domitian in killing with his own hand hundreds of wild beasts with arrows and javelins, and also of the degradation of Acilius Glabrio, who was forced by Domitian to join him in these sports.[8]

> "Profuit ergo nihil misero quod comminus ursos
> Figebat Numidas, Albana nudus arena
> Venator."[9]

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[1] Cic. Pro Mil. 19, 20.

[2] Plutarch, Pomp. 53, 80, states that Pompey was buried at his Alban villa. The well-known tomb with five truncated cones, usually called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, has also been called the tomb of Pompey. It is more probably an imitation of the old Etruscan tombs executed at a later time. *Ann. dell' Inst.* ix. 55. Dionys. v. 36; vii. 5.

[3] Cic. Phil. xiii. 5, 10.

[4] Suet. Nero, 25; Dion Cass. lviii. 24; Sen. De Consol. 17 (36).

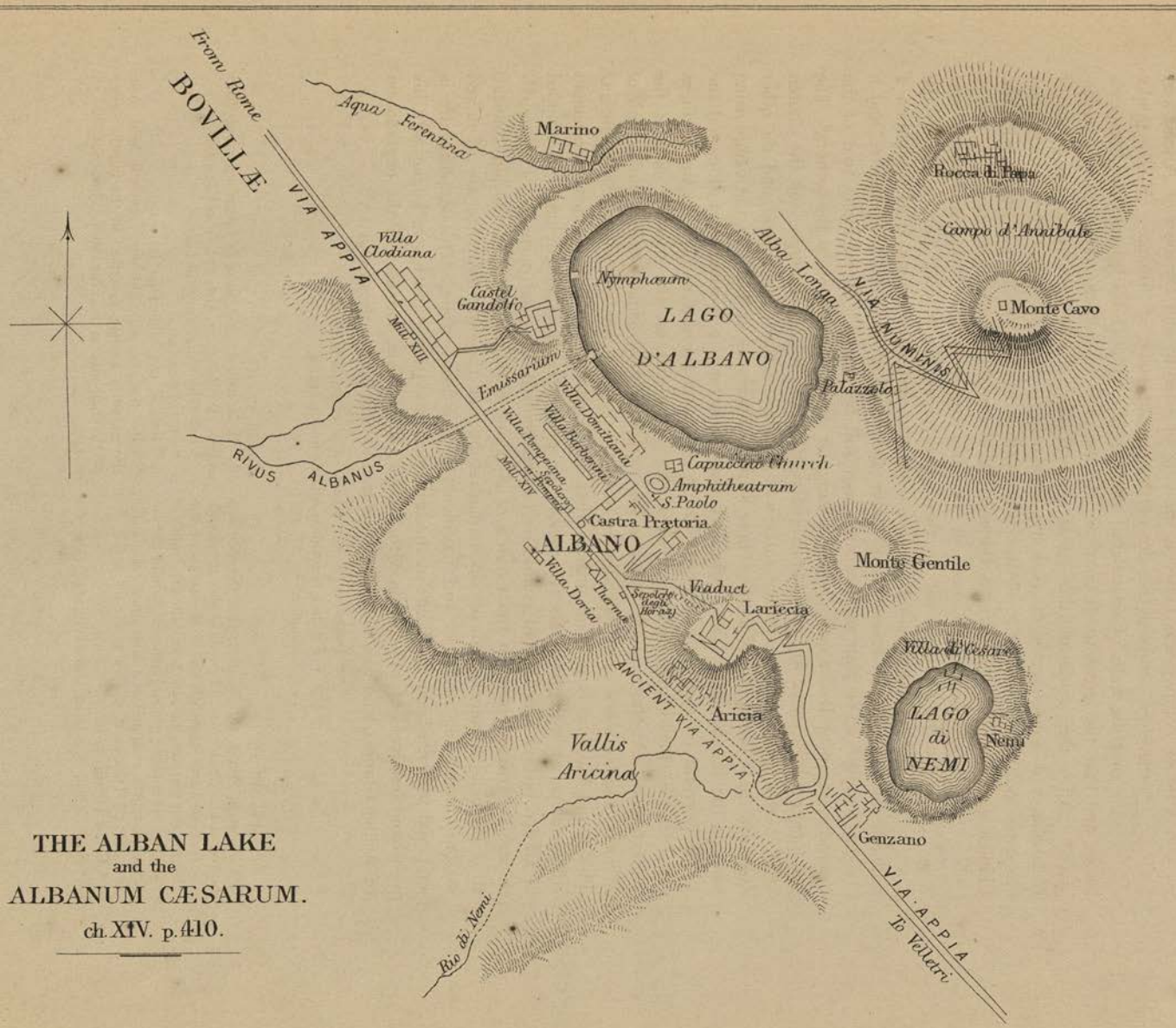
[5] It is called arx Albana in Juv. iv. 145 and Tac. Agric. 45. Mart. ix. 102, 12; Dion Cass. lxvi. 9.

[6] See Hist. Aug. Caracall. 2.

[7] Suet. Dom. 4.

[8] Ibid. 4, 19; Dion Cass. lxvii. 1.

[9] Juv. Sat. iv. 99. The mock council held over the gigantic turbot, described in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, was at the Albanum. Juv. Sat. iv. 36—149.



THE ALBAN LAKE
and the
ALBANUM CÆSARUM.

ch. XIV. p. 410.

E. Weller, lith.

Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.

Between Castel Gandolfo and Albano four magnificent terraces, rising one above the other, were traced by Cav. Rosa as forming part of the Albanum Cæsarum, and in the Villa Barberini there is a considerable part of a cryptoporticus ornamented with stucco reliefs, which probably stand over the old substructions of the Villa Clodii.[1] On the side towards the lake there were open balconies for viewing the mock naval engagements, and near the entrance of the Villa Barberini the ruins of a theatre have been discovered. It appears probable from the numerous ruins found upon the edge of the lake that the whole of the shore was surrounded with quays, and tiers of stone seats, and nymphæa, making it resemble a gigantic natural naumachia. These ruins may possibly, however, have belonged to separate private villas placed at different points round the water.[2]

To the south of Albano, in the grounds of the Villa Doria, there are the ruins of an extensive Roman villa. Whether this was a part of the Albanum Cæsarum, or not, is uncertain. Some of the bricks bear the stamps of Domitian, others those of the third consulship of Servianus (A.D. 134), Hadrian's brother-in-law, others of Commodus.[3]

The Imperial villas, like that of Domitian at Albano, comprising an area of two or three miles in extent, may be said to have formed an exceptional class of country residences, which, more even than the great domains of Lucullus and Scaurus, exemplified the remark of Sallust, that houses and country seats had begun to resemble cities in extent and grandeur.[4] The most celebrated of these *urbes in rure* were the palace of Tiberius at Caprea[5] and the seats of Trajan at Centumcellæ, of Hadrian at Tibur, of the Antonines at Lorium, of the Gordians on the Via Prænestina, and of Lucius Verus on the Via Clodia.[6] But these were exceptions to the ordinary villas of Roman gentlemen, with which certain districts of the Campagna were studded.

Laurentine villas. Pliny's Laurentinum.

We have already spoken of two of these groups of villas—the Tusculan and the Alban. A third group occupied the shore of the Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Laurentum, and of one of these we have a detailed and interesting account given by the owner himself, the younger Pliny. He says that he used this villa chiefly as a winter residence, and during the summer removed to his Tuscan house on the high spurs of the Apennines.

The exact site of the Laurentinum of Pliny is now lost; for the ruins at Torre Paterno do not correspond in shape to Pliny's description, though the style of brickwork may belong to his time; and the aqueduct which evidently conducted a stream of water to the house at Torre Paterno contradicts his express assertion that his villa was without running water.[7] That it stood somewhere between Ostia and Laurentum, on the sea-shore, is all that we can gather; and there seems to be some reason to suppose that it

[1] See *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1853, p. 3.

[2] Henzen in the *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1853, p. 10.

[3] See Canina in the *Ann. e Mon. dell' Inst.* 1854, p. 101, "Tavola nona della Via Appia." Henzen in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1853, p. 10.

[4] Sallust. Catil. 12. [5] Tac. Ann. iv. 67.

[6] See the Hist. Aug. Verus, 8; Ant. Pius, 1.

[7] The eleventh milestone on the Via Laurentina was found in 1846. It stood near the bridge and Osteria di Malpasso. By measuring three miles from this spot, and then turning off to the right and proceeding for three miles further towards Castel Fusano, we arrive approximately at the spot on which Pliny's Villa must have stood, nearly midway between Torre Paterno and Castel Fusano. Such a position also agrees well with the other measurement given by Pliny from the Ostian road. Canina in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1846, p. 120.

was on the shore half-way between Torre Paterno and Castel Fusano. Pliny's letter describes it as follows :—

"You are surprised that I should be so fond of my Laurentine, or, if you like to call it so, my Laurens country house. Your surprise will cease when you have learned how pleasant and convenient the place is, and what a fine sea-coast it commands. The distance from town is only seventeen miles, so that, after finishing my business, I can spend a good part of the day quietly here. The place is reached by either of two roads, the Laurentine or the Ostian ; but you turn off on the Laurentine road, at the fourteenth, and on the Ostian at the eleventh milestone. The rest of the road in either case is sandy, and rather heavy and tedious for a carriage, but soft and easy for riding.

"There is some variety in the scenery on the road, for sometimes it is bordered by the woods, and sometimes there is a wide view across broad meadow tracts, where numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, and horses driven down in the winter from the mountains, grow sleek and fatten on the luxuriant grass and in the spring-like warmth of the air. The house is large enough for comfort, but not expensive to keep up. The porch in front (*a*) is plain, but not mean ;[1] and behind this there are cloisters (*b*) in the shape of the letter D, enclosing a small but cheerful little court, an excellent retreat in stormy weather, as the windows are glazed, and the roof has very wide and overhanging eaves. Opposite to the centre of this court is a well-lighted inner yard (*c*),[2] and then a handsome dining-room,[3] which runs out on the shore (*d*) ; so that if there is a south-west wind blowing, the waves, after breaking, just reach it with their extreme margin. It has folding doors or windows of equal size at the sides and in front, and thus affords, as it were, views of three different seas. At the back, it looks right through the inner yard, the cloistered court and the porch, to the woods and distant hills. On the left side, but standing further back, there is a large *salon* (*e*), and beyond it a smaller one (*f*), which receives the morning sun at one window, and by means of another enjoys the evening sun also. From this there is a good view over the sea, from a safe though a distant point. The angle formed by the walls of the dining-room and of these rooms makes a snug corner (*g*), where the warmest and brightest sunshine is to be enjoyed. This is our favourite seat in winter, and the exercise-ground of the household. It is sheltered from all winds, except those which bring clouds, and therefore the place is only useless in bad weather.[4] Close to this corner is a room with a domed roof, the windows of which are placed so as to follow the sun's course all round (*h*). Against the wall there are shelves, like those of a library, containing books not intended for cursory reading, but for real study. From hence you can go into a sleeping-room (*k*) through a passage (*i*) heated from below by tubes,[5] which convey and circulate a wholesome warmth. The remainder of this wing of the house is appropriated to the slaves and freedmen ; but most of the rooms are neat enough for the accommodation of guests, if necessary (*l, l*).[6]

[1] Pliny uses *atrium* in the sense of *vestibulum*.

[2] Cavædium.

[3] Triclinium.

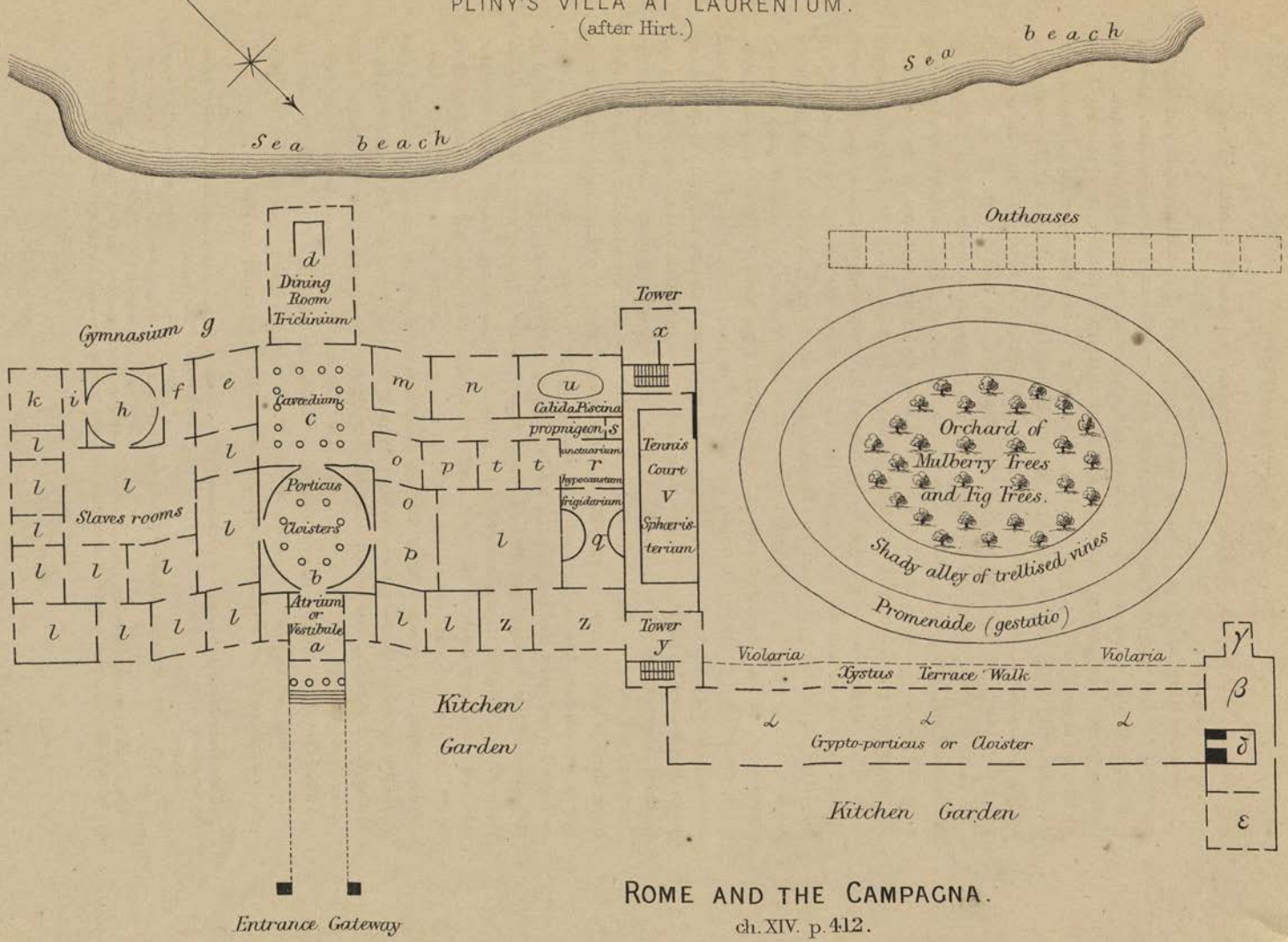
[4] The S.W. wind (Scirocco), which would bring rain.

[5] The tubuli here mentioned are constantly to be seen in the walls of Roman houses. They consist of terrá-cotta flues, like drainage tubes, passing behind the plaster of the walls.

[6] The rooms (*l l l*) were probably arranged round a yard, through which the light could enter the N.E. window of *f*. Their extent has been adapted, in the plan, to the large number of servants who usually attended a wealthy Roman.

PLINY'S VILLA AT LAURENTUM.

(after Hirt.)



ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA.

ch. XIV. p. 412.

E. Weller, lith.

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"In the opposite wing there is a very handsomely decorated room (*m*), and next to it another room, which makes a large bedroom or a small parlour, with plenty of sunshine, and with a good sea-view (*n*). Behind this there is a room (*p*) with an antechamber (*o*), lofty, so as to be cool in summer, and well sheltered from all winds, so as to be warm in winter. To this room another also, with an antechamber, is attached by a party-wall (*o*, *p*). Beyond is the wide and spacious cooling-room of the baths (*q*),[1] from the opposite walls of which two curved bathing-places project, sufficiently large, if you consider how near the sea is.[2] Next to this is the heated anointing-room (*r*),[3] and then the furnace (*s*);[4] and adjoining these are two other little rooms, in an elegant but not costly style (*t*, *t*).

"Near these is an admirable warm bath, from which swimmers can see the sea (*u*);[5] and not far off is the tennis-court, which faces the hottest sun in the afternoons (*v*).[6] Here there is a tower (*x*), which contains two sitting-rooms below and as many above, and, besides, a dining-room with a very extensive prospect of the sea and the coast with its lovely villas.[7] At the other end there is another tower, containing a room which commands both the rising and setting sun (*y*).

"Below this is a large store-room and granary; and on the ground-floor a dining-room, where you can only just faintly hear the roaring of the sea, even when rough. This looks upon the garden and the promenade[8] which surrounds the garden. The promenade is edged with box—or rosemary where box will not grow; for box, when sheltered by the buildings, grows luxuriantly, but when it is exposed to the wind or when the spray of the sea reaches it even from a distance, it withers. Round the inner edge of the promenade runs a shady alley of vines, affording a walk so soft and yielding that you can walk barefoot upon it. In the garden there are plenty of mulberry-trees and fig-trees, which this soil suits well, though it is unfavourable to other trees. The dining-room furthest from the sea looks out into the garden, and so enjoys a view not inferior to the sea-view. At the back it has two parlours, under the windows of which is the approach to the house and a kitchen-garden planted with luxuriant vegetables. On the other side runs a cloister, almost large enough to be a public building (*a*). It has windows on both sides; a double number on the side towards the sea, the alternate windows towards the garden being omitted.

"When the weather is fine and the air still, these are all thrown open; but if it blows, those away from the side towards which the wind sets can be left open without inconvenience. Before the cloister lies a terrace walk[9] perfumed with beds of violets, and warmed by the sunshine reflected from the cloister, which retains the sun's rays and at the same time keeps off the north wind, and provides a warm place in front and a cool place at the back. Similarly it keeps off the south-west wind, and thus by means of its

[1] Frigidarium.

[2] Keil, ed. 1870, reads *mare* for the old reading *nare*.

[3] The words "unctuarium hypocaustum" are not to be separated as Keil does, but "unctuarium" is to be taken as an adjective. This room was probably used as a calidarium.

[4] Propnigeon. The adjoining rooms (*t t*) were probably apodyteria, or dressing-rooms.

[5] Calida piscina, used as a tepidarium.

[6] Sphæristerium.

[7] The rooms in the towers are described from the highest downwards to the ground-floor.

[8] Gestatio.

[9] Xystus.

different sides breaks and checks all the winds. These are its advantages in the winter, and in summer they are still greater; for then in the forenoon it keeps the terrace walk cool by its shadow, and in the afternoon the nearest part of the promenade and garden, casting a broader or narrower shadow on one side or the other, as the day increases or decreases. The cloister itself is coolest when the sun is most scorching and falls directly on the top of the roof. Besides, by setting the windows open, it admits a thorough draught from the west wind, and thus the air in it never becomes close and oppressive. At the upper end of the terrace there is a building (β) which is my favourite place, my particular favourite. I had it built under my own eye. It contains a sunny sitting-room, one side of which looks on the terrace, the other on the sea, both exposed to the sunshine, and also a bedroom with a door towards the cloister and a window towards the sea.[1] Next to the sea, in the middle of the wall, is a pretty recess (γ), which by means of glass doors and a curtain, can be united with the adjoining room or separated. It is furnished with a couch and two chairs, and as you lie on your side you have the sea at your feet, behind you the neighbouring villas, and before you the woods: all these views may be looked at separately from each window or blended into one. Attached to this is a sleeping-room, which is proof against the noise of servants' voices, the roaring of the sea or of storms, and even the glare of lightning or of broad daylight, if the windows are kept shut (δ). This profound quiet is caused by a passage which separates the wall of the room from the outer wall towards the garden, and absorbs all noises in the intervening space.[2] Annexed to the bedroom is a small stove, which warms it from underneath by the opening or shutting, as occasion requires, of a small trap-door.

"Beyond this lies a projecting chamber and antechamber (ε), which enjoys the sun from morning till afternoon, though its rays fall obliquely. When I retire into this set of rooms I can fancy myself at a distance from my own house, and I find it especially delightful during the Saturnalia, when the rest of the house resounds with the unrestrained mirth of that festive season; for thus I do not interrupt the amusements of my household, nor they my studies. There is one defect in this pleasant and convenient place—the want of running water. But we have wells, or rather springs, for the water in them is close to the surface. The nature of the soil here is remarkable; for wherever you dig you immediately meet with fresh, clear water, not at all brackish, though so near the sea. The neighbouring woods supply plenty of firewood, and every other convenience of life may be had from the colony of Ostia. To a homely man, the village, between which and us there is only one villa, can supply everything. There are three public baths in it—a great convenience in case of sudden arrivals, or when there is no time to heat my own.[3] The coast scenery is beautifully varied by the contiguous or detached villas, which present the appearance of numerous towns, whether you look at them from the sea or from the land.

[1] The description here, as in the towers, appears to begin from above.

[2] Andron (ἀνδρών), a passage, as in Vitruv. vi. 10.

[3] This can hardly refer to the decayed town of Laurentum. It is very singular that Pliny should make no mention of it, which leads to the inference that his villa was much nearer to Ostia than to Laurentum.

"Sometimes after a long calm the sea is perfectly smooth, but it is more often roughened by the waves which contrary winds and currents raise. Good fish are scarce in it, but we get excellent soles and prawns. As to other provisions, we are better off at my villa than further inland, especially for obtaining milk; for the cattle collect here from the pastures, when in search of water or shade. Now have I sufficiently justified my fondness for living and passing my time in this retreat? If you do not feel inclined to see it, you are a bigoted cockney. How I wish you might feel so inclined, that my little country home might have the pleasure of your company in addition to its numerous other charms! Good-bye."[1]

It is plain from the above description that this Villa of Pliny was one of many which belonged to a special class of houses used by Roman men of business and statesmen in the winter, from which they went and returned daily to their offices in Rome, after the fashion of the men of business of the present day. Of the owners of the other villas mentioned by Pliny as lining the coast we have no knowledge.

Villa of Commodus.

Further inland, at Torre Paterno, there are the ruins of a large villa, which have been supposed by some to belong to Pliny's Laurentinum. But they are more probably the relics of an imperial villa mentioned by Herodian as the retreat to which Commodus withdrew by the advice of his physicians, at the time of the great plague in Rome, in the year 187. The neighbourhood of Laurentum was recommended, says the historian, on account of its being cooler than Rome, and also because it was shaded with large woods of laurel and bay trees, the strong scent from which was supposed to counteract the influence of the deadly malaria which was devastating the capital.[2] The present ruins at Torre Paterno consist of brick walls in two styles, one of which Nibby refers to the age of Nero, and the other to the reign of Commodus or Severus.[3] The central building, which contained the grand suite of rooms, is the only part where work of the first century, analogous to that of Nero's buildings at Rome, is to be seen. The rest, says Nibby, is composed of various courtyards, built in the style of the Antonine era, which have been altered and partly concealed by later modern edifices. On one side of the ruins are two large piscinæ, supplied by an aqueduct which comes from the Tenimento la Santola. The brickwork of this is apparently contemporaneous with other works which we know to have belonged to the age of Commodus or Severus, having very thin bricks and a great quantity of mortar. Near these reservoirs is an enclosed space, which was probably a courtyard or garden of a rectangular shape. On the north side it has some ruins constructed in the style called opus mixtum, of the fourth century; and on the east is the principal part of the villa, built of large and thick triangular bricks, with thin layers of mortar beautifully laid, and evidently of an early date. On the west there is a large triclinium looking towards the sea, like that in Pliny's Laurentinum. Various other rooms and the foundations of a tower can be traced on the sites occupied by the modern guard-house and the chapel of S. Filippo.[4] The villa was apparently first built at the beginning of the first century, enlarged towards the end of the second, and supplied with water by the aqueduct and again restored on the north side in the fourth century.

[1] Plin. Ep. ii. 17.
[2] Herodian, i. 12, 2.
[3] Nibby, Analisi, vol ii. p. 205.
[4] Ibid, pp. 205, 206.

Villa of Hortensius.

Another of the great Laurentine villas belonged to Hortensius the orator, Cicero's rival. We only know of its existence by Varro's description of the park attached to it, and by Pliny's statement, derived from Varro, that he left to his heir 10,000 casks of wine stored in his villas.[1] The covers or game-preserves of Hortensius comprised more than 50 jugera in extent, and were surrounded with a ring fence. Such preserves were usually called leporaria, but he called his a *θηριοτροφεῖον*, as containing all kinds of wild beasts. In it there was a banqueting-room built on a hill, so as to command a view all round; and one of Hortensius's entertainments at his parties was to have a slave dressed in a bard's costume, with a harp, like Orpheus, who called immense numbers of stags, boars, and other wild animals out of the woods to follow him in procession. "The sight," says Varro's informant, "was as fine as the ædile's shows in the Circus Maximus, or the elephant-hunts at Rome."

Suburban villas near Rome.

The villas in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome had the distinctive name of *suburbana* applied to them, though this term was understood vaguely, and was sometimes used with reference to places at least five-and-twenty miles from Rome.[2] A large number of these suburban villas can be traced on the low hills on each side of the great roads leading out of Rome. Some of those built by the emperors must have been of vast extent, and the ruins still existing of one on the left-hand side of the Appian road, at the fifth milestone, are worth exploring.

Suburbanum Commodi.

These ruins have had the name of Roma Vecchia given to them, derived from the fact that at this spot was the boundary of the oldest ager Romanus, called Fossa Cluilia by Livy, Dionysius, and Plutarch, Festi by Strabo, and Campus Sacer Horatiorum by Martial.[3]

The massive ruins scattered about this part of the road consist chiefly of tombs; and the spot appears, from their number, to have been a very favourite burial-place. On the left hand, a little beyond the fifth milestone, the remains of the villa begin, and reach along the side of the road for at least half a mile, extending also towards the left into the adjoining fields as far as the edge of the great lava-current on the top of which the Via Appia is here carried. The whole of this space, nearly two miles in circumference, is strewed with fragments of costly marbles, of sculpture, and bits of mosaic, showing that it was covered with handsomely decorated buildings. The style of construction, says Nibby, belongs to three different epochs. The buildings nearest to the Appian road, comprising the great reservoir, on the foundations of which the farmhouse of S. Maria Nuova is built, are of brickwork and reticulated work of the time of Hadrian. The great mass of the ruins which lies towards the new road to Albano exhibits workmanship of the Antonine era, and

[1] Varro, R. R. iii. 13; Plin. N. H. xviii. 96.

[2] Plin. N.H. xxxi. 42 seems to distinguish between *villæ* and *suburbana*. In xxvi. 19 he speaks of the Pomptine marshes as suburban.

[3] Livy, i. 23; Strabo, v. p. 230. The Ambarvalian rites were sometimes performed here. Gell thinks that the Fossa Cluilia was a mound and dyke made to protect the frontier between the deep ravines of the Fosso di Fiorano and the Acqua Bollicante, respectively, on the Appian and Latin roads. Topogr. p. 243. Coriolanus halted here, near the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, and the legendary battle of the Horatii and Curiatii took place here; whence it was called Campus Sacer Horatiorum. Martial, iii. 47 Dionys. iii. 4; Plutarch, Cor. 30.

amongst them have been found numerous fragments of sculpture, also belonging to the reigns of the Antonines. The third style of building is that called opera mixta by the Italian antiquarians, which prevailed in the Constantinian age at the beginning of the fourth century. The buildings of the Antonines have been repaired and overlaid in many places by this later work. The stamps of most of the bricks found here belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus, and were made chiefly in the Imperial brickyards. Thus the date of the principal parts of the building is decided, and it is seen that the villa was most probably an Imperial villa. But all doubt on this point was completely cleared away by the discovery, in 1828, of a number of large leaden pipes bearing the inscription, "II. Quintiliorum Condini et Maximi," from which it became evident that the villa was the same place which Vopiscus and Dion Cassius mention as the property of the Quintilii, consuls in the year 151, under Antoninus Pius, and victims of the spite of Commodus in 182.[1] Commodus seized their property, and the villa became one of his favourite residences. The great extent of the ruins explains the circumstance related by Herodian, that the Emperor, being in the back part of the villa, could not hear the shouts of the infuriated mob in the Appian road, who were demanding the life of Cleander.[2]

The ruins which extend along the side of the road are plainly fragments of a kind of vestibule, or grand entrance to the Imperial villa. They consist of a nymphæum, or grand fountain, and a row of chambers intended for slaves' lodgings. The fountain is supplied with water by an aqueduct, the arches of which can be seen at the seventh milestone, where it leaves the lava rocks and crosses the country towards Marino at a higher level than the Aqua Claudia. This nymphæum and aqueduct are built of opera mixta, which shows that they probably belong to the Constantinian age.

The principal mass of the villa itself stood nearly half a mile from the old Appian road, on the edge of the rocks of basaltic lava. The remaining space was occupied by gardens and ornamental summer-houses and ponds. Nibby describes the chief ruins as having belonged to a richly ornamented fountain and a suite of bathing-rooms of great grandeur. One spacious *salon*, the walls of which form a picturesque ruin, as seen from the new post-road to Albano, stands on the edge of the hill, and commands a magnificent view of the whole of the Alban and Sabine hills and the city of Rome. Near this was a small theatre, from which the cipollino columns now at the entrance to the Tordinone Theatre in Rome were taken.

An immense quantity of valuable sculpture, now in the Roman museums and palaces, was discovered by excavations here in 1787 and 1792. Among these sculptures was a splendid statue of Euterpe, now in the Galleria dei Candelabri; a tiger, now in the Hall of Animals; and the busts of Lucius Verus, Diocletian, Epicurus, Socrates, Isis, and Antinous now in the Vatican, with numerous Sileni, Fauns, and Nereids.

[1] Hist. Aug. Florian, 16; Dion Cass. lxxii. 5, 13. The Quintilii wrote a treatise De Re Rustica. See Athenæus, lib. xiv. p. 649; Casaubon on Hist. Aug. Comm. 4. Canina ingeniously connects the property of the Quintilii at the Fossæ Cluiliæ with the ancient gens Quintia, one of the Alban families who migrated to Rome. Livy, i. 30; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 276.

[2] Herodian, i. 12.

Suburbanum Hadriani.

Connected with the above villa were probably the ruins now to be seen on the right hand of the Via Latina, at a place called Sette Bassi, five miles and a half from the Porta di S. Giovanni, and near the Osteria del Curato.[1]

These ruins occupy a space of nearly three-quarters of a mile in circumference, and appear to have been built at two different epochs. The bricks of which one portion of them is constructed have the dates 123 and 134 A.D. upon them—the years when Pœtinus and Apronianus, and Servianus and Juventius, were consuls. The other part of the building is evidently contemporaneous with the ruins on the Appian road just described, and belongs to the Antonine era. All the bricks were made at one of the Imperial kilns, and it has therefore been generally supposed that the villa was an Imperial residence, forming a part of the Suburbanum Commodi. The marbles found on the spot show that it was decorated with great magnificence, and a particular kind of breccia, numerous fragments of which have been picked up there, obtains its name, Breccia di Sette Bassi, from the place.

The plan, according to Nibby,[2] was that of a large oblong area, the longer sides of which ran north and south. In the centre there was room for a large pleasure-garden. The front of the buildings was at the northern end, towards Rome; and the remains of a portico can be traced, which supported a terrace on a level with the first-floor rooms of the mansion. One of these rooms, with three doors and the same number of windows, is still standing, and here and there in some of the walls the remains may be seen of terra-cotta pipes for heating the rooms. The ground-floor apartments were without decorations, and are therefore supposed to have served as store-houses for farm produce.

Behind this front building on the eastern and western sides are long ranges of buildings; the eastern consisting of two suites of rooms, probably intended for baths or for gymnasia, and the western forming a long ambulacrum, terminated by an exedra. On the south side there is a cryptoporticus and a reservoir for water, which was supplied by a branch of the Claudian aqueduct. About a quarter of a mile further south, near the Latin road, there is an outlying building which seems to have been intended to command a view of that road.[3]

Suburbanum Gordianorum.

The site of a third great Imperial suburban villa is pointed out by Julius Capitolinus,[4] who, in his history of the Gordian family, says that "their country house was situated on the road to Præneste, and was remarkable for the magnificence of a portico with four ranges of columns, fifty of which were of Carystian, fifty of Claudian, fifty of Synnadan, and fifty of Numidian marble. There were also three basilicas in it, each of a hundred feet in length, and other buildings of corresponding size, particularly some thermæ, more magnificent than any others in the world, except those at Rome." The ruins of this great Imperial villa are on the road to Gabii, about two miles

[1] The name Sette Bassi is generally supposed to be derived from the name of an owner of the estate, Septimius Bassus. Whether this was the Septimius Bassus who was consul in 317 A.D. is not certain. The estate is called Fundus Septem Bassi in a bull of Agapetus II., 955 A.D., and Fundus Bassi in Anastast. Vit. Silvest. I. The name of Roma Vecchia is given to this district, as well as that on the Appian road.

[2] Nibby, Analisi, iii. p. 736.

[3] Ibid. iii. p. 737. The railway to Frascati now runs between the Claudian aqueduct and these ruins.

[4] Hist. Aug. Gordian, ch. 32. Gordian III. was killed in A.D. 244.

and a half from the Porta Maggiore. They extend for nearly a mile along the road, consisting chiefly of some huge reservoirs for water, two spacious halls belonging to the thermæ, a round temple or Heroon, and a stadium surrounded with arcades. The style of construction in most of these is the irregular brickwork, with thick layers of mortar, which is known to be characteristic of the third century.

The great reservoirs are close to the road, two on the left and two on the right hand side, beyond the depression in which the stream called Acqua Bollicante runs, where the ground rises towards the hill of Torre dei Schiavi. Some of them appear to be of an earlier date than the reigns of the Gordians, and are referred by Nibby to the Antonine age. The brickwork of these is more regular, and they contain a good deal of reticulated work and layers of squared tufa stones. The two large halls which belonged to the thermæ are to the east of the reservoirs. One of them was a spacious octagonal building, with round windows. It was occupied as a fortress or watch-tower in the Middle Ages, and has been repaired in the style called opera Saracenesca.[1] In the walls of this may be seen the earliest instances of a mode of construction which afterwards became common—the introduction of jars of terra cotta in the walls to make the work lighter. The interior is ornamented with niches, alternately square and circular-headed, and retaining some of their ancient stucco decorations. The other hall of the thermæ stands not far off, and is circular, with a domed roof.

The circular temple, of which mention has been made, is similar to that near the Circus of Maxentius. The diameter of this building is 56 feet, and it was lighted by four large round windows. The front is turned towards the road, according to the rule laid down by Vitruvius.[2] Underneath there is a crypt, supported by a massive round pillar, and containing six niches. In these Nibby thinks that the ashes of the dead were placed, as their statues were in the temple above, and that the building was the Heroon of the reigning family. In the Middle Ages this Heroon was used as a church, and some of the paintings then introduced are still visible on the interior walls.[3] Not far from the Heroon are the ruins of the arcades which surrounded the stadium, and bounded the domain of the villa on the east side.

Another of the Imperial villas, of a much earlier date, was placed on the right bank of the Tiber, at the ninth milestone on the Via Flaminia, in the Veientine territory. It is not properly included in the limits which have been laid down for this chapter, but since it is so near Rome, and so many discoveries have been made there of late years, a short account of its chief features must be given.[4]

Suburbanum Liviæ at Prima Porta.

The Via Flaminia is bordered for a long distance on the left-hand side by tufa rocks of a reddish hue, whence the district had obtained in Livy's time the name of Saxa Rubra.[5] The Cremera, now the Valca, is one of the streams which enter the Tiber

[1] These halls are figured as tombs in Piranesi's Antiquities of Rome, tav. 29, 59, 60.

[2] Vitruv. iv. 5. See above, page 93, note. Nibby, vol. iii. p. 710.

[3] Nibby, quoting Galletti's Primicerio, p. 214, thinks that the church was dedicated to S. Andrea. Anal. iii. p. 711.

[4] See Henzen, in the *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1863, pp. 72, 81; Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 31.

[5] Livy, ii. 49. In Cic. Phil. ii. 31; Tac. Hist. iii. 79,

in this district, and beyond it, where the road turns to the left, and, leaving the valley of the Tiber, ascends the hill through a cutting, are the stream and hamlet of Prima Porta. On the right of the road here, and between it and the Tiber, lie the ruins of a large villa, the various terraces of which, raised one above the other, occupy the whole of the top of the hill, and command magnificent views of the Sabine and Æquian highlands.

There can be no doubt that these ruins are the remains of the Villa of Livia, called Ad Gallinas, mentioned by Pliny and by Suetonius as situated at the ninth milestone on the Via Flaminia.[1] The style of construction in the walls which remain corresponds to that of the Mausoleum of Augustus in the Campus Martius. The reticulated work has that peculiar irregularity about it, which indicates the transition from the opus incertum to the more regularly formed opus reticulatum. Nibby had pointed out this spot, in 1837, as one in which a rich harvest might be reaped from excavating; but it was not till 1863 that the splendid statue of Augustus, now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, with other interesting sculptures, was dug up here.

At the same time some rooms were excavated at a depth of ten feet under the level of the ancient villa. They had apparently been closed at a very early time, and filled with earth in order to erect a building over them. The largest of these was obviously intended as a cool retreat during the summer heats, and it is painted with trees and birds in imitation of a rustic bower. These paintings have attracted great attention, as being some of the most ancient now in existence, and also on account of their intrinsic beauty, and the wonderful way in which they have preserved their freshness of colour. The pavement of this painted room was of marble, which was removed when the earth was thrown in at the time of building the rooms above. The legend about this villa connects it with the death of Nero, relating that the laurel-bushes and the white fowls, for which the villa had been celebrated since the days of Livia, withered and died out during Nero's last days.

Suburbanum Phaontis.

Another villa, that of Phaon, between the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria, is mentioned by Suetonius as the scene of the last hours of Nero's life; and the site of this can be exactly ascertained, as the two ancient bridges by which the roads crossed the Anio have not been moved, and we know from Suetonius that the villa was near the fourth milestone.[2] Nibby says that in the farm called the Vigne Nuove, between the two roads at the above-mentioned distance, he found the remains of a villa built of brick and reticulated work of the time of Nero, and that in one part of it the plan of a cryptoporticus can be traced. A cross road led to this spot, which

it is mentioned as being at the ninth milestone, the first stage on the road to the north. See Itin. Hierosol. p. 612, Wess.* It was an important strategical position, and therefore a favourite place of encampment for troops, on account of the cross road thence which joined the Via Cassia. See Hist. Aug. Sever. chap. viii.; Aur. Vict. De Cæs. xl. 23. Martial speaks of it as a small knot of houses visible from the Janiculum; Martial, iv. 64.

[1] Suet. Galb. i.; Plin. xv. 136. The modern name, Prima Porta, is derived from an ornamental arch, which was still standing in the middle of the seventeenth century. Nibby thinks that this was one of the arches alluded to by Claudian, VI. Cons. Hon. 520: "Inde salutato libatis Tibride lymphis excipiunt arcus." The name Ad Gallinas was derived from the legend of the white fowl, with a laurel branch in its mouth, having been dropped here into the lap of Livia by an eagle. Suet. loc. cit.; Dion Cass. xlviii. 52.

[2] Suet. Nero, 47, 48, 49.

was probably even in Nero's time somewhat lonely and suitable to the purpose of concealment entertained by Nero in taking refuge there.

Tiburtine villas.

The neighbourhood of Tibur, equally with that of Tusculum, was thickly studded with the country villas of the wealthy Romans in the times of the late Republic and the Empire. But we have no certain knowledge of the sites of any one of them, except of that built by Hadrian on the slope of the Tiburtine hills two miles from Tibur itself. The buildings and pleasure-grounds attached to this villa were even more extensive than those of the Albanum Cæsarum or the Suburbanum Commodi, descriptions of which have been already given.

Hadrian's Tiburtine villa.

The Suburbanum Hadriani occupied the slopes of a hill of volcanic tufa, which may be called an outlying part of Monte Affliano, the Æfula of Horace, extending for about three miles in a direction from south-east to north-west. The various levels afforded by the ground have been formed into terraces adapted to the buildings they were intended to support, by means of substructions which in some places are of vast solidity and gigantic height. "From these terraces," says Nibby, "the views are most varied and picturesque. On one side the horizon is bounded by the pointed heights of the so-called Montes Corniculani, and by the ridges of the Peschiatore, the Ripoli, and the Affliano; and on the other the eye ranges over the gently undulating expanse of the ager Romanus, from which rise the towers of the Eternal City, while, beyond, the long streak of light reflected from the waters of the Etruscan and Laurentine sea seems to encircle the whole with a silvery zone. The situation of the villa is open to the healthy breezes of the west wind, but is sheltered by the mountains from the fury of the north wind, the piercing chills of the north-east, and the unwholesome hot summer blasts of the south."[1]

The high ground on which the villa stands rises between two valleys, which may be called from their position the north and south valleys. They run down into the plain through which the Anio cuts its bed. The northern valley has been artificially altered, with the view of increasing its picturesque appearance, by cutting the sides so as to form perpendicular cliffs of reddish stone. The tints of these rocks, the soft verdure of the plants and trees which grow luxuriantly upon them, the bright colours of the wild flowers scattered here and there, and the lovely hills which rise as a screen behind them, give this valley such a character of soothing and enchanting retirement and beauty, that it has been universally regarded as the spot to which the name of the Vale of Tempe was given by the emperor. The southern valley is less deep and bold, and from its monotonous and severe aspect it may perhaps be supposed to have been the place where Hadrian placed his imitation of the infernal regions.[2]

[1] See Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 647; Ligorio, Pianta della Villa Tiburtina di Adriano Cesare, Roma, 1751; Kircher, Latium, Amsterdam, 1671, p. 145. The best plan of the grounds is that of Piranesi, which has been followed by Nibby, Descrizione della Villa Adriana, 1827.

[2] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 26: "Tiburtinam villam mire exædificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pœcilem, Tempe vocaret, et ut nihil prætermitteret etiam Inferos finxit."

The brook which runs at the bottom of the northern valley (Fosso dell' Acqua Ferrata) has received the name of the Peneius from antiquarians; and that in the southern valley is called Fosso di Risicoli by the modern inhabitants. These streams are now very scantily supplied with water; but in ancient times, when the villa was watered by a constant flow from its aqueducts, they must have been of considerable volume. The ruins, now overgrown with clumps of cypress and other trees, extend for a space of seven miles in circumference, and in the Middle Ages were known as Tivoli Vecchio, from a vague and unfounded idea that the ancient city of Tibur stood here. It has been remarked that the Coliseum is strikingly characteristic of the emperors who planned and executed it, and with equal truth it may be said that the Tiburtinum of Hadrian gives a marvellous picture of the many-sided genius of the great man who was at once the ruler of the whole known world, and had travelled throughout his vast domain from Britain to the Euphrates, organizing and controlling everywhere, and at the same time showing an appreciation of and value for literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, which was generally foreign to the Roman character.[1] Hadrian constructed in his villa at Tibur a panorama of all the sights which had struck him most on his world-wide travels, in order that he might, in this realm of enchantment, when no longer able to travel, have the thoughts in which he had taken such pleasure revived for his imagination to feed upon.[2] Considering the size and magnificence of the place, which almost resembles a town in its vast extent, but few notices of it are found among the Roman historians and biographers. Dion Cassius, or rather his epitomizer Xiphilinus, does not even mention it; and Spartianus and Aurelius Victor pass it over without such special remark as we should expect. As, however, a great part of the buildings consisted of the familiar thermæ, stadia, theatres, and gymnasium, which occurred in every large Roman villa, they were perhaps not considered to be worth special remark, and only the peculiarities of the place were recorded. After Hadrian's return to Rome at the end of his last journey to the East, in 135 A.D., he resigned the cares of empire to Lucius Ælius Verus, and retired to this villa, which had probably been built during his absence, and was perhaps begun in 125, when he returned to Rome from his first journey, and finished during the last three years of his life, from 135 to 138.[3]

This opinion as to the date at which the villa was built is confirmed by the stamps found on the bricks, which range from the year 123 to the year 137 A.D.;[4] and that the ruins belong to Hadrian's Villa is sufficiently attested by universal tradition and by the

[1] Aur. Vict. Epit. xiv.: "Atheniensium studia moresque hausit, potitus non sermone tantum sed et ceteris disciplinis canendi, psallendi, medendique scientia, musicus, geometra, pictor, fictorque ex ære vel marmore proxime Polycletos et Euphranoras. Memor supra quam cuiquam credibile est, locos, negotia, milites absentes quoque nominibus recensere. Immensi laboris quippe qui provincias omnes passibus circumierit. Ad specimen legionum militarium, fabros, perpendiculatores, architectos, genusque cunctum exstruendorum mœnium seu decorandorum in cohortes centuriaverat. Varius, multiplex, multiformis." Tertullian calls Hadrian "curiositatum omnium explorator;" Apol. 5. "Orbem Romanum circumiit;" Eutrop. viii. 7. "Peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus;" Hist. Aug. Hadr. 23.

[2] See Gregorovius, Geschichte des Rom. Kaisers, Hadrian; Königsberg, 1851, p. 212.

[3] Hist. Aug. Hadr. 23, 26; Aur. Vict. De Cæs. xiv., "Deinde, uti solet, tranquillis rebus remissior, rus proprium Tibur secessit, permissâ Urbe Lucio Ælio Cæsari. Ipse, uti beatis locupletibus mos, palatia exstruere, curare epulas, signa, tabulas pictas."

[4] Nibby, Analisi, iii. p. 651.

discovery of numerous statues of Antinous and other works of art unquestionably belonging to the reign of Hadrian.

The ruins contain specimens of almost every kind of construction. The most ancient part is a wall of opus incertum, composed of small polygonal fragments of tufa, which stands near the Casino Fede. This wall is probably a remnant of some older villa rustica or farmhouse which occupied the site before Hadrian's time, and may have belonged to the gens Ælia. It apparently belongs to the first half of the first century B.C. The most frequently occurring masonry is opus reticulatum, with squares of tawny-coloured tufa quarried in the valley adjoining, and bonded at the corners with blocks of the same rock, or with red bricks. In those parts of the buildings which require great durability, from being exposed to the action of water, brickwork is used throughout. The Greek Theatre and parts of the Academy are built of small squared blocks of tufa, or in some cases of irregular fragments of tufa resembling the later opera Saracenesca. These are sometimes strengthened with bands of reticulated work. In most cases the outer covering of the walls has been removed, especially where it consisted of marble slabs. Some of the stucco ornaments are still very beautiful and well preserved.

Each part of the buildings is complete in itself, but they do not seem to have been arranged on any general plan; and now that the roads which conducted from one part to another have disappeared, they present a confused mass which requires some careful attention to unravel. I have followed Nibby throughout in this description of the Villa of Hadrian, but have been obliged to confine myself to a very general and cursory account of each main feature. To notice every detail would be far beyond the compass of this book. In Ligorio's plan 334 different parts of the villa are marked and separately described, and he spent a year in the investigation of the ruins.

Spartianus, in the passage quoted above, gives us the names of the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, the Canopus, the Pœcile, the Tempe, and the Inferi, as the parts of the villa made by Hadrian in imitation of their foreign originals. To these Ligorio has added the name Cynosarges, found upon a brick stamp. The sites of the Canopus, the Pœcile, the Academy, Tempe, and the Inferi may be said to be ascertained with tolerable certainty; but those of the Lyceum and Prytaneum have not been discovered.

The other names given by antiquaries to the different buildings are generally founded upon some definite evidence drawn from their shape and situation, and are probably, upon the whole, fairly applicable. They are the Theatres, the Palæstra, the Nymphæum, the Library, the Imperial Palace, the Hospitals, the Stadium, the Camp, and the Thermæ.

Proceeding from north to south, the ruins may be divided, for the convenience of description, into twelve grand groups:—(*a*) The Palæstra, including the Greek and Latin Theatres, and the Nymphæum; (*b*) the Pœcile; (*c*) the Guards' Barracks; (*d*) the Library; (*e*) the Imperial Palace; (*f*) the Stadium; (*g*) the Thermæ; (*h*) the Canopus; (*i*) the Academy, including the third Theatre or Odeum; (*k*) the Inferi; (*l*) the Lyceum; (*m*) the Prytaneum.[1] In giving these general divisions, some attempt is

[1] Nibby, Analisi, iii. p. 659.

made to represent the parts of the villa as they were in Hadrian's time. The groups are in such different states of preservation, some being entirely destroyed and the ground-plan barely traceable, while others are almost entire, that their real relative importance is completely obscured. The modern alleys and walks also create much confusion, and render the recognition of the ancient arrangement much more difficult.

Grand entrance.

The ancient grand entrance gateway to the grounds was at the north-western end of the ruins, on the old road towards Tibur, about a quarter of a mile beyond the Ponte Lucano. It seems to have consisted of two large pedestals of white marble, between which the carriage road passed, and which were pierced with arched passages for the footways on each side. One of these is still traceable in the Vigna Gentili, and has the remains of a bas-relief upon it, while the other has been destroyed, and its corresponding bas-relief placed in the Villa Albani at Rome.[1]

The modern entrance to the ruins is at the gate of the Villa Braschi, and leads through an avenue of cypress-trees in a direction at right angles to the ancient road of approach. The avenue runs across a space which was formerly a large quadrilateral court, 350 feet by 250, surrounded with porticoes attached to the theatre, which stands a little to the left of the end of the avenue. The ancient road from the Ponte Lucano entered this court at the northern angle. The porticoes have now nearly disappeared, but part of them remained in Ligorio's time. They served the same purposes as the great colonnades behind the theatres of Pompey and Balbus at Rome.[2] The theatre is an oval building, sunk in the slope of the rising ground, the southern side containing the seats for spectators, and the northern being occupied by the orchestra and scena, which has a stage in the form of a long and narrow parallelogram. The plan corresponds exactly to the description by Vitruvius of a Greek theatre, and has therefore been called the Greek Theatre by antiquaries.[3] Fragments of the travertine substructure of the scena still remain.

Porticoes and Greek Theatre.

Latin Theatre.

At some distance from this theatre, towards the east, and on the other side of the stream which runs along the Valley of Tempe, is the Latin Theatre, so called because its stage is much broader than that of the theatre just described. Externally, it was surrounded with arched porticoes, decorated, like the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome, with half-columns. There were, probably, two tiers of these arches, corresponding to the two præcinctiones of the cavea. At the sides of the scena there were rooms for the use of the actors and for the machinery; and behind the scena are three rooms, probably corresponding to the three doors in the proscenium. The spectators' seats are turned towards the south, contrary to the rules of Vitruvius.[4]

Palæstra.

Between the two theatres there is a natural rise in the ground, which has been further heightened by the rubbish heaped upon the spot. The ruins here occupy a space in the form of a trapezium, the largest side of which lies towards the north-west, and the shortest towards the south-west. They are now covered with modern buildings belonging to the Villa Braschi. The northern angle of these ruins

[1] This gateway has been imitated by the architect of the gateway at the old Villa Borghese. It is erroneously called a tomb by Piranesi and Ligorio. See Piranesi, Ant. Rom. tom. ii. tav. 39.

[2] See chap. xiii. pp. 313, 319; Vitruv. v. 9.

[3] Vitruv. v. 7. The Greeks had the orchestra wider, and the actual stage much narrower, than the Latins.

[4] Vitruv. v. 3.

shows the remains of a quadrilateral area, surrounded by a cryptoporticus; and at the eastern angle there is another smaller court surrounded with a portico, which has a double row of columns on the south-west side. This court is called the Palæstra by Ligorio and Piranesi, and it is supposed by them that the double portico was intended to be used in bad weather, when the athletes could not take their exercise in the unsheltered part of the court.[1] It has a suite of rooms on the north-west side, intended, perhaps, for anointing-rooms (elæothesia), dust-rooms (conisteria), or fives-courts (corycea).[2] On the southern side there is a spacious exedra, with niches for statues; and attached to it are two large halls, in the form of a Greek cross, with small recesses at the sides, still retaining some marks of their ancient decorations in stucco and paint. The western angle of these ruins is conjectured to have been the site of the xystus, or covered palæstra, a cloistered court with a small square opening in the centre.

The ruins of the Nymphæum lie on the south side of the Palæstra, and are connected with it by some chambers in which the stucco ornaments are still well preserved, and show what elegance of design and workmanship was bestowed even on the inferior parts of the villa. The carved basin of the nymphæum can be traced, though it is now overgrown with trees, and some of the niches still covered with stucco work remain. The western side of some of the adjacent rooms, now used as a granary, is ornamented with niches, and Nibby thinks that this, which was the back of the nymphæum, was arranged so as to present a fountain supplied from the main pipe of the aqueduct. A similar arrangement, he says, may be seen in the remains of the nymphæum at Ampiglione.

The Pœcile lies to the south of the nymphæum. Between them is a reservoir and the remains of a fountain belonging to some building now entirely destroyed. The Athenian Pœcile, of which this is supposed to be an imitation, was a portico near the Forum, the walls of which were decorated with the paintings of Polygnotus and Micon. From the description given of it by Pausanias, the Athenian building appears to have been a portico with three sides at least, on one of which the battle of Œnoë was represented; on the second and largest, the war of Theseus against the Amazons, and the council of the Greek chiefs after the capture of Troy; and on the third, the battle of Marathon.[3] It thus appears that one of the sides was much larger than the other, and this is the case with the ruin in the Villa of Hadrian, which has three sides, that on the north being 640 feet in length, and the others on the east and west each 240 feet in length. In Ligorio's time (1550) a part of the porticoes, which were of brick, still remained, and some of the paintings corresponding to the Athenian model. It is not certain whether a similar wall and portico occupied the southern side. The wall on the northern side, which is the longest, still remains entire. It had a portico on the exterior, which terminated in two circular buildings, and in the centre was the principal entrance to the Pœcile. The present entrance is modern. Both the eastern and western sides are slightly curved. The former contains an exedra in the

Pœcile.

[1] Several statues of athletes, the colossal bust of Isis, now in the Museo Chiaromonti, and a statue of Ceres were found here. Nibby, p. 669.

[2] See Vitruv. v. 11.

[3] Plin. N. H. xxxv. 9, 59; Paus. Att. i. 15.

centre, connected with the buildings behind. In the centre was an open reservoir for water, of the same shape as the buildings surrounding it. On the western and southern sides the area of the Pœcile is supported by substructions of masonry, against which are built a number of soldiers' rooms, commonly called the Cento Camarelle. At the corner, towards the south-west, is a public latrina, the tubes of which are still in good preservation.

Barracks.

Attached to the north-eastern corner of the Pœcile is a fine building, in the form of an exedra, with a semicircular niche turned towards the north, which, from the connexion of the Stoic philosophy with the Stoa Pœcile at Athens, has been called the Temple, or Diæta, or Schola Stoicorum. It was possibly a hall for conversation and discussion.

Library. Schola Stoicorum.

Opening from this Schola towards the north-east is a building in the form of two concentric circles. Between the two circular parts there was an euripus filled with water. This edifice was probably a swimming-bath. It appears to have been very highly ornamented with precious marbles and sculptures, most of which were taken to Rome by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and others to Tivoli by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. The ruin commonly goes by the name of Theatrum Maritimum. A little further to the north-east is a quadrilateral court, 200 feet wide, which was surrounded by a portico with Corinthian columns. On the north-west side of this court are the buildings usually supposed to belong to the Library, and called the Greek and Latin Libraries. They consist of a large number of rooms, more or less preserved, which may have been anterooms and chambers for the attendants and librarians. In the centre of the north side of the court is a well-preserved nymphæum, and on the north-east a long corridor with windows towards the south, possibly a Heliocaminus, from its resemblance to the place so called by Pliny at his Laurentine Villa. The ruins to the north-east of these, towards the Valley of Tempe, are thought by Nibby to be the remains of a suite of rooms belonging to one wing of the Imperial palace; but their plan is very imperfectly known.

Natatorium.

Corinthian portico and Library.

Heliocaminus.

The great mass of the Imperial apartments were further to the south-east, and were grouped round three large peristylia of dazzling magnificence. The most splendid of these, which afforded spoil for generations of plunderers, is called by Piranesi, from the richness of its decorative work, the Piazza d'Oro. Round the peristylia were numberless suites of rooms and several large exedræ, a basilica, and a great hall called Eco Corintio, supported on vast granite columns, and cased with slabs of the choicest marbles.

Imperial Palace.

The Stadium lies in a direction at right angles to the southern side of the Pœcile, and the semicircular end is towards the south. Between the swimming-bath and the northern or square end of the Stadium are some bath-rooms for the use of the athletes, and on the west side stands a temple surrounded by a sacred enclosure formed by two vast semicircular walls ornamented with niches. On the eastern side are further suites of rooms, and a magnificent quadrilateral cryptoporticus.

Stadium.

The Thermæ stand between the Stadium and the Canopus. Numerous pipes and conduits for water, and also the arrangement of the various parts of the buildings, show that they have been rightly placed here. There seem to have been two

Thermæ.

distinct sets of bath-rooms, which are generally called the "terme virili" and the "terme muliebri" by the Italian antiquaries. The northern group of buildings is connected with the curved end of the Stadium, and contains the usual number of halls, and an elliptical Laconicum. The Laconicum of the southern wing is circular and is connected with a grand central hall, similar to that in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome.

Canopus.

The place called Canopus lies to the south of the Thermæ, and close to a mass of buildings now utterly destroyed, but in Piranesi's time recognized as the vestibule of the villa. The Canopus itself consists of an oblong pool of water or euripus excavated in the tufa, with a row of buildings on the west side, and a magnificent nymphæum at the southern end, containing a great number of niches for statuary, and holes for jets of water. At the back of the nymphæum is a hall called the Sacrarium, in which it is supposed that the statue of Serapis stood. A passage of Strabo explains the idea which Hadrian had in forming this canal and nymphæum. Strabo says that at the grand festival of Serapis, whose temple and oracle were at Canopus, 120 stadia from Alexandria, immense crowds of men and women go down to Canopus from Alexandria by boats along the canal, on the banks of which are pleasant houses of entertainment, where the worshippers stop on their way to feast and dance.[1] The long, broad pool was intended to represent the Canopic canal, and the rooms ranged along the side the houses of refreshment. The confirmation of this is derived from the character of the statues found here, almost all being those of Egyptian deities.

Academia.

To the south-west of the Canopus rise the immense substructions, 1755 feet in length, which supported the highest terrace on this side of the villa. They extend as far as the square tower called Rocca Bruna in Ligorio's plan. This terrace and hill are supposed to have been the imitation of the Athenian Academy mentioned by Spartianus. There was also a Gymnasium here, the ruins of which are to be seen in a vineyard at the southern end of the hill, consisting of a large peristylium, a circular temple, and a spacious exedra. Beyond these there was a large square block of buildings, supposed by Nibby to have been used for the students and masters of the school of art maintained by Hadrian; and beyond this again was a spacious Odeum or theatre for musical performances. The cavea of this is now converted into a vineyard, but the proscenium is still well preserved. There were, as in the Odeum of Catania, two præcinctiones, and at the top of the central cuneus was a round temple dedicated to the presiding genius of the Odeum, just as in the Theatre of Pompey the chapel of Victoria stood above the cavea.

Odeum.

Inferi.

Close to this Odeum are some vast subterranean passages, supposed to be the Inferi which Spartianus mentions.[2] The depth at which these lie is only fourteen feet; but they occupy a trapezoidal area, the longest side of which is about 1050 feet, and the shortest 200 feet. Most of these corridors are excavated like catacombs in the natural rock. A brick stamped with the name Cynosarges is said to have been found near the aqueduct which runs to the south of the Inferi, but nothing further is known about any building of that name having stood in Hadrian's Villa. There are two other names found in Spartianus, the Lyceum and the Prytaneum. Piranesi identifies the Lyceum with a ruined portico

Cynosarges. Lyceum. Prytaneum.

[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 801.

[2] Hist. Aug. Tyr. trig. 30.

at a little distance to the south of the Inferi, and the Prytaneum with some more extensive ruins nearly a mile further to the south-east. Nibby, however, rejects the idea that these last were ever embraced within the Villa of Hadrian, and thinks that it terminated near the mineral spring called the Acqua Ferrata. Not far from the Villa of Hadrian was the estate granted by Aurelian to Zenobia, where she passed the latter part of her life as a naturalized Roman matron. The exact site is, however, quite unknown, and the attempts of Del Re and Volpi to determine it are idle conjectures.[1]

Zenobia.

The other villas[2] which are mentioned in classical writers as being in the environs of Tibur are those of Varus, the friend of Horace; Catullus, the poet; Vopiscus, a friend of Statius; Cetronius; and Martial.[3] The names of many other celebrated Romans have been distributed at will by the local ciceroni among the numerous ruins which cover the neighbourhood, but there appears to be no evidence to prove that Mæcenas, Syphax, Ventidius Bassus, or the rest of those enumerated by Kircher, ever had villas at or near Tibur.

The ruins of a considerable villa lie near the Porta S. Croce of Tivoli, in the estate called Carciano from the mediæval name of the Fundus Cassianus, which is given in a list of the estates belonging to the cathedral at Tivoli as the site of a Villa of Caius Cassius.[4] Part of these ruins consist of a very ancient structure of polygonal work; but the rest is pronounced by Nibby to belong to the time of the later Republic. The casino of the Collegio Greco is now built on the spot; but the plan of the ancient villa can be so far traced as to show that it had several terraces, and looked towards the south-west. In the sixteenth century there were still eighteen large apartments existing, surrounded with a portico of Doric columns, and also some temples, a theatre, some fountains, and fish-ponds. The opus reticulatum of these ruins has a peculiar alternate arrangement of coloured tufa in its squares. An immense number of works of art were dug up here, and the nearly complete destruction of what still remained of the villa in the sixteenth century is probably due to the fact of its having been found to be so rich a mine of ancient sculptures.

Villa of Cassius.

Nibby thinks that the ruins commonly called the Villa of Horace, and situated at the hermitage of S. Antonio under Monte Catillo, are too extensive to have belonged to Horace, and that they may have formed a part of the Villa of Sallust, which is mentioned by the author of the oration "In Sallustium" attributed to Cicero.

Villa of Sallust.

The Sabine Farm of Horace can hardly be passed over, though it is not strictly included within our limits. There is no evidence to show that the poet ever had a villa at Tibur besides his Sabine farm; indeed his own words, "satis beatus unicis Sabinis," seem expressly to imply the contrary.[6] The estate he had

Sabine Farm of Horace.

[1] Kircher, Latium, p. 156.

[2] See above, p. 399. Syphax died at Tibur (Livy, xxx. 45); but this is no reason why he should have possessed a villa there, as Kircher assumes. The Rubellii had an estate near Tibur; Tac. Ann. xiv. 22.

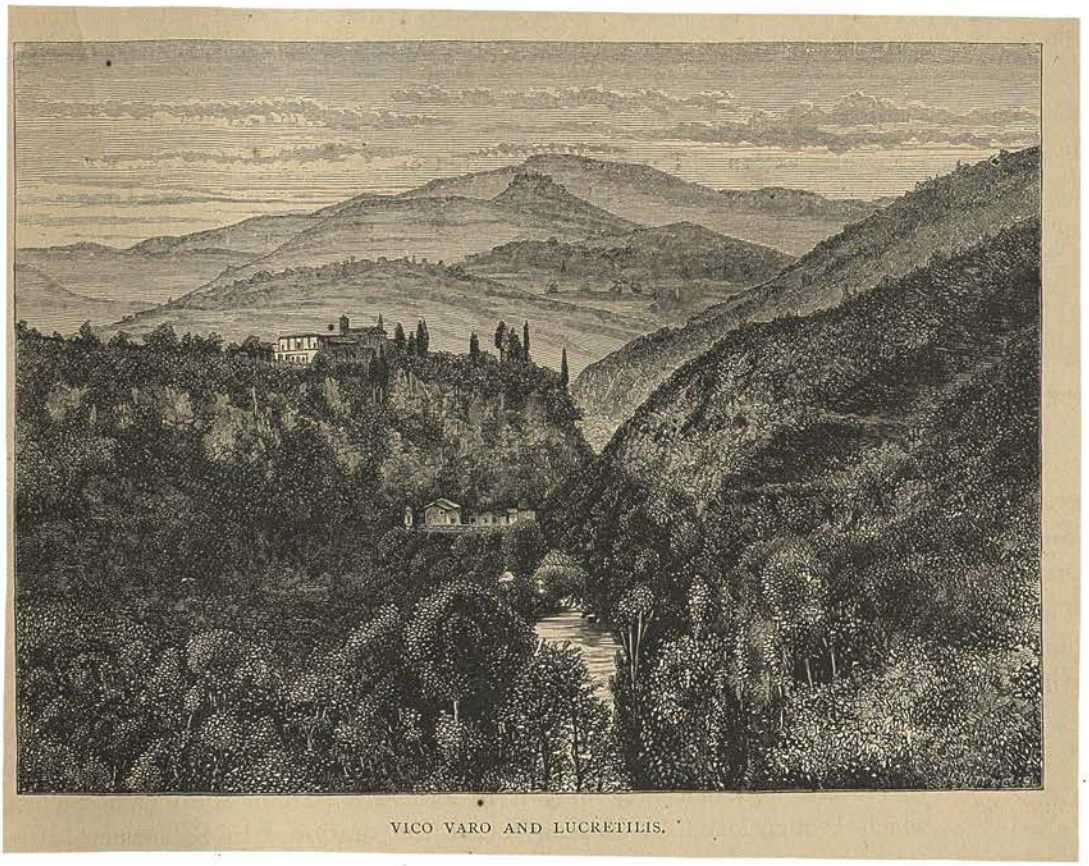
[3] Hor. Carm. i. 18, 1; Catull. Carm. xlii.; Stat. Sylv. i. 3; Juv. Sat. xiv. 87; Mart. iv. 80.

[4] Nibby, Analisi, tom. i. p. 397; iii. p. 226.

[5] Ibid. iii. 222; Pseud. Cic. In Sall. cap. vii.

[6] Hor. Od. ii. 18, 14. The words "seu mihi Tibur supinum" do not necessarily imply that he had a house of his own at Tibur, any more than at Præneste or Baiæ. Nor do the other passages, Od. ii. 6, 5, "Tibur sit mihi sedes utinam senectæ," iv. 2, 31, "circa nemus uvidique Tiburis ripas," Ep. i. 7, 45,

was usually called a Sabinum, not a Tiburtinum, and must therefore be looked for at some distance from Tibur. Horace mentions two places in the neighbourhood, Varia and Mandela, the sites of which can be exactly determined.[1] The Tabula Peutingeriana places Varia on the Via Valeria, eight miles beyond Tibur; and precisely at this distance are the remains of an ancient town now covered by the modern village of Vico Varo. But the position of Mandela is more important for ascertaining the site of Horace's Villa, because, if we can fix upon it, we then can discover to which of the mountain streams which



VICO VARO AND LUCRETILIS.

flow into the Anio the name Digentia belonged. An inscription dug up in 1757 near the Church of S. Cosimato, on the Via Valeria, two miles from the village of Bardella, shows that an estate in the modern district formed by the union of Cantalupo and Bardella was called, in the later Imperial times or the early Middle Ages, Massa Mandelana.[2] From this

"mihi vacuum Tibur placet," Ep. i. 8, 12, "Romæ Tibur amem," counterbalance the evidence of the passage quoted in the text. Suet. Vit. Hor. gives both the names Sabinum and Tiburtinum to Horace's estate.

Ep. i. 14, 3: "Quinque bonos solitum (agellum) Variam dimittere patres." Ep. i. 18, 105: "Gelidus Digentia rivus quem Mandela bibit rugosus frigore pagus."

[2] The inscription is given thus by Nibby, Anal. i. 295: "Val. Maxima Mater domni predia Val. dulcissima filia que vixit annis xxxvi. men. ii. d. xii in prediis suis masse Mandelane Sepretorum Hercules quesqu pace." Orelli, Inscr. 104, compares with the expression *domni prædia*, i. e. *domina prædii*, the compounds *domnifunda* and *domnædius*, given in Marini, Atti, ii. p. 644.

it is plain that the Digentia was the torrent now called Maricella, which joins the Anio between Cantalupo-Bardella and Vico Varo, descending from near Licenza, a small village about six miles from Vico Varo. As to the exact spot where the Villa of Horace itself stood in the valley of the Digentia we cannot be quite certain: the ruins usually pointed out are on a little knoll opposite to the village of Licenza, and on the other side of the stream. These are possibly situated on the same spot as the villa, if they do not date so far back as the lifetime of the poet himself. They consist only of a mosaic pavement, and of two capitals and two fragments of Doric columns lying among the bushes. The pavement has been much disturbed by the planting of a vineyard, and can only be seen on removing the earth which covers it. The groundwork is white, with a border of animals in black.[1] "These are the sole traces now visible (1842); but some fifty years ago the mosaic floors of six chambers were brought to light, but were covered again with earth, as nothing was found to tempt further excavation. The farm is situated on a rising ground which sinks with a gentle slope to the stream, leaving a level intervening strip now yellow with the harvest. In this may be recognised the 'pratum apricum' of which Horace speaks as liable to inundation. The 'aprica rura' were probably then, as now, sown with corn—'segetis certa fides meæ.' Here it must have been that the poet was wont to repair after his meal to take his siesta—'prope rivum somnus in herba;' and here his personal efforts perhaps to dam out the stream provoked his neighbours to a smile—'rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.'"[2] The place is surrounded on all sides by hills ("continui colles"), except where the main valley of the Digentia separates them ("ni dissocientur opaca valle"), running nearly due north and south; so that, facing down the valley towards the south, the sun, before mid-day, rests on the right-hand slopes, and in the afternoon on the left-hand ("ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol, lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet").[3]

The other spots mentioned by Horace near his farm are the Fanum Vacunæ, the slopes of Ustica, and the mountain of Lucretilis.[4] The first of these has been placed by the Italian topographers at Rocca Giovane, a village perched on a hill on the west side of the valley, about two miles above Cantalupo-Bardella. The evidence for this identification is an inscription found at Rocca Giovane stating that Vespasian repaired the Ædes Victoriæ there. The scholiast Acro, quoting a lost work of Varro on religious worship, states that Victoria was identical with the Sabine deity Vacuna, and the inscription has therefore been assumed to have referred to the "fanum putre Vacunæ" of Horace. Hence an objection has been raised by Cav. Noel des Vergers to the supposed site of the villa, since it can hardly be said to be behind Rocca Giovane. Dr. Henzen and Cav. Rosa endorse this opinion, adding that there is no fountain near the site at Licenza, and that it is not high enough among the hills to anwer to Horace's description. They would therefore place the villa at Colle del Poetello, behind Rocca Giovane, where there is a terraced platform among the hills, evidently once occupied by a villa, and containing scattered remains of brickwork. This spot is sheltered on the east by Monte della Costa, and on the south by Monte del Corynaleto, which Rosa thinks is the Lucretilis of Horace.

[1] Gell, Topogr. p. 462.

[2] Dennis in Milman's Horace, p. 101. "Pratum apricum," Ep. i. 14, 30; "Aprica rura," Od. iii. 18, 2: see also Od. iii. 16, 30; Ep. i. 14, 35, 39.

[3] Ep. i. 16, 1—16.

[4] Ep. i. 10, 49; Od. i. 17, 1, 11.

A copious spring rises near the spot, and flows down to the Digentian torrent below; and, by a singular coincidence, the torrent takes the name of Licenza after receiving the water of this brook ("fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus").[1]

It may be urged in favour of the old opinion, that the words "post fanum dictabam" have been generally understood to mean, that Horace composed his letter at some other place than his villa, as he strolled over the hills and jotted down his thoughts on his tablets; and that the spring of which he speaks was not necessarily close to his house, but only within the precincts of his estate. I cannot, therefore, feel any more confidence in this new determination of the site than in the old one. Both appear possible, but there is no positive evidence in favour of either.

The "Ustica cubans" of the poet is commonly, with some probability, supposed to be La Rustica, which lies on the hill close to Licenza, on the eastern side of the valley.

Lucretilis is probably a name applied to the whole range of hills connected with Monte Gennaro. Cav. Rosa, however, in the article above quoted, places it at Monte del Corynaleto, just above Rocca Giovane. The name of Fons Bandusiæ has been given to most of the springs in this valley by the enthusiastic admirers of Horace, but it is quite uncertain whether the Fons Bandusiæ was in Apulia[2] or in the Sabine territory.

(C.) *Roads.*

The era of road-construction in the Campagna must be reckoned as beginning before the middle of the fifth century of Rome, when Appius Claudius, the Censor, laid down the Appian way from Capua, and the Appian aqueduct from the seventh milestone on the road to Præneste;[3] for Livy speaks of a road to Alba Longa as already existing in the year 413 of the city:[4] and the work of Appius Claudius consisted therefore probably in improving and paving the old road. The Latin road also may be supposed to have existed in very early times, as the route of communication between the Tusculan hills and Rome.[5] But the principal development of the Roman roads took place after the end of the Punic wars, when the empire of Rome began to require the means of easy access to the distant provinces.[6] And though the new roads then laid down were principally ultra-Italian, as the Domitian, the Gabinian, and the Egnatian, yet the Italian roads at the same time had great pains bestowed upon their improvement and repair. Among the great services rendered by Caius Gracchus to his country, one of the most important was his care for the proper maintenance and repair of the roads in Italy.[7] The method of constructing and paving the great roads has been noticed above, and we have here only space to speak of the most remarkable monuments which marked the commencement of each of the great Roman roads,[8] the suburban

[1] *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1857, pp. 31, 107.

[2] See Milman's Horace, p. 108, note.

[3] Livy, ix. 29; Front. De Aq. 5.

[4] Livy, vii. 39. The Via Gabina is mentioned by Livy, iii. 6, v. 49, as early as 291 A.U.C.; and the Via Salaria, Livy, vii. 9, in A.U.C. 393; but perhaps this is a historical prolepsis.

[5] Livy, ii. 39.

[6] Isodorus, Origin. xv. 16, says that the Romans learnt the art of paving from the Carthaginians.

[7] Plutarch, C. Gracch. 7.

[8] See Introduction, p. xxxviii. Dionys. iii. 67, Ἐγωγ' οὖν ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτοις κατασκευάσμασι τῆς Ῥώμης, τάς τε τῶν ὑδάτων ἀγωγὰς τίθεμαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ὁδῶν στρώσεις, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐργασίας. Strabo, v. 3, 8, p. 235. The technical names of the various kinds of roads are best explained in the Schriften der römischen Feldmesser, edited by Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff: Berlin, 1852. There is also an excellent article in Nibby's Analisi, vol. iii. p. 492. The other standard books of reference are Westphal, Die römische Kampagne, and Bergier, Hist. des grands Chemins, in Græv. Thes. vol. x.

villas already mentioned, the tombs which fringed their sides, the massive viaducts which conveyed them across the valleys, and the roadside chapels and temples. The number of monumental tombs especially on the Appian, Latin, and Flaminian roads, was very considerable. Nibby enumerates two hundred on the Appian road between the ancient Porta Capena and Albano, a distance of fourteen miles. They were of the most varied and fantastic shapes and designs, the most common forms being those with square or round bases, cylindrical superstructure, and conical roof. Some were square, with several floors, and surmounted by a pyramid: others consisted of ædiculæ in brick, placed upon a cubical base; or of sarcophagi in various shapes, mounted upon brick substructions. Many fragmentary inscriptions have been found which once belonged to these tombs, but not one of any historical importance. The greater part of them record the names of freedmen and other obscure people, as the larger and more highly decorated tombs were plundered first, and their marble covers and inscriptions completely destroyed at an early period. The oldest fragments which have been saved may be studied in the Berlin Collection of Inscriptions, where they are learnedly edited by Th. Mommsen.[1] There were also many exedræ and fountains by the sides of the roads, designed as resting-places for travellers.

Appian road.

The first part of the ancient Appian road now lies between the Porta S. Sebastiano and the site of the old Porta Capena. From this part of the road the Via Latina diverged on the left, and the Via Ardeatina on the right. Here were the gardens of Terence, the tomb of the Scipios, and the arch of Drusus.[2] The Clivus Martis and the Temple of Mars were just outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, on the left-hand side of the present road. Beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano, the first considerable monument now visible is a mass of stonework on the left hand, about 100 yards from the gate. From its form and style of masonry there can be little doubt that it was a pyramidal tomb, similar to that of Caius Cestius at the Porta S. Paolo, and that it was built in the Augustan era. A little beyond this ruin the road crosses the Almo, and the remains of another pyramidal tomb are to be seen on the left. This is sometimes called the tomb of Priscilla, mentioned by Statius; but that name more probably belongs to the larger tomb further on, beyond the Church of Domine quo Vadis. The latter tomb agrees better with the description of Statius, as it had a cupola and loculi for the reception of unburnt corpses.[3]

The immense number of ruined tombs and other buildings which crowd the sides of the road beyond this point makes it necessary to restrict our remarks as much as possible, and we shall therefore only notice a few of the most prominent ruins upon the road or in the immediate neighbourhood.

Deus Rediculus.

A brick building called the Temple of the Deus Rediculus stands in the valley of the Almo (Caffarella), half a mile to the left of the road at the second mile-stone. The legend which connects it with Hannibal's march on Rome is altogether unworthy of credit,[4] and it is plain that the building, which is in the form of a

[1] Corp. Inscr. 1006, 1090—1093.

[2] Suet. Vit. Ter. 5. See above, pp. 214, 217. Canina, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1853, p. 144. The best map of this portion of the Via Appia is in the *Monumenti dell' Instituto di Cor. Arch.* vol. v. tav. 57, 58, 59, 60, and 45, 46, 47, with the description by Canina in the *Annali* for 1851, 1852, 1853, 1862.

[3] Stat. Sylv. v. 1, 222.

[4] The Campus Rediculi is mentioned by Pliny, N. H. x. § 122, as the burial-place of a sacred crow. The Rediculi Fanum is placed by Festus, p. 282, "extra portam Capenam, quia Hannibal ex eo loco redierit."

pseudo-peripteros, with Corinthian pilasters, had two stories, and cannot therefore have been a temple. Prof. Reber considers that it was a chapel tomb, similar to that to be seen at St. Urbano, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella.

Grotto of Egeria.

The Grotto of Egeria, as it is called, lies in the valley of the Almo, about half a mile above the building just mentioned. It is an arched nymphæum of brick, at the back of which a plentiful stream of clear water rises. The mutilated statue of the nymph still remains, but no other parts of the decorations. There is little doubt that it was the nymphæum of some suburban villa.

Temple of Hercules or Honos.

On the hill above it stands the Church of St. Urbano, probably an ancient tomb in the shape of an ædicula. It is commonly called the Temple of Bacchus, from the discovery under it of an altar of Dionysus, with a Greek inscription. But this altar seems to have been moved here from some other spot. The building is in the form called by Vitruvius a prostylos tetrastylos, with Corinthian columns and capitals. These are now built up into the modern wall. The whole, except the entablature and columns, is of brickwork of the Antonine era, as appears from the stamps of the bricks. The triple frieze, forming a kind of attica between the architrave and cornice, seems to contradict the notion that this was a temple, though the great antiquary Visconti considered that it was the Temple of Honour, built by Marius outside the Porta Capena.[1] The interior is tolerably well preserved, and has a vaulted roof, with coffers and reliefs in the form of trophies.

The Circus of Maxentius and Temple of Romulus.

On the left of the Appian road, where it dips suddenly into a valley near the Church of St. Sebastian, lies a group of ruins, the principal of which consist of a circus, a building enclosed in a large square court, and some remains of rooms, apparently belonging to an ancient villa. The walls of the circus are still in such preservation that they can be easily traced round the whole enclosure, and are in some parts nearly of the original height. They are built of rubble, mixed with brickwork and with jars of terra-cotta to lighten their weight, as in the case of the masonry at the Villa Gordianorum, mentioned above, and at the Torre Pignattara, on the Via Labicana. The towers at each side of the carceres, the curved line of the carceres themselves, and the spina can be easily traced.[2] An inscription in honour of Romulus, son of Maxentius, found here in 1825, seems to show that the circus was built in honour of that prince, who died before his father, A.D. 309.[3] This is confirmed by a statement in one of the ancient chronicles published by Roncalli, in which it is said that Maxentius built a circus "ad Catacumbas," evidently referring to the neighbouring catacombs of St. Sebastian and others,[4] and also by the style of masonry used in the circus. The adjoining ruined temple, with its enclosing court, seems to belong to a somewhat earlier style of construction; but Nibby has given some reasons, derived from the coins of Maxentius and Romulus, for supposing that it was the temple dedicated to Romulus, after his apotheosis, by his father.[5] The ruins are not

[1] Visconti, Op. Milan, 1829, vol. ii. p. 387. Visconti placed the Temple of Virtue in the neighbouring ruins. But see above, p. 49.

[2] See Nibby, Circo di Caracalla, Romæ, 1825; Canina, Arch. Rom. ii. p. 447, tav. 137.

[3] Eckhel, Num. Vet. vol. viii. p. 59.

[4] Chron. ap. Roncalli, tom. ii. col. 248.

[5] Hobler's Roman Coins, p. 821, No. 2055; R. Aetern, Memoriæ. A temple, the body of it square, with a round cupola or domed top; two doors in front.

sufficiently preserved to make it certain that the building was a temple, and there is nothing to contradict the hypothesis that it was a tomb. Nor is anything whatever known about the adjoining villa.

Tomb of Cæcilia Metella.

On the edge of the hill formed by the great lava-stream which in long-past ages flowed down from the Alban hills, and along the top of which the Via Appia runs from this point, stands the conspicuous tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the daughter of Metellus Creticus, and wife of Crassus,—but whether of the triumvir Crassus, or of the orator, or of some other less well-known Crassus, is uncertain.[1] The shape of the tomb is the same as that of the Mausoleum of Hadrian and the tomb of the Plautii at Tivoli—a cylindrical tower-like edifice, resting on a square

CIRCUS OF MAXENTIUS, WITH THE ARCHES OF THE CLAUDIAN AND MARCIAN AQUEDUCTS, AND THE HILLS NEAR PRÆNESTE AND TUSCULUM.

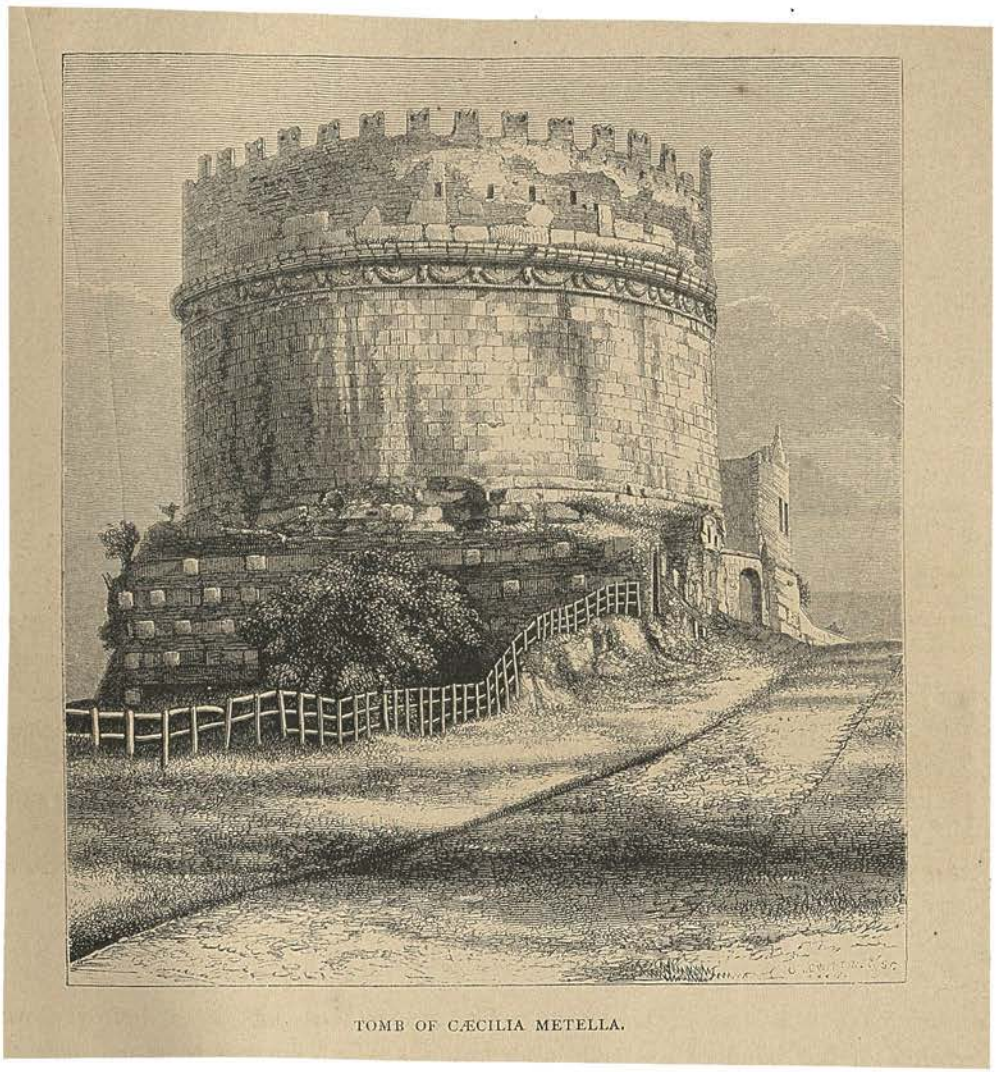
base of massive blocks of travertine. The upper part has been destroyed, with the exception of the band of ox-sculls and garlands which surrounds it, and some trophies carved in relief above the inscription. The roof was probably conical. Mediæval battlements, erected by the Caetani family, who held it as a fortress in the thirteenth century, now crown the upper edge. The remains of the Caetani castle are still visible on each side of the road beyond the tomb.

After passing the third milestone, the Appian road is fringed with ruins of innumerable tombs, and here and there the relics of a suburban villa. Scarcely any of these

[1] The inscription on the tomb is, "Cæciliæ Q. Cretici Filiæ Metellæ Crassi."

can have names attached to them with any certainty. The Villa Quintiliana Commodi has been already noticed as occupying the tract called Roma Vecchia, where the Campus sacer Horatiorum and the Fossa Cluilia also lay.[1] The suburban villa in which Seneca committed suicide by opening his veins was at the fourth milestone, and near this there was found by Nibby in 1824 a marble slab,

Roma Vecchia.
Villa of Seneca.



TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA.

inscribed with the name of Granius, a military tribune.[2] A tribune of this name was employed by Nero to compel Seneca to kill himself. Whether the stone refers to him or not cannot be ascertained, but the coincidence of names is singular.[3]

At the fifth milestone, on the right-hand side of the road, is a round mass of ruins with

[1] See p. 416; Mart. iii. 47.

[2] Tac. Ann. xv. 60: "Ex Campania remeaverat quartumque apud lapidem suburbano rure substiterat."

[3] Tac. loc. cit.

a rectangular chamber inside, which has been supposed to be the tomb mentioned by Cornelius Nepos as the burial-place of Atticus, Cicero's friend.[1] Near this is a great platform of peperino blocks, which are thought to have been used as a burning-place (ustrina) for the bodies interred in the tombs on the road.

Tomb of Atticus.

Ustrina

Between the sixth and seventh milestones from the Porta Capena there is a large round ruin, 300 feet in circumference, now supporting a house and olive-orchard upon the top. The name Cotta was found on an inscription belonging to this, and hence it has been supposed to be the tomb of the gens Aurelia, who bore the surname of Cotta. On the left are the arches of the aqueduct which supplied the Villa of Commodus.

Tomb of Gens Aurelia.

At the eighth milestone there was a Temple of Hercules erected by Domitian. Martial mentions this temple in several passages.[2] There are considerable remains of a tetrastyle temple on the right hand of the road, consisting of columns of Alban peperino; but this, which was once supposed to be the Temple of Hercules, is now said to have contained an altar to Silvanus. The villa and farm of Persius the poet are said by his biographer to have been near the eighth milestone.[3]

Temples of Hercules and Silvanus.

At the ninth milestone stood the tomb of Gallienus, and perhaps the ruins there belong to his suburbanum.[4]

Tomb of Gallienus.

At the tenth milestone the Rivus Albanus, formerly the Aqua Ferentina, is crossed; and at the eleventh the road begins to ascend the slope towards Albano.

At the twelfth the circuit of the walls of the ancient town of Bovillæ is approached, and the ruins of the circus previously described are passed on the right hand.[5]

Bovillæ.

Albano stands at the fourteenth milestone, and beyond it Aricia.

Aricia.

At the sixteenth milestone, in the valley below the modern town of Lariccia, is the massive causeway, 700 feet in length and 40 in. width, upon which the old Appian road was raised. It is built of blocks of peperino, and is a solid mass of masonry, except where three archways give passage to the water which descends from the Alban hills and the neighbourhood of Nemi.[6]

The modern Porta di S. Giovanni is now the point at which the road to Albano, and also that to Frascati, leave Rome. Anciently, as we have seen, the roads diverged after passing the Porta Capena, and the Latin road had a gate of its own in the Aurelian wall, called the Porta Latina, now walled up.[7]

Latin road.

[1] Corn. Nep. Pomp. Att. 22: "Sepultus est juxta viam Appiam ad quintum lapidem in monumento Q. Cæcili avunculi sui." See the Berlin Corp. Inscr. vol i. No. 1006.

[2] Mart. iii. 47. 3, "Horatiorum qua viret sacer campus, et qua pusilli floret Herculis fanum;" ix. 64, "Herculis in magni voltus descendere Cæsar dignatus, Latiæ dat nova templa viæ, qua Triviæ nemorosa petit dum regna viator octavum domina marmor ab urbe legit;" ix. 104, 1, "Appia, quam simili venerandus in Hercule Cæsar consecrat, Ausoniæ maxima fama viæ. Sextus ab Albana quem colit arce lapis," *i.e.* from Domitian's Villa at Alba.

[3] Suet. Vit. Pers.

[4] Aur. Vict. Epit. 60.

[5] See p. 368; Canina, Monumenti dell' Arch. Rom. tav. 137.

[6] See Canina, Arch. Rom. tom. viii. p. 674; Monum. tav. 183.

[7] See p. 68. The Via Asinaria, which passed out at the Porta Asinaria, was a cross road, uniting the Via Latina with the Via Appia and Via Ardeatina.

The line of the old Via Latina is unfortunately now almost lost, and can only be traced by the rows of ruined tombs which mark its former course. After leaving the Porta Latina it runs along the edge of the hills which form the right side of the Caffarelli valley, and crosses the new road to Albano near the second milestone, at a point on the side of the valley almost opposite to the so-called Fountain of Egeria. Not far from this spot some very interesting tombs were excavated in 1860. A full account of these has been given in the *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* for 1860, and summaries of this article will be found in all the new guide-books. The sarcophagi and stucco ornaments of these tombs are the most perfect remains of the kind ever found in the neighbourhood of Rome.[1]

Tombs on the Latin road.

At the fourth milestone from the Porta Capena the Latin road passed under the arches of the Claudian and Martian aqueducts, at the tower now called Torre Fiscale. At this point the two aqueducts cross each other, and present a most magnificent series of arcades, flanking the side of the old Latin road for more than a mile. Some of the arches of the Claudian aqueduct are here more than fifty feet in height.

Torre Fiscale.

The Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, dedicated in the year 286 A.U.C., on the spot at which Coriolanus is said to have met his mother, stood at the fourth milestone, and near it the Suburbanum Hadriani, now called Sette Bassi, as mentioned above.[2] The castella of the Aqua Marcia, the Tepula, the Julia, the Claudia, the Anio Vetus, and the Anio Nova lie on the right of the old Latin road here, at the sixth milestone, where the arcades make a right angle. The road then runs to the right of the present road to Frascati, nearly on the line of the modern Strada di Grotta Ferrata, and, ascending the slopes of the Alban hills, passes behind Tusculanum and Corbio along the valley which separates the Alban from the Tusculan group of hills.

Temple of Fortuna Muliebris.

The Via Prænestina, the Via Labicana, and the Via Valeria or Tiburtina, all issued from the Porta Esquilina, and separated soon afterwards, but whether at the point where they now separate or not is quite uncertain.[3] At the third milestone on the Via Prænestina was the Villa Gordianorum already described, and at the ninth, where the road crosses a small brook, is a magnificent monument of ancient Roman architecture, consisting of an arched viaduct built of peperino and tufa blocks.[4] The length of this viaduct is one hundred and five yards, and some of the arches are about fifty feet in height. The blocks of stone used are in some cases ten feet in length, and they are firmly fitted together without any kind of cement. The ancient roadway of polygonal fragments of basalt still remains, but the parapet on each side has been destroyed.

Via Prænestina and Via Labicana.

Near the Via Labicana, after passing on the left a large piscina of the Anio Vetus, between the third and fourth milestones stands a large circular brick building, now called Torre Pignattara. The masonry appears to belong to the times of the later emperors, being full of terra-cotta jars, intermixed with the concrete of

Torre Pignattara.

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1860, p. 348; Monum. vol. vi. tav. 43; Fortunati, Relazione delle Scavi lungo la Via Latina, 1859; Story, Roba di Roma, vol. ii. p. 38.

[2] Dionys. viii. 36, 55; Livy, ii. 39; Val. Max. i. 8, 4. See p. 418.

[3] See above, pp. 49, 64.

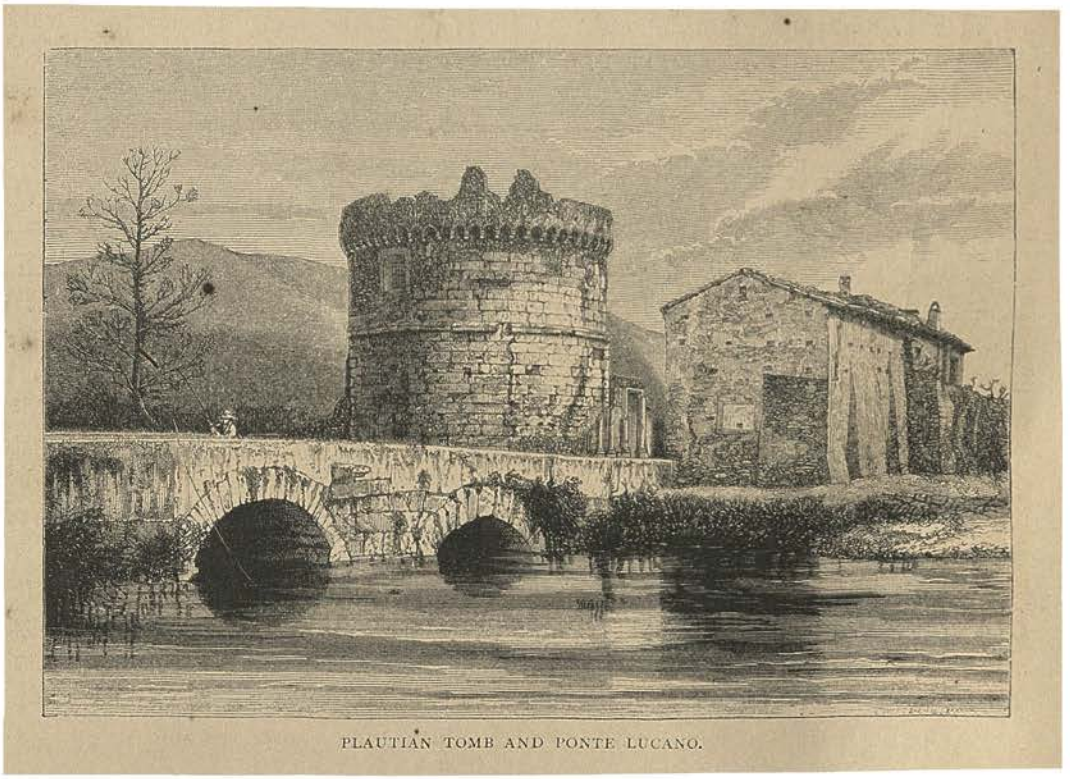
[4] See p. 418. Nibby, Analisi, vol. ii. p. 590. A sketch of the Ponte di Nono, as this viaduct is called, is given by Canina, Monumenti dell'Arch. Ant. tav. 183.

the roof to make it lighter. The common legend taken from Anastasius, which calls this building the tomb of S. Helena, seems ill-founded, as Eusebius distinctly states that she was buried at Constantinople.[1]

Between the fourth and sixth milestones the brick arches of the Aqua Alessandrina run parallel to the road at a little distance; but nothing further of interest remains on either side of the road till La Colonna, the ancient Labicum, is reached.

Via Valeria.

The Via Valeria, or Tiburtina, now leaves Rome at the Porta S. Lorenzo. Traces of the polygonal pavement of the old road can be seen at intervals along the modern road to Tibur, especially between the eighth and ninth milestones, and here and there the naked core of a tomb; but nothing of any interest offers itself



PLAUTIAN TOMB AND PONTE LUCANO.

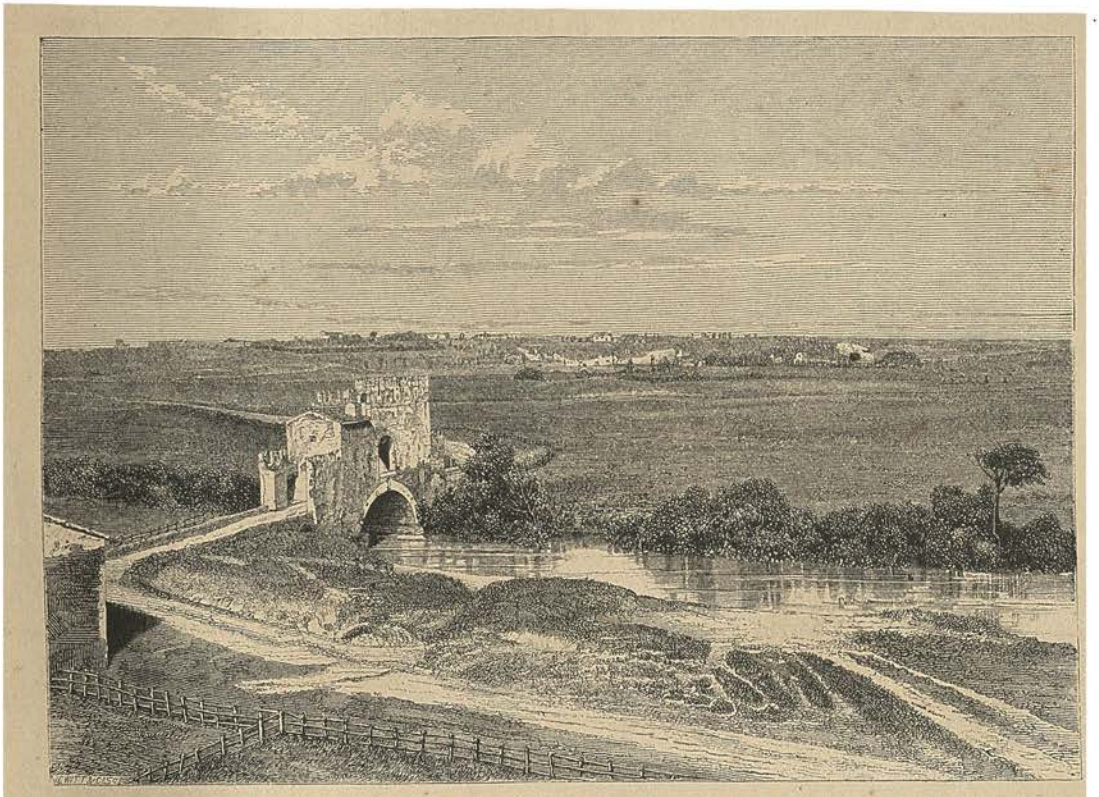
to an archæologist until the Aquæ Albulæ are reached. Some few remains of an ancient building, which may have belonged to the thermæ there,[2] have been discovered: but these are now built into the walls of a modern farmhouse.

The ancient quarries of travertine, mentioned by Strabo, where the stone of the Coliseum was cut, lie on the right of the road beyond the Solfatara. The modern quarries are on the left. The road then crosses the Anio over an ancient bridge still called the Ponte Lucano, from Marcus Plautius Lucanus, a Tiburtine magistrate, whose

[1] The name Pignattara is derived from the earthern pots used in the masonry of the walls. The same mode of construction may be seen at the Circus of Maxentius and the Villa Gordianorum. See Introduction, p. xxxiv. Nibby, Analisi, iii. p. 343.

[2] Mart. i. 13; Strabo, v. p. 238.

memory is preserved in an inscription discovered upon the ancient fourteenth milestone on this road. The bridge was originally composed of three travertine arches, of which the one next to the left bank remains entire. The central arch has been restored with masonry of the sixth century, similar to that in the Ponte Nomentano and the Ponte Salario. The arch on the right bank was restored in the fifteenth century, and the whole bridge was repaired again in 1836. This bridge was broken down by Totila when he was encamped at Tibur, and Nibby thinks that he destroyed the middle arch, and that it was then restored by Narses. *Ponte Lucano.*



PONTE NOMENTANO, BY WHICH THE VIA NOMENTANA CROSSES THE ANIO.

Just on the other side of the bridge is the tomb of the gens Plautia, well known from numerous paintings and photographs. It is very similar in its main features to that of Cæcilia Metella on the Appian road, and to the Mausoleum of Hadrian. A cylindrical tower of travertine, based on a square foundation, and capped with a cone, was the original design; but a ruined mediæval tower, standing upon the top, now disfigures it. Two inscriptions placed on a projecting front with Ionic pilasters record the names of M. Plautius Silvanus, consul with Augustus in the year 2 B.C., and his son Ti. Plautius Silvanus, præfect of the city in 80 A.D. A third inscription, which is now destroyed, commemorated a P. Plautius Pulcher.[1] *Tomb of Plautii.*

[1] Gruter, 352.

The other principal roads which traverse the Campagna, the Nomentana, the Salara, the Flaminia, the Cassia, the Aurelia, and the Ostiensis, offer but little within the bounds of ancient Latium which calls for remark.

Via Nomentana.

The Via Nomentana diverged from the Via Salara at the Colline gate in the Servian walls, and passed through the Aurelian wall at a gate which now stands a little to the south of the modern Porta Pia. The present road follows the line of the ancient Via Nomentana, as may be seen by the ruins of tombs which fringe it beyond S. Agnese and beyond the Ponte Nomentano.[1] The Mons Sacer, as already mentioned, stands just beyond this bridge, and the Villa of Phaon at the Vigne Nuove, on a side road which branches off to the right just beyond the bridge.[2]

Via Salara.

The Salara is said to have been so named from the supplies of salt conveyed along it to the Sabine district at the time when the Romans and Sabines were confederates.[3] The road is first mentioned in history as the scene of the single combat between Manlius and the gigantic Gaul.[4] The ancient road passed out at the Colline gate, and followed very nearly the same line as the present road along the left bank of the Tiber, as may be seen by the ruins near Serpentara, and by the position of the ancient bridge, the Ponte Salaro, which carries it over the Anio, close to Antemnæ. Beyond this, Fidenæ and the Allia are the most remarkable points of interest upon the road in the neighbourhood of Rome.[5] Not far from Malpasso the ancient road, according to Nibby, diverges to the right, crossing the railway to Ancona.

Via Flaminia and Via Cassia.

The Via Flaminia, after passing through the Porta Ratumena at the tomb of Bibulus, left the Aurelian fortifications at the Porta Flaminia, which stood a little nearer the slope of Monte Pincio than the present Porta del Popolo.[6] It diverged to the right of the present street, and then crossed the Tiber at the well-known Milvian bridge, whence it turned off to the right along the Tiber valley, while the Via Cassia[7] ascended to the left among the Etruscan hills towards Veii. The old Flaminian road lay closer to the river than the modern, which is carried through a cutting in the hills and rejoins it at Tor di Quinto. There are a few rock-tombs on the left hand, between the fifth and sixth milestones. One of them has been connected with the poet Ovid by a mistaken inference drawn from the inscription found upon it, which bears the name of Q. Nasonius Ambrosius.[8]

Via Aurelia.

The Via Aurelia left Rome at the Janiculan gate, which corresponded to the Porta S. Pancrazio, and followed the line of the present road to Civita Vecchia. Between it and the Via Cassia lay the Via Triumphalis, which, after passing the Porta Angelica and Monte Mario, joined the Via Cassia at the Osteria Giusiniana. On the Via Portuensis, a little beyond the fifth milestone, at a place called Affoga l'Asino, in the Vigna Ceccarelli, was the grove of the Dea Dia, at which the

[1] The old name of the Via Nomentana was Ficulense. Livy, iii. 52.

[2] See above, pp. 351, 420.

[3] Festus, p. 326.

[4] Livy, vii. 9.

[5] See pp. 359, 390.

[6] See pp. 59, 323.

[7] The Cassia was sometimes called the Claudia. Ovid, Pont. i. 8, 44.

[8] See Bellori, Picturæ Antiquæ, Romæ, 1738, pp. 91—172. Bellori gives the inscription thus:—"D. M. Q. Nasonius Ambrosius sibi et suis fecit libertis libertabusque Nasoniæ Urbicæ conjugi suæ et collibertis suis et posterisque (?) eorum."

festival of the Fratres Arvales was held. There is a round building there, which according to Pellegrini belonged to the Cæsareum mentioned so frequently in the inscriptions found on the spot.[1]

The Via Ostiensis and Via Laurentina, leading from the Porta Ostiensis, offer nothing worth notice which has not been already pointed out.

Besides the above-mentioned roads, the Via Tusculana, the Via Collatina, the Via Ardeatina, and the Via Amerina were well known as leading to the cities whose names they bear, but are not otherwise in any way worth notice.[2]

Some account has already been given of the mode of construction, the vast extent and the general history of the aqueducts of Rome.[3] They were of great importance to the Campagna, as well as to Rome itself, for many of them were largely used for purposes of irrigation, and had to part with a considerable quantity of their water before reaching the walls of the city. Some of them were also used for the purpose of turning mills, as the Acqua Paola is at the present day.[4]

(D.) *Aqueducts.*

All the aqueducts, except the Virgo, the Alsietina, and the Trajana, and perhaps the Appia, entered the city near the Porta Maggiore, on the Esquiline, that being nearly the highest point in the city walls. Of these four, which were all subterranean, the course of the Appia is uncertain, the Virgo entered the city on the Pincian hill, and the Alsietina and Trajana, near the Porta Aurelia, on the Janiculum.

To trace the course of each aqueduct accurately through the Campagna would lead me into discussions occupying more space than can be afforded within the limits of this chapter, and I must therefore refer those who are desirous of unravelling the web which the lines of the great aqueducts weave on the district between Rome and the Tusculan and Æquian hills to the special works which treat of this subject, and to Canina's large map of the Campagna.

The aqueducts which came from the Anio, between Sublaqueum and Tibur, the Claudia, the Anio Vetus and Novus, and the Marcia, passed along the flank of the Æquian hills and made a considerable bend to the southwards, following the high ground by Gallicano (Pedum), La Colonna (Labicum), and Frascati. They then crossed the Campagna in a direct line towards Rome, nearly following the course of the Via Latina.

The Aqua Virgo comes from a source at the eighth milestone on the Via Collatina (Strada di Lunghezza), and at the present day discharges its water chiefly at the

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1858, pp. 47, 54; 1867, p. 225. Hermes, 1867, p. 37; Pellegrini, Edificio dei Fratelli Arvali, Roma, 1865.

[2] The position of two roads, the Via Campana and the Via Patinaria, is doubtful. See Nibby, iii. pp. 598, 636.

[3] The principal works on Roman aqueducts are the well-known treatise of Frontinus, overseer of aqueducts under Nerva and Trajan, and among modern writers, Fabretti, De Aquis et Aquæductibus, Romæ, 1680; Becker, Handb. vol. i. pp. 701—708; Nibby, Analisi, vol. ii. p. 15. Frontinus describes nine aqueducts as extant in his time—the Appia, Anio Vetus, Marcia, Tepula, Julia, Virgo, Alsietina, Claudia, Anio Novus. Procopius speaks of five others; but of these we only know the names of the Aqua Trajana, Sabatina or Ciminia, and the Aqua Alexandrina. The names Severiana and Antonia, found in the Notitia, and of Jovia or Jobia, in the Anon. Einsied., belonged to branches of the main aqueducts. Jovia was probably so called after the Emperor Diocletian (Anastast. Vit. Hadr. i.). The Antonia, or Antoniniana, is perhaps identical with the Jovia, as it passes over the Porta S. Lorenzo, and may have supplied the Thermæ of Diocletian. The Aqua Felice is a partial restoration of the Alexandrina by Sixtus V.

[4] Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 19.

Fontana Trevi. The Aqua Appia rises near the same spot. The Lago di Bracciano supplied the Acqua Trajana and Alsietina, which are now united under the name of the Acqua Paola, and discharge their water at the Fontana Paolina, near the Porta S. Pancrazio. The Tepula and Julia come from the slopes of the Alban hills between Marino and Grotta Ferrata; the Alexandrina, now the Felice, from a place called La Rifolta, near the fourteenth milestone on the Via Prænestina.

Part IV.—Period of Depopulation and Devastation.

It is evident that residence in the Roman Campagna had become unsafe in the time of Aurelian (A.D. 270), but the dreaded deluge of barbarian hordes did not sweep over the neighbourhood of Rome till the reign of Honorius, a century and a half later. The first fatal blow to the prosperity of Rome and its neighbourhood was struck by Constantine, when he transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium and broke Rome's ancient prestige—

> "Posciachè Costantin l'aquila volse
> Contra il corso del ciel, ch'ella seguio
> Dietro al Antico che Lavina tolse." [1]

After this the spacious villas of the Campagna and the palaces of Rome must have become less and less tenanted by the great nobles of the court, who doubtless found the lovely shores of the Bosphorus a much more agreeable residence than even the hills of Tusculum or Tibur.

Destruction of the Tiburtine Villa of Hadrian.

The gradual decline and destruction of the villas, parks, roads, and aqueducts which followed may be perhaps best illustrated by tracing, so far as possible, the history of the most splendid of all the Imperial country-seats, the Tiburtine Villa of Hadrian. "It is very probable," says Nibby, "that under Constantine the villa suffered a considerable loss of the splendid works of art it contained, as it is known that he plundered not only Rome but all Italy and the rest of the empire of their most precious ornaments, in order to decorate his new capital Byzantium. After his time the villa remained in a desolate state, and was abandoned to the caprices of the imbecile Cæsars who tormented the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, and to occasional visits from the plundering hordes of Goths, Vandals, and Heruli who successively ravaged the neighbouring country. In the Gothic wars of 546—556 Totila took Tibur after a siege of some months, and revenged himself for the resistance of the Isaurian garrison by putting all to the sword, without sparing even the bishop. At the same time he broke down all the bridges on the Anio.[2] During that long siege, the Villa of Hadrian, with its enormous halls, its vast ranges of rooms, and its advantageous and commanding site at the junction of several roads, offered convenient quarters to the barbarian king and his host. It may be imagined what devastation such tenants would inflict upon the place. In the eighth century the villa fell more and more into ruins. To the disasters of the Gothic wars were added

[1] Dante, Paradiso, cant. vi. 1.

[2] Procop. iii. 10, 24.

those incurred during the Lombard wars under Astulf. The Lombards were a more savage horde than the Goths, and their object was to destroy the Roman empire utterly, and to divide Italy into dukedoms. These barbarians attacked Rome many times, and ravaged the Campagna; but Astulf distinguished himself above all the rest in these incursions, massacring and burning everywhere without distinction. As we hear that he was encamped near Tivoli, we may conclude that the Villa of Hadrian suffered severely in or about the year 755."

The wars between Emperors and Popes, and the quarrels between the factions in Rome itself which followed, injured Rome perhaps rather more than the cities of the Campagna. But the greatest damage of all was done to the villa by its being made the quarry whence the churches, the monasteries, and the houses of the wealthy Tiburtines were decorated with marble columns and costly stonework; and when these were filled and could hold no more, innumerable marble sculptures and statues were condemned to the lime-kiln and converted into mortar. After the revival of letters and arts in the fifteenth century, the lamentations poured out in the time of Pius II. (1458 A.D.) over the ruins of the villa are most pathetic. "The lofty vaults of the temples are still standing, and the wonderful columns of the cloisters and magnificent porticoes. The swimming-baths and thermæ can be traced, where the water of the Anio once mitigated the summer heats. But the hand of time has defaced all these; and the walls once draped with embroidered tapestry and cloth of gold are now clad with ivy; the thorns and briars grow where tribunes sat in purple robes, and serpents crawl in their kings' chambers."[1]

In spite of the existence here and there of such love for antiquity, the burning of the Tiburtine marbles into lime continued throughout the sixteenth century, and the levelling of the ground for cultivation has gone on even to the present time.[2]

Barbarian invasions.

The same fate attended all the other grand monuments of the Campagna. Rutilius Numatianus, writing probably in 417, in the reign of Honorius, speaks of the buildings of Rome and the aqueducts of the Campagna as if they were still uninjured;[3] but he prefers to return to his native home in Gaul by sea on account of the bad state of the roads on the coast, caused by the Gothic devastations.

> "Postquam Tuscus ager, postquamque Aurelius agger,
> Perpessus Geticas ense vel igne manus,
> Non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coercet,
> Incerto satius credere vela mari."[4]

The allusion here is probably to the second invasion of Alaric in 409, when the Gothic army occupied Ostia, and must have devastated the coast of Latium near the mouth of the Tiber.[5] The inhabitants of the Campagna retired at this time in troops to Africa and the neighbouring islands. Great numbers were concealed in the little isle of Igilium.[6] The subsequent ravages of Genseric, king of the Vandals, Ricimer,

[1] Pius II. Comment. Lib. v. p. 138.
[2] Nibby, Analisi, vol. iii. p. 655.
[3] See above, p. 127.
[4] Rutil. Numat. De Red. 39.
[5] Gibbon, chap. xxxi.
[6] Rut. Num. 336: "Unum, mira fides, vario discrimine portum, tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis."

and Odoacer (424—530) followed those of Alaric; but we do not hear of any destruction of the aqueducts till the invasion of Vitiges (537), who also destroyed the finest monuments on the Appian road.[1]

The sixth great invasion was that under Totila, who advanced from the side of Præneste and Tusculum upon Rome, and maintained a siege of several months. His head-quarters were at the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura.[2]

Thus before the middle of the sixth century each district of the Campagna had suffered. Alaric had plundered the northern parts and the coast of Ostia; Genseric, the Campus Solonius and the road to the south; Ricimer, on his approach, passed through Civita Castellana and Sutri; and Totila occupied and reduced Tibur, Præneste, and Tusculum, before attacking Rome itself.[3]

Little wonder need have been felt, if the Roman Campagna had remained a desert even after these earlier devastations. But far worse followed in the time of the Lombards (590—640). "The Campagna of Rome," says Gibbon, "was then speedily reduced to the state of a dreary wilderness, in which the land is barren, the waters are impure, and the air is infectious."[4]

The work of depopulation and devastation was continued in the following centuries, from 700 to 1000, by the Saracens, and by terrible inundations in the years 717, 725, and 791.[5] The wars of Robert Guiscard, and the quarrels between the Emperors and Popes, followed; and after a century more of sword and fire Rome and its Campagna were wasted to such a degree, that in 1198 the population of Rome and its neighbourhood was estimated at only thirty-five thousand souls, and we find the Pope himself (Innocent III.) declaring that it was difficult to find a man of forty at Rome, almost impossible to find one of sixty years of age.[6] During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the Crusades, the enmities of Patriarchs and Popes, the petty wars between Rome and the neighbouring cities, and the rivalry of the great families of Rome, especially the Colonna and Orsini, reduced the state of affairs from bad to worse. The Popes withdrew to Avignon, and took with them a portion of the court; and when Pope Gregory XI. finally returned in 1377, he found that the population of the city amounted to seventeen thousand only.[7] This was perhaps the lowest depth of exhaustion reached; and in the fifteenth century, with the return of civilization, Rome began to revive. But the Campagna still remains a waste to the present day, and will remain so, it is to be feared, so long as the land is held in large tracts by the Roman religious corporations, and by wealthy noblemen to whom its improvement is of little or no importance.[8]

[1] Procop. B. G. i. 19. The object of Vitiges was to stop the irrigation of the Campagna, and the manufactories and mills turned by the aqueducts at Rome. He also intended perhaps to enter the city through the tunnels of the aqueducts.

[2] Gibbon, ch. xliii.; Chron. ed. Roncalli, vol. ii. 329.

[3] See Cassiodorus, Chron. ap. Roncalli, vol. ii. pp. 227—230.

[4] Gibbon, chap. xlv.

[5] Ibid. chap. lii.

[6] See Müller, Rom. Camp. vol. i. p. 12.

[7] Gibbon, chaps. lxix. lxx.

[8] See an interesting account of the modern Mercanti di Campagna in Story's Roba di Roma, vol. ii. p. 54, London, 1866. "Nothing," says Lady Morgan, in 1821, "bearing the stamp of humanity chequers this wide waste, save the dreary Casale seen in the distance, a shed for the cattle, where man perishes."—Italy, by Lady Morgan, vol. ii. p. 169. The efforts made to drain the Pomptine marshes, and restore a more healthy climate, have been noticed in chapter ii. p. 26.

Note on the name Campagna, or Campania.

History of the name Campagna.

In the time of Tacitus, the name Campania was still restricted to the country round Capua and Naples, and the boundary between it and Latium was at the hundredth milestone, near Minturnæ or Sinuessa, on the Appian road;[1] for although long before this time Augustus had included Campania, with Latium and part of Samnium and Picenum, in the first of his eleven Italian regions,[2] yet the name Campania was not applied to the whole until the time of Hadrian. That emperor divided Italy into four consular provinces, one of which probably included the first region of Augustus, with the districts of the Hirpini and of the whole of Samnium, and was called Campania.[3]

Another different division seems to have been made before the time of Procopius, for we find that historian and Jornandes, in their accounts of the Gothic invasion under Alaric, speaking of Campania as distinct from the Roman territory.[4]

This division was probably made by one of the Emperors between Gratian (375 A.D.) and Theodosius the younger (408 A.D.); for the Notitia and Paulus Diaconus both mention Campania, as distinct from Tuscany and Samnium, while Servius, who died before the reign of Gratian (375 A.D.) evidently alludes to Hadrian's division of the Italian provinces.[5] It is, however, quite uncertain when this re-arrangement was effected. The important fact is, that Latium ceased to be included in the province called Campania at or about the end of the fourth century, and that after the Lombard kings had established themselves in Italy, in 584, the same separation between Campania and the Roman district was maintained. During the Exarchate, the district attached to Rome consisted of the tract included between the sea-coast from Civita Vecchia to Terracina and the Sabine Apennines, and probably corresponded very nearly to the present province of the Comarca.[6]

"Thus the name of Campania," says Pellegrini, "which was first applied to the territory of Capua alone, extended itself by successive re-arrangements of the Italian provinces over a great part of central Italy, and then gradually shrank back again into its birthplace, and at last became restricted to the limits of one city only, Naples, and that one of the least importance in Italy. What naturally followed was the total disuse of the name, which had at last migrated into a district where it was not likely to be kept up by historical association, Naples having been no part of the original Campania, and being generally called the Duchy of Naples, instead of the province of Campania."[7]

The term Campania, therefore, became obsolete except in the writings of a few mediæval authors, whose statements created some confusion by their ignorance of the different senses in which it had at different times been used. An impression seems, however, to have prevailed that the district of Capua had been so named on account of its flat and fertile nature, and hence every similar tract of plain country came to be called a campagna in the Italian language.[8] The exact time when the name, which

[1] Tac. Ann. xiii. 26: "Centesimum ultra lapidem in oram Campaniæ." See also Plin. N. H. ii. § 136.

[2] Pliny, N. H. iii. §§ 46, 63; Strabo, v. p. 231.

[3] Jul. Cap. Hadr. 2. The extent is determined by the Itin. Ant. and Hieros., who mention Equus Tuticus (S. Eleutherio) as the boundary on the side of Apulia. See Mommsen on the Liber Coloniarum, in the Schriften der Römischen Feldmesser, vol. ii. p. 206. Ostia, Gabii, Præneste, and Affila are included, but not Tibur; Pellegrini, Discorsi. della Campania, vol. i. p. 50. Servius, ad Æn. vii. 612, calls Gabii "Campana civitas," in the time of Theodosius the elder.

[4] Procop. i. 14; Jornand. De Reb. Get. chap. xxx.

[5] Serv. loc. cit.

[6] Gibbon, chap. xlv.

[7] Pellegrini, Discorsi, vol. i. p. 7.

[8] The district round Pavia and Milan, and other similar districts, are called Campaniæ by Otho Frisingensis. Dante speaks of the Campagna of Mantua, Arles, and Pola; Inferno, ix. 110.

had thus become a mere appellative, was applied to the Roman Campagna is not accurately ascertainable, but it seems to have been so applied as early as the time of Pope Agatho, at the end of the seventh century.[1] We may perhaps conclude that it was at some period during the first century of the Lombard kingdom in Italy that the flat district near Rome became distinguished as the Roman Campagna.

From the above brief sketch of the history of the word Campagna, it will be seen that the term Roman Campagna is not a geographical definition of any district or province with clearly fixed limits, but that it is a name loosely employed in speaking of the tract which lies round the city of Rome.

1 Baronius, quoted by Pellegrini, vol. i. p. 83. Pellegrini mentions the Campagna of Cordova, of Rheims, and of several other places.

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The Index contains lists of Aqueducts, Arches, Basilicæ, Baths (see Thermæ), *Bridges* (see Pons, Ponte), *Columns, Gates* (see Porta), *Hills, Piazzas, Porticoes, Roads* (see Via), *Temples, and Villas. For details see the independent references.*

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page lxxi, note 2, *for* "Martial, iv. 37," *read* "Martial, iv. 37, 4."
,, lxxiii, note 5, *for* "Martial, vii. 87," *read* "Martial, vii. 87, 6."
,, 28, line 11, *for* "Argeian," *read* "Argean."
,, 38, note 4, *add*, "and in the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum, vol. i. p. 205."
,, 39, lines 2, 9, 11, 29, and margin, *for* "Argeian," *read* "Argean."
,, 41, line 7, *for* "N. D." *read* "N. V."
,, 80, note 8, *for* "xi. 66," *read* "xi. 61."
,, 88, note 3, *for* "Silv. i. 30," *read* "Silv. i. 1, 30."
,, 89, note 10, *add*, "The inscription is given in the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum, vol. i. p. 37."
,, 91, note 4, *for* "Dict. Ant." *read* "Dict. Geogr."
,, 93, note 4, *for* "L. L. v. 7," *read* "L. L. v. 42."
,, 110, line 23, the words "may possibly——Pompiliana" should follow the words "Middle Ages" in line 25.
,, 131, margin, *for* "Mar," *read* "Mars."
,, 139, line 20, *for* "Paolo," *read* "Paola."
,, 139, line 25, after "Vespasian," insert the words, "which contained the Temple of Peace."
,, 140, line 31, *for* "Talyrus," *read* "Ialysus."
,, 178, note 3, *for* "letzen" *read* "letzten."
Page 185, note 5, *for* "Dict. Ant." *read* "Dict. Geogr."
,, 205, note 10, *for* "xii. 67," *read* "xii. 67, 2."
,, 220, note 9, *for* "Mart. xii. 6," *read* "Mart. xii. 18, 6."
,, 223, line 37, *after* "the same spot," *insert* "These."
,, 227, note 6, *for* "Max. iv. 48," *read* "Max. iv. 4, 8."
,, 228, note 1, *for* "Jul. ii." *read* "Jul. 11."
,, 245, line 5, *for* "Vinimalis" *read* "Viminalis."
,, 253, note 8, *for* "7, 2, 8," *read* "7, ix. 2, 8."
,, 259, line 14, *for* "di Monti," *read* "de' Monti."
,, 268, note 3, *for* "Front. i. 11," *read* "Front. i."
,, 311, note 5, *for* "§ 4, 135," *read* "§§ 4, 135."
,, 324, note 7, *for* "x. 80," *read* "x, 80, 4."
,, 326, note 7, *for* "Front. i. 10, 22," *read* "Front. 10, 22."
,, 342, note 6, *for* "Cons. Hon. i. 1," *read* "Cons. Hon. 1."
,, 356, note 2, *for* "i. 6," *read* "i. 6, 3."
,, 359, note 6, *for* "137," *read* "37."
,, 367, note 4, *for* "Plut. Mar. p. 425," *read* "Plut. Mar. 35."
,, 379, note 5, *for* "Ep." *read* "Epod."
,, 384, note 4, *for* "i. 4," "*read* "I. 3, 1."
,, 389, note 4, *for* "v. 10," *read* "10."
,, 436, note 2, *for* "ix. 64," *read* "ix. 65, 1."

THE END.

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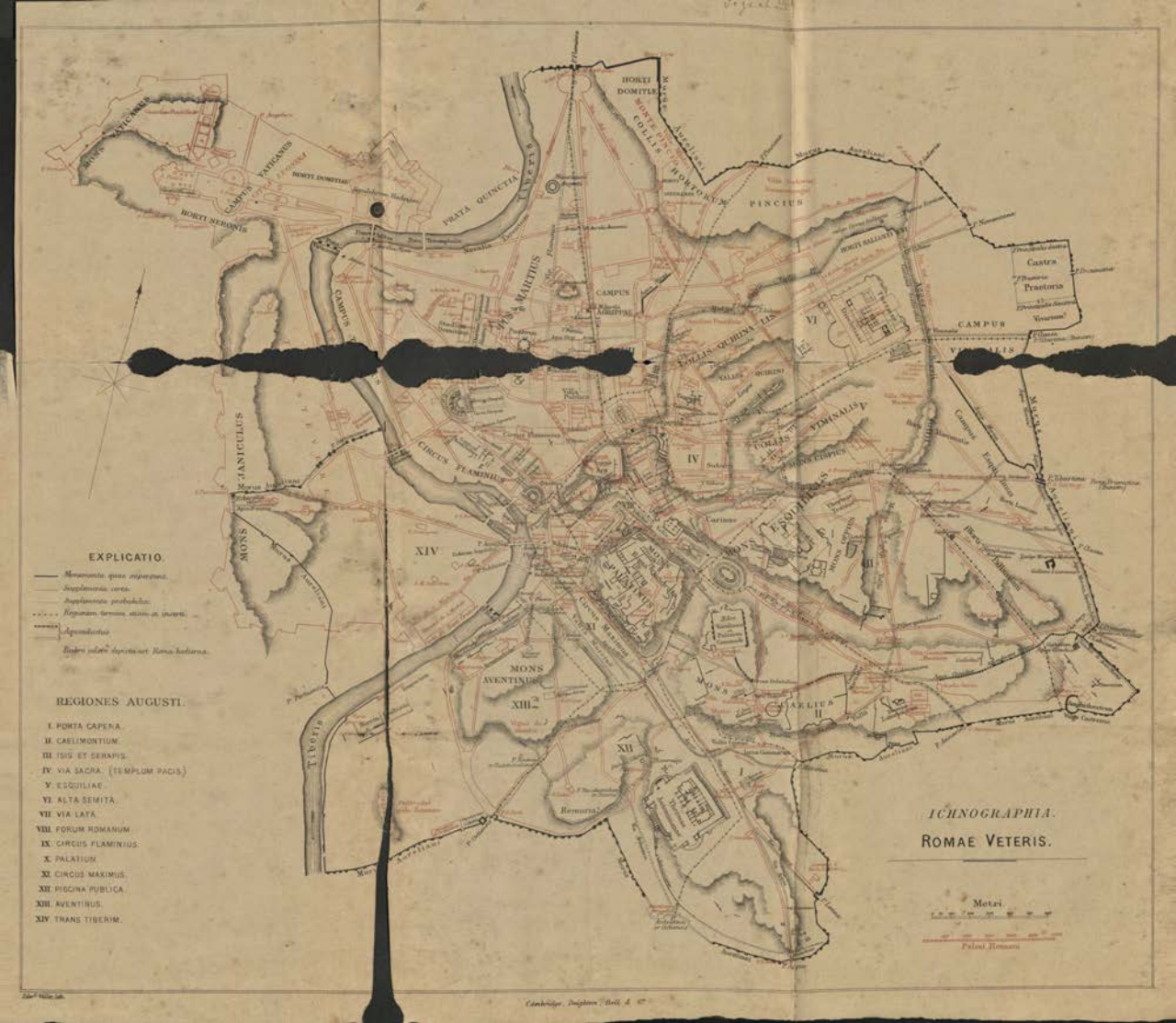
EXPLICATIO.
Monumenta quae supersunt.
Supplementa certa.
Supplementa probabilia.
Regionum termini certo, aut ex parte, noti.
Aquaeductus.
Ripae veteris dextra et sinistra Romae tiberinae.
REGIONES AUGUSTI.
I. PORTA CAPENA.
II. CAELIMONTIUM.
III. ISIS ET SERAPIS.
IV. VIA SACRA. (TEMPLUM PACIS.)
V. ESQUILIAE.
VI. ALTA SEMITA.
VII. VIA LATA.
VIII. FORUM ROMANUM.
IX. CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.
X. PALATIUM.
XI. CIRCUS MAXIMUS.
XII. PISCINA PUBLICA.
XIII. AVENTINUS.
XIV. TRANS TIBERIM.
ICHNOGRAPHIA.
ROMAE VETERIS.
Metri
Palmi Romani
Cambridge. Deighton, Bell & C°

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